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ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.

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THE CHURCH IN MADRAS

BEING

THE HISTORY OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL AND MISSIONARY ACTION
OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IN THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS

IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BY THE

REV. FRANK PENNY, LL.M.

LATE CHAPLAIN IN H.M. INDIAN SERVICE (MADRAS ESTABLISHMENT)

111476

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

6-C-70

LONDON
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1904

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TO THE MEMORY OF

THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY

THIS RECORD OF

THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY AND ACTION

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

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PREFACE

THIS record has been drawn up under certain limitations. It is not intended to be a religious history of the period and the place with which it deals; nor a complete history of missionary effort in the south of India in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is a record of ecclesiastical events as they affected or were affected by the East India Company and its local Government at Fort St. George.

The Directors of the Company were men of high standing in the city of London, Christian gentlemen jealous of their honour as merchants of so great a city, and careful of their 'merchantly carriage.' Their actions both at home and abroad accorded with their high character. This record, which consists principally of extracts from their despatches to the Government of Fort St. George and extracts from the letters in reply, is intended to exhibit the Directors and their ecclesiastical actions exactly as they were.

The writer hopes also that the record will serve to remind the present generation how much Missionaries in the south of India are indebted to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the German agents they employed for the pioneer work they did in the 18th century. The German agents were well educated men, mostly graduates of Halle; they compiled Tamil grammars and dictionaries; they made translations of all the books and tracts that were necessary for their purposes into Tamil, Portuguese and Persian. All

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

subsequent Missionaries in the south have profited from the literary labours of these faithful men.

The whole official ecclesiastical record of the Company and the Government of Fort St. George is a record of welcome to the Missionaries and kindly help. There was no hostility, no intolerance of missionary effort, no dark period of discouragement, no attempt to keep Missionaries out of the country. Statements to the contrary must be read in the light of the Company's own records, which are their complete refutation.

The chapters on the Governmental dealings with the Roman Catholic missions and those of the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge show the even-handed justice meted out to both by the Company, so long as its own supreme authority was recognised. And the reader cannot fail to observe the kindliness of the assistance given by the Company's servants, civil and military, in all good Christian causes in the centuries under review.

The writer begs to thank especially the Lord Bishop of Madras, the Venerable Archdeacon H. B. Hyde of Madras, and Mr. W. Foster of the India Office, for kind assistance freely and sympathetically given; also the Revs. W. H. Blake of Tanjore; L. E. Cox, Cathedral Chaplain, Madras; B. M. Morton, Chaplain of Secunderabad; J. A. Sharrock of Trichinopoly, and Col. Routh, for photographs of Churches etc.; and Mr. Arthur J. Weightman for a photograph of the pulpit of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate.

F. P.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
I.	INTRODUCTORY, 1609–40	1
II.	THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1640–60	17
III.	THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS, 1660–80	38
IV.	STREYNSHAM MASTER AND THE BUILDING OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, 1680	74
V.	FROM THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH TO THE END OF THE CENTURY	92
VI.	A PERIOD OF CHANGES, 1693–1713	118
VII.	FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF THE REV. W. STEVENSON TO THE SURRENDER OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1712–46	140
VIII.	THE COMPANY AND THE SCHOOLS BEFORE 1746	164
IX.	THE COMPANY AND THE S.P.C.K. MISSION, 1710–50	180
X.	THE CHURCH STOCK	201
XI.	THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION UP TO 1746	217
XII.	CHURCHES FOUNDED BEFORE 1746, AND NOW THE TRUST PROPERTY OF THE GOVERNMENT: ST. FRANCIS', COCHIN, *circa* 1510; ZION CHURCH, TRANQUEBAR, *circa* 1625; THE MISSION CHURCH, TRANQUEBAR, 1717; PULICAT CHURCH, *circa* 1630 AND 1785; ST. PETER'S, NEGAPATAM, *circa* 1680	243
XIII.	FORT ST. DAVID; CHRIST CHURCH, CUDDALORE, 1692, 1767 AND 1801; THE HOLY EPIPHANY CHURCH, 1886	274
XIV.	FROM THE SURRENDER OF FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE CAPTURE OF PONDICHERRY, 1746–61	301
XV.	THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION, 1746–65	323
XVI.	THE PERIOD OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY AS A GOVERNING POWER, 1761–84	341

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER		PAGE
XVII.	The Chaplains and their Work, 1785–1805	371
XVIII.	The Chaplains and their Work, 1785–1805—*continued*	401
XIX.	The Chaplains and their Work, 1785–1805—*continued*	428
XX.	The Company and the Roman Catholic Mission, 1765–1805	456
XXI.	The Company and the S.P.C.K. Mission, 1750–1805	483
XXII.	The Company and the Schools, 1750–1805	505
XXIII.	St. Mary's Vestry	534
XXIV.	Churches Founded between 1746 and 1805: Vepery Church, 1748 and 1825; Tuticorin Church, 1750; Christ Church, Trichinopoly, 1765	565
XXV.	Churches Founded between 1746 and 1805—*continued*: Christ Church, Tanjore, 1779; St. Peter's, Tanjore, 1780, 1830 and 1900; Vellore Church, 1773, 1792 and 1846	605
XXVI.	Churches Founded between 1746 and 1805—*continued*: Palamcottah Church, 1785, 1826 and 1845; Ramnad Church, 1798 and 1900; Dindigul Church, 1800; the Black Town Chapel (St. Mark's), 1800; Madura Church, 1801, 1827 and 1881	630
XXVII.	Chaplains and Missionaries, 1647–1805	661
	Index	693

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1.	St. Mary's, Fort St. George	*Frontispiece*
2.	The Pulpit of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London	*To face p.* 4
3.	Interior of St. Mary's, Fort St. George . .	„ 80
4.	Sanctuary of St. Mary's, Fort St. George . .	„ 82
5.	Gallery of St. Mary's, Fort St. George . .	„ 84
6.	St. Francis', Cochin	„ 244
7.	Tranquebar; Zion Church	„ 250
8.	„ New Jerusalem Church . . .	„ 252
9.	„ Church Plate	„ 254
10.	„ the Poor Box	„ 256
11.	Pulicat; Silver Font Basin on Brass Stand . .	„ 256
12.	„ the Sacramental Plate	„ 262
13.	St. Peter's, Negapatam	„ 266
14.	Cuddalore; Christ Church, Old Town. . .	„ 288
15.	„ Tower of Christ Church, Old Town	„ 290
16.	„ Holy Epiphany Church, New Town.	„ 298
17.	Vepery, Madras; exterior of St. Matthias' . .	„ 574
18.	„ Interior of St. Matthias' .	„ 580
19.	English Church, Tuticorin	„ 582
20.	Trichinopoly; exterior of Christ Church, Fort	„ 586
21.	„ interior of Christ Church, Fort	„ 596
22.	„ the Bath in which Bishop Heber was Drowned	„ 598
23.	„ the Sanctuary of Christ Church, Fort	„ 600

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

24. TANJORE; CHRIST CHURCH, FORT . . . *To face p.* 608
25. „ SCHWARTZ' PULPIT, CHRIST CHURCH . . „ 614
26. „ ST. PETER'S . . . . . „ 616
27. „ CHURCH PLATE, S.P.G. MISSION . . . „ 618
28. VELLORE CHURCH . . . . . „ 628
29. PALAMCOTTAH: CHRIST CHURCH (CLORINDA'S CHURCH) „ 632
30. „ THE C.M.S. MISSION CHURCH . . „ 636
31. RAMNAD; THE S.P.G. MISSION CHURCH . . . „ 644
32. ST. MARK'S, NORTH BLACK TOWN, MADRAS . . „ 648
33. ST. GEORGE'S, MADURA . . . . . „ 660

DIAGRAMS

PAGE
FORT ST. GEORGE, 1655 19
„ 1687 100
THE INNER FORT, 1694 105
FORT ST. GEORGE, 1746 304
THE CHURCH LODGINGS 562

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

Page 9, *line* 14, *delete* not. *See also* Notes & Queries, 9th S. iii. 285.

„ 196, „ 13, *for* shall *read* should

„ 218, *add to note*, In the *Founding of Fort St. George*, by W. Foster, there is a letter on p. 16 dated 1661 in which it is stated that the two French Capuchins were found at Madraspatam when the agents of the London E.I.Co. first went there. This statement, made twenty years after their first arrival, and which is not in accordance with other evidence, is rejected as improbable.

„ 256, *line* 12, *for* Denmark *read* the Diocesan Registry, Madras

„ 296, „ 14, *for* 1891 *read* 1894

„ 344, „ 3, *after* Portuguese *insert* on the coast. (The local Portuguese and their descendants lay the stress on the first syllable. Their pronunciation of Thoma rhymes with Homer.)

„ 406 „ 14, *for* 1793 *read* 1783

„ 422 „ 9, *for* thank *read* thanked

„ 506 „ 9, *for* 1774 *read* 1778

„ 506 „ 11, *for* that same year *read* 1774

„ 575 „ 25, *for* May *read* April

„ 582 „ 25, *for* Dienst *read* Dienstmann

„ 599, *delete* note 3

„ 636, *line* 1, The Rev. T. A. C. Pratt was appointed Chaplain of Palamcottah in 1858, when the Company was insisting upon a separation of their own ecclesiastical affairs from all missionary effort. He officiated there till 1862. He was the last resident Chaplain.

„ 700, *after* Ridley *add* Ringeltaube, 633

„ 701, *under* Schwartz *add* portrait, 504

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE

CHURCH IN MADRAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY, 1609–1640

The ecclesiastical history, like the political and commercial history of the East India Company, resolves itself into definite periods, each period showing an advance in stability and prosperity. The first period must be reckoned from 1601 to 1640, during which the Company owned no land in the East. The original charter granted by Queen Elizabeth was a charter to form a Company and to provide for its orderly government, with a view to its object being carried out in a lawful manner. The chartered Company consisted of a few London merchants desirous of putting their capital into a common stock, and trading with it beyond the limits of the kingdom. The charter enabled them to sail their ships under a British flag, and to have all the privileges of protection which are part and parcel of that honour. It enabled them to carry out the purposes of their association, and to compete with the merchants of foreign nations on equal terms.

The Company were under no obligation to appoint Chaplains; but the London merchants were a God-fearing set of men then as now; and one cannot read the records without seeing how great a value they placed upon the observance of religious duty both amongst themselves and amongst those they employed. There is no record of any

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appointment of a Chaplain before 1607; but in the commission to their General,—the term they used for the chief person of their expeditions, who had supreme authority over all other persons, both merchants and seamen,—there is in the first seven voyages this paragraph[1]:—

'Item and for that religious government doth best bind men to perform their duties, it is principally to be cared for that prayers be said every morning and evening in every ship, and the whole company called thereunto with diligent eyes, that none be wanting; so as all may jointly with reverence and humility pray unto Almighty God, to bless and preserve them from all dangers in this long and tedious voyage; for the better performance whereof we have delivered to each of the pursers a Bible, wherein is contained the book of Common Prayer.'

In the Calendar of State Papers relating to the East Indies there are many early references to charitable grants made by the Company to ministers and poor preachers in England. In 1607 it was decided to employ some of these poverty stricken priests to go the voyage to India with their ships. After that date continual references are found to the trials, appointments, and allowances of preachers. The trial was by means of a sermon on a text of scripture chosen by the Company at one of their Court meetings, and preached before the Company at their parish Church.

The Company's first office and warehouse was at Sir Thomas Smyth's house, in the parish of St. Benet Gracechurch; here they remained from 1600 to 1621. They then moved to larger quarters which they found at Crosby Hall in the parish of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate; here they remained till 1638. The necessity of still larger quarters obliged them to move again in that year; and they hired Sir Christopher Clitheroe's house in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft; here they remained for ten years. In 1648 they moved to the adjoining house which was the property of Lord Craven and in the same parish; here they remained—though not in the same house all the time,—till 1858. The trial sermons were therefore preached in St. Benet Gracechurch

[1] *First Letter Book of the E.I. Co.*, 1619, edited by Birdwood & Foster.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

until 1621, and in Great St. Helen's from that date until 1638; and if any were preached after 1638, which is doubtful, they were preached in the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft. The first church no longer stands; the second and third were spared by the great fire of 1666; the pulpit of the second is dated 1633, and is the identical one in which several trial sermons were preached; the pulpit of the third is of a more modern date.

Beside this trial, enquiries were made of the private and public character of the candidates. The early Chaplains do not appear to have been licensed either by the Bishop of London or by the Archbishop of Canterbury. They had their letters of Orders and their general licence as preachers. With these they seem to have been at liberty to offer their services to the East India Company; and if the Company were satisfied with their characters, their scholarship and their ability, they appear to have been at liberty to employ them in their ships.

This system was wrong in principle and therefore bad in practice. There were some among the early Chaplains who were all that the Company could desire; but there were also some who ought not to have been employed.

The earliest English voyages were made to the west coast of India and to the Persian Gulf. The Company had a factory house at Suratt, and commercial agents at Ispahan and Ajmere. These, therefore, were the places which were visited by the first Chaplains.

In 1607 Henry Levett, Chaplain to Lord Pembroke, was offered £50 to go the voyage with £15 gratuity for the expenses of the journey. He was of Clare College Cambridge, B.A. 1599, M.A. 1603. Enquiries were made of his character, and he preached his trial sermon at St. Benet Gracechurch.

In 1609 Esdras Simpson was employed to go the voyage for £33 6s. 8d. yearly—that is, £100 for the three years, and a gratuity of £20 for provisions at sea. He was the son of Thomas Simpson, vicar of Kelvedon in Essex. His father resigned in 1604, and Esdras was instituted Vicar, the patron being the Bishop of London. In 1609 Esdras was for some reason deprived of his preferment; but was accepted by the Company.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Minute Books of the Court of Directors do not show that any appointment was made between 1609 and 1614. In that year five appointments were made, a number which seems to show that trade was increasing, and that a greater number of ships was being made use of to carry it on. These were the five:—

1. Master Rogers, a preacher at Deptford, 'esteemed an honest man and a good teacher but no scholar'; to have an allowance of £50 yearly.

2. Master Evans, the preacher, to have an allowance of £50 yearly.

3. Master James Cunningham, a preacher recommended by Mr. Offley; to have £100 yearly for three years if the good reports of him are confirmed by Mr. Newton, the late Prince's tutor. Cunningham or Coningham was described as a Master of Arts, but his University was not stated. On his return home in 1616 he was instituted to the rectories of St. Martin and Holy Trinity, Colchester. In 1628 he became Rector of Mose, Essex, where he died in 1630.[1]

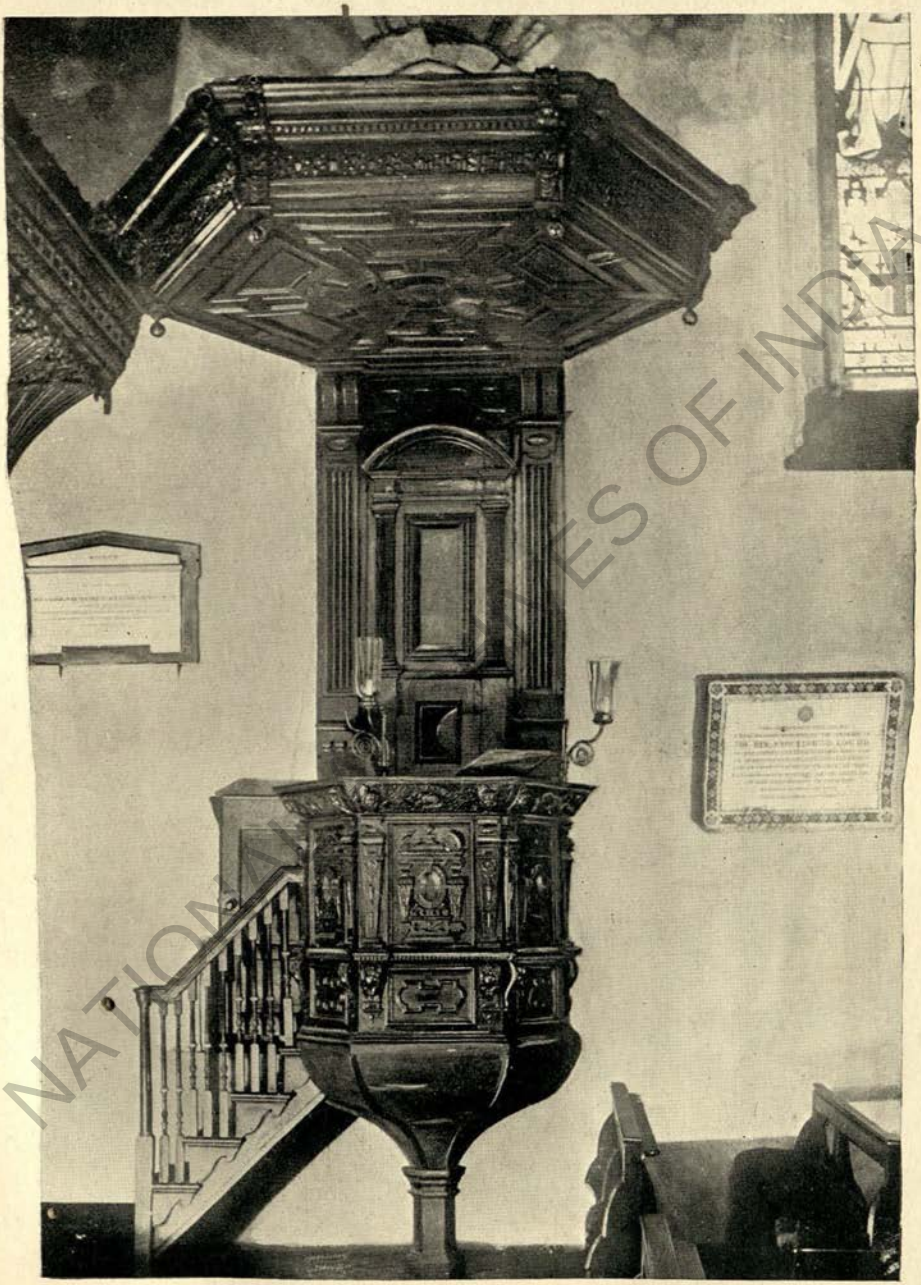
4. Master William Leske, the preacher, to be entertained at £100 yearly and £30 'to set him forth to sea, the Company being well satisfied of his learning and gravity, and being able to contest with and hold argument with the Jesuits, who are busy at Suratt.'

5. Master John Hall, who went as a Chaplain with Sir Thomas Roe and landed at Suratt with him in 1615. He was a native of Southampton; he graduated B.A. from Magdalene College Oxford in 1600, M.A. from Corpus Christi College (of which he was a Fellow) in 1604, and B.D. in 1613.

The Chaplains of the period were paid according to their qualifications; the five appointed in 1614 were all paid more than their predecessors. There was no fixed income and allowance before 1660. Of these five the first three appear to have gone the voyage and returned without leaving any record. William Leske went to Suratt and stayed there till 1617. Whilst there Sir Thomas Roe wrote to him a kindly appreciative letter from Ajmere dated the 27th April 1616, which

[1] *Repert. Eccl. Lond.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



THE PULPIT OF GREAT ST. HELEN'S, BISHOPSGATE, LONDON.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is reproduced in facsimile by Mr. William Foster in his book 'The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.' But Leske was relieved of his duties by the Agent and Council at Suratt and sent home in 1617; they wrote of him to their masters in London that he was a 'licentious ungodly liver' etc. John Hall only lived one year in the East; he died at Ajmere in November 1616, aged thirty-seven. Sir Thomas Roe wrote of him that he was 'a man of most gentle and mild nature, religious and of unspotted life.'

In 1615 the Company appointed Edward Terry for the period of a voyage: a voyage generally meant three, but sometimes four years; it included the time of the journey out and home, and the time that a vessel could cruise about from port to port in the tropics trading, without having to return to England to refit. Edward Terry arrived at Suratt in 1616. He was born at Leigh near Penshurst in Kent, and was educated at Rochester Grammar School and Christ Church, Oxford. He graduated B.A. in 1611, M.A. in 1614, and was elected to a Fellowship at Corpus Christi College[1] like his predecessor John Hall. On the death of Hall Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the factors at Suratt for another Chaplain; and Terry was sent up on the arrival of the ships. Sir Thomas Roe said in his letter, 'Here I cannot live the life of an atheist; let me desire you to endeavour my supply; for I will not abide in this place destitute of the comfort of God's word and heavenly sacraments.'

Edward Terry returned to England in 1619. Ten years later he became Rector of Greenford Magna in Middlesex. He was 'an ingenious and polite man, of a pious and exemplary conversation, a good preacher, and much respected by the neighbourhood where he lived'; he 'submitted to the men that bore sway in the time of the Rebellion,' so that he retained his rectory until his death in 1660.[2] Calamy says that during the Presbyterian usurpation he was a member of the Assembly of Divines; that he was a master of all the ancient learning of the Greek and Latin fathers; and that he

[1] Calamy, in his Abridgement of Baxter, says University College.
[2] Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. iii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was selected to preach the funeral sermon at Oxford on the death of Dr. Joshua Hoyle, the Regius Professor of Divinity.

He preached moderation to the ruling powers. One of his sermons, entitled Lawless Liberty, was delivered before the Lord Mayor and Corporation in 1646, and was by them ordered to be printed. It echoed the sentiments of the London merchants, who had everything to lose and nothing to gain by political disturbances in the kingdom.

More than once Edward Terry preached before the Court of Directors of the Company at Great St. Helen's. And when the Company moved their office into Leadenhall Street Master Terry preached before them more than once at St. Andrew Undershaft. The sermon preached by him in 1649 was published.[1] In this, as in other sermons, he warned the Company to consult their own best interest by sending out Chaplains in their ships; and not to leave their servants at their factories without the restraining influence of a good minister. In the Company's Court Minutes of 1619 there is a reference to a letter on this subject from Terry to the Court, which is described as 'comfortably and divinely written.' The expression is a testimony not only of the esteem in which the minister was held by the Court, but also of the coincidence of their opinion with his.

In 1615 the Company decided to establish a factory at one of the Dutch settlements in Sumatra. It was to be manned from the factory of Suratt. A staff of merchants was accordingly chosen there by David Midleton, the Company's General, and he issued a commission to them giving them authority to act on behalf of the Company. Having reminded them that his own authority was derived from the King's Majesty, he continued his charge as follows[2]:—

'First above all men living under the sun, we that be travellers by sea be much bound unto Almighty God, who see

[1] An epitome of it will be found in Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*.

Dr. Josias Shute, 'that worthy man,' preached the annual sermon at Great St. Helen's in 1632, 1633 and 1634. He also preached the Thanksgiving sermon on the safe return of the ships in 1640 before the Court at St. Andrew Undershaft (*Court Minutes*, 7 February, 1639–40). In 1633 the Directors gave 100*l.* at his request to the Repair Fund of Great St. Helen's.

[2] *Letters received by the E.I. Co.* vol. iii. edited by W. Foster.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

His wonders in the deep, and in a moment is able to turn the vessels wherein we live upon our heads, and call us to account for our forepassed life, if in His mercy He did not look favourably upon us. Therefore it behoves you principally to have respect that prayers be read morning and evening both ashore and aboard, and that none be wanting unless sickness be occasion, that you may jointly pray to the Almighty for a blessing upon you and upon your proceedings.'

The Sumatra staff were setting out on their venture without a Chaplain; the General, who had himself been charged on his appointment to observe his religious duties, and to see that his subordinates observed theirs, passed on this part of his charge to them; and it is easy to see that he did so in the spirit of the original charge, in the full conviction that he was urging the performance of what was best for the men he was sending forth. It would have been easy enough to have omitted this part of the charge if the Agent General had so willed. That he did not do so is sufficient proof of his religious intention.

The Chaplains appointed during the first period of the Company's history were not all of them such men as they and their servants abroad desired; but some of them were, and were quite remarkable men in their way. The following were appointed between 1615 and 1621:—

1617. James Rynd.	1619. Matthew Cardrowe.
— Thomas Fryday.	— Patrick Copland.
— Henry Golding.	— Robert Gould.
1618. Arthur Hatch.	— Samuel Crooke.

James Rynd stayed eight years in the East and died on the voyage home in 1626. Most of his service was spent in Batavia. The factors there wrote thus to the Company on his departure:—'Lastly Mr. Rynde, our preacher, is the conclusive passenger of note, who hath lovingly this last Sabbath included us in his hearty prayers. He hath lived among us peacefully without any touch of spleen or faction. His function he hath ever observed conformably, and his life no way deserving public reproach, though not free from imbecilities, as in all of us might be wished a bettering.' Like

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

some others of the early Chaplains James Rynd left his wife at home, and made her an allowance of half his pay through the Company. Andrew Rynde his brother, a preacher in Scotland, was the executor of his will.

Thomas Friday graduated B.A. from Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1607, and took his M.A. degree in 1611. He was entertained by the Company in 1617 and returned from the East in 1623. He was re-entertained in 1624 and died at Suratt in 1630. When he was reappointed in 1624 he was referred to in the Court Minutes of the Company as one 'who came home with good reputation, only some small touch of private trade'; this however he promised to forbear and to hinder in others. He wrote a letter to the Company in 1626,[1] which is a record of the jealousy between the nations that were contending for the commerce of the East at that time,[2] and of the extreme measures they adopted towards one another in the Eastern seas in consequence of that jealousy.

Henry Golding belonged to a family which had considerable landed property in the county of Essex. He was the private Chaplain of a nobleman, and was by him recommended to the Company. It is recorded of him that during the voyage out to Suratt he collected £200 for Wapping Church. The merchants and factors of Suratt had some cause to be jealous of Golding. In their general letter home in 1618 they referred to him scornfully as 'the gentlewomen's Chaplain'; and they added gratuitously, 'so long as the Company choose preachers recommended by noblemen's letters, how can they expect to be better served?' In 1633 Henry Golding was instituted to the vicarage of Mark's Tey in Essex.[3]

Arthur Hatch was a native of Devon. He matriculated at Exeter College Oxford in 1611, at the age of 18. He went three voyages. He was first entertained in 1618, after preaching his trial sermon at Great St. Helen's and being approved as a good scholar and gifted preacher. He returned in 1623; he was re-entertained in 1626, and returned in May 1629. The date of his third appointment cannot be found;

[1] *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies).*
[2] Portuguese, Dutch, and English.
[3] *Repert. Eccl. Lond.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

but he was certainly abroad in 1634.[1] His first voyage was to Japan. On his return he wrote by request his impressions of that country and its inhabitants,[2] dating the letter from Wingham in Kent.

Matthew Cardrowe was a native of Dorset. He matriculated at Trinity College Oxford in 1605, at the age of 17. He went to Ispahan, and returned in 1621. In 1620 he was rebuked by the factors at Ispahan for dice playing; and when they wrote home to the Company in 1621 they referred to him as their 'carnal minister,' who with their 'critical agent Monox' and their 'infernal physician Strachan' formed a 'triple conspiracy against merchantly carriage' and good manners.

Patrick Copeland is not mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers (East Indies) before 1619; but there is evidence from other sources that he was employed by the Company as early as 1612, that he went a second voyage in 1617, and a third voyage in 1619. He was deeply imbued with the missionary spirit; for this reason his life and work have been minutely traced and recorded.[3] He was both trusted and esteemed by the Company, and was referred to in the Court Minutes as 'that worthy preacher,' and as 'a sober, discreet man.'[4] On his return home in 1623 he was consulted by the Company with reference to the appointment of another Chaplain; so that he enjoyed the same kind of confidence as Edward Terry. Whilst in the service of the Company he took a very decided line with reference to the alliance with the Dutch. He expostulated with the Dutch for their unfriendliness abroad, and for their jealousy of the English merchants; he reminded them of the assistance given to them by the English against the Spaniards at home; and he added, 'but now you are free from the Spaniard at home, you fall out with your friends abroad.' He also blamed the English commanders for quarrelling with the Dutch. He preached a sermon on board one of the Company's ships

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (*East Indies*).
[2] Purchas' *Pilgrimages*, vol. ii. 1696.
[3] See Hough's *Christianity in India*; Memoir by E. D. Neill; *Fasti Acad. Marisc.* (Aberdeen), i. 159; *Scottish Notes and Queries*, v. 1 and x. 4.
[4] *Calendar of State Papers* (*East Indies*).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which caused the commanders to complain that the effect of his preaching was to take the heart out of the mariners. This charge was examined by the Court, and Copeland was questioned about it. His attempt to put a stop to the quarrellings and jealousies between the Dutch and English was doubtless good in itself; but the effort was unpopular; the memory of Amboyna[1] rankled in the minds of all Englishmen; the Directors acknowledged the excellence of his intentions, his personal worthiness and goodness; but they did not offer him another appointment.

Robert Gould went to Suratt in 1619.

Samuel Crooke went to Batavia the same year. He was the son of Dr. Thomas Crooke, Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, and Rector of Great Waldingfield, Suffolk. He was born at his father's rectory in January 1574–5; educated at Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College Cambridge; and was elected to a Fellowship at Emmanuel College. He was ordained in 1602 and became soon afterwards Rector of Wrington, Somerset. At Cambridge he was distinguished in Classics and Oriental studies. He probably accepted a Chaplaincy in the Company's service in order to pursue his favourite study of Oriental languages and literature. He submitted to the Parliamentarian test in 1643, and so remained at Wrington till his death, which took place in 1649. Both he and his father were eminent Puritans.

John Woolhouse offered his services in 1619; he was specially recommended by Dr. Hill and Dr. Meryall, two University professors; he preached his trial sermon at Great St. Helen's before the Court of Directors, was accepted, and went out with the fleet in 1620. From the East he returned in 1627. He was one of the early Chaplains who engaged in trade. If he had been content to join with the merchants abroad in the coast trade only nothing would have been said; but he brought home his small fortune in goods and applied to the Court for a mitigation of the freight. Terry had done the same thing, and the Court had granted his request. But it was evident that the setting aside of the rule prohibiting private importations in one case was leading to other applica-

[1] See Valentyn's *History*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tions and would lead to others also. The Directors therefore refused his application, charged him the full freight, and delivered him his bond by which he had pledged himself not to do what he had done. In 1633 Woolhouse applied for re-appointment, and was recommended by Viscount Falkland; but as there were other applicants, well recommended, his application was rejected. Soon afterwards he was instituted to the Vicarage of West Mersey in Essex, where he remained till he was ejected by the rebels in 1643.

In these early days the patience of the Company was greatly tried by reports of the immoral conduct of their servants abroad. When the subject of the appointment of Chaplains came before them in 1624 they put on record that 'the debauched carriage of divers abroad had almost discouraged them from sending any.' They knew nothing except by report. All through the century there were jealousies between the Company's Chiefs ashore and the Company's Commanders afloat; each thought the other had greater trade advantages than himself; and each reported against the other. The Directors, however, recovered their equanimity, and went on making appointments; in this decision they were probably influenced by their former Chaplains Terry and Copeland.

The Rector of Great St. Helen's in 1618 was the Rev. Dr. Wood. The Company in their corporate capacity were his parishioners, so that he was naturally attracted to the consideration of their concerns. They had no Chaplain then at Poplar; so he commenced a system of preaching on board their ships before they started on their long voyages. He also compiled a small book of devotion for sailors and travellers in their service; and received the thanks of the Court and a present of 20 Jacobas towards the expense of printing it.

The following Chaplains were appointed between 1620 and 1635:—

1623. Edward Young.
1624. Mr. Lord.
— Mr. Wren.
1626. Lewis Williams.
1628. Thomas Fuller.
1630. George Collins.
1633. Theodore Holditch.
— William Crossthwaite.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Edward Young was of Queen's College Cambridge, B.A. 1619, M.A. 1623. Messieurs Lord and Wren cannot be identified ; but from a study of the University and ecclesiastical lists of the time there can be little doubt that Wren belonged to the family which in the next generation produced the great architect. The trial sermons of these three were all preached at Great St. Helen's.

Lewis Williams was also of Queen's College Cambridge, from which college he graduated B.A. in 1603 and M.A. in 1607. After preaching his trial sermon he was given his appointment by the Company, but with some hesitation ; for in spite of his preaching power there was a feeling in the Board room that he was not the right person to appoint. He stated that he was unmarried, but six months after his departure application was made on behalf of his wife by Mr. William Pritchard, vicar of Battersea, for half his wages. The Company gave her some assistance, but resolved that Williams should be recalled if found in any way insufficient. In their next letter to Suratt they expressed their wish to the factors, with the result that Williams was sent home in October 1627.

Thomas Fuller was not 'the worthy' who was born in 1608; but another Thomas who took his B.A. degree from Pembroke College Cambridge in 1612. He went to Swally, a small factory subordinate to Suratt, on the Bombay coast. The Chief of the factory informed the Company that he 'supplied his room with the good will of all men,' and added 'we would have kept Mr. Fuller the Minister . . . but he was not very willing to stay ; we are bold to intreat in his behalf if he is willing to come back ; his doctrine and life being so exemplary as we doubt of his like.' In another letter of the same year they say, 'Mr. Fuller, our Minister, has at last been persuaded to stay ; we doubt not a man of his quality and demeanour will draw a blessing upon their labours surpassing the Company's charge by his detention.' Fuller returned home in 1632. Like some of the other Chaplains he was a married man, and his wife drew a portion of his pay from the Company during his absence.

George Collins remained four years in Ispahan and returned home in 1634. Like some of his predecessors he

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was not physically able to bear life in the tropics. This is what the Agent wrote of him: 'This country travels have quite disheartened him from any longer residence, therefore is departed, we suppose, to seek a place of more ease; not that we do not desire the conversation of an upright man that might guide us in the true way, but do not much sorrow for his miss; we have more ado to accommodate these ministers to their desires than most of the factory besides, they are so troublesome. The two that have been here in Gibson's time were the tenderest chickens we ever met; and unless hereafter they are hardier, to be plain, we had rather have their room than their company.'

In 1633 there were four applications for two appointments; one Chaplain was to be sent 'for northwards and one for southwards.' Theodore Holditch was of St. John's College, Cambridge; he graduated B.A. in 1623 and M.A. in 1627. William Crossthwaite was of Trinity College Cambridge; he graduated B.A. in 1612.

The candidates preached their trial sermons as usual and these two were chosen. Both were recommended by Directors. It was at this period that recommendations of members of the Board began to be preferred to others. Later on the system became stereotyped into one of patronage, which was generally exercised by members of the Board in rotation.

In 1634 there were three candidates[1] for two appointments, 'one for northwards and one for southwards.' They preached their trial sermons as usual, but there is no record that any one of them was appointed.

With regard to the Chaplain 'for southwards' the trade with the further east was growing year by year, so that the number of ships sent southwards was yearly increasing. The first factory the Company had upon the Coromandel coast was at Masulipatam; ships to the further east called there on their way out and home. The first Company's ship to touch at that port was the Globe in 1610. It landed three representative merchants. Two years later a factory was established at Bantam. From that date the Company's ships went as regularly to the south as to the north; some carrying

[1] Reyner, Sugden, and Westfield.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chaplains and some not. As far as can be gathered from the records the first Chaplains to visit Masulipatam—the name was then written Metchlepatam,—were James Rynd, Thomas Fryday and Patrick Copeland. Their stay at the port was no longer than the stay of the ships, whose destination was the more important factories eastward. Still Masulipatam has the honour to be the site of the first English factory on the Coromandel coast, and to have the earliest connection with the ministers of British Christianity.

It is pleasing to notice that at this early period the London merchants who formed the East India Company were interested in the evangelisation of the heathen. The following are extracts from the Court Minutes :—

'19 August 1614. Captain Best having brought home a young youth, an Indian, whoe was taught by Mr. Copland the Preacher to wright and reade, and is very apt to learne, The Company therefore resolved to have him kept here to schoole to bee taught and enstructed in religion that hereafter being well grounded he might upon occasion bee sent unto his countrye where God may be soe pleased to make him an instrument in converting some of his nation, And resolved to have 20 markes per annum allowed for that purpose, and that if Mr. Copland the Preacher should undertake another voyage that then this youth should be permitted to go and attend him.'

It is evident from this letter that Copeland returned from a voyage in 1614 with Captain Best and the native boy. The boy remained in his charge and care and tutorship until the following July when he wrote to the Governor of the Company, Sir Thomas Smyth, about him. This is the entry in the Court Minute Book :—

'18 July 1615. A letter was red wrytten by Mr. Patrick Copland to Mr. Governor bearinge date the 6th of this instant, giveing to understand howe much the Indian youth (recommended to his care) had profited in the knowledge of Christian religion, soe that hee is able to render an account of his faith, And therefore desired to receive directions from Mr. Governor concerning the baptizinge of him, beinge of opinion that it were fitt to have it publicly effected, being the first

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

fruits of India, etc. This Court beinge desirous to understand the opinion of my Lord's grace of Canterburie before they would resolve anything in soe waightie a buysines, entreated Mr. Deputy [1] to speak with his grace and know his pleasure therein. And for the other parte of Mr. Copland's letters desiringe to have the years's allowance for the youth to be paid uinto Mr. Daniel Wight. They ordered to have it delivered accordingly.'

The Archbishop was consulted, and approved of the proposal. On the 22 December 1616 the young man was christened at St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street; the occasion was recognised to be one of unique importance. There were present some members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the members of the East India Company and of the sister Company of Virginia [2]; the Church was packed and there was an immense crowd outside. Dr. John Wood of Great St. Helen's officiated. The name given in baptism was chosen by the King. The young man gave a public confession of his faith in answer to questions showing that he understood what he was doing. The record of the interesting event was entered in the parish register thus [3]:—

'1616 Dec. 22. An East Indian was Christened by the name of Peter.'

A few weeks afterwards Copeland and the youth departed on another voyage; it was on this voyage in the Royal James that Copeland collected money for the building of a school and the prosecution of a mission in Virginia. He returned in 1621; in 1622 he preached a memorable sermon at St. Mary le Bow Church, Cheapside, before the Hon. Virginia Company; by this means he raised more money for his Virginia mission. The sermon was published with this title, 'Virginia's God be thanked,' and may be consulted at the British Museum. In the sermon he referred to the boy Peter; and at the end of the sermon are printed three

[1] Mr. Morris Abbott, brother of the Archbishop.
[2] *Memoir of the Rev. Patrick Copland*, by E. D. Neill.
[3] *Harleian Society's Registers*, vol. iii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

letters in creditable Latin from the boy himself, one to the Governor of the East India Company, and two to the Commander of the vessel he sailed in. In these letters he signs his name in Latin, Petrus Papa, and in the English translation Peter Pope; which shows that during the last voyage he acquired a second name of the nature of a surname. There is nothing to show how he got it. In the margin of the sermon at the place where the boy is referred to without name is this printed note 'Peter Pope, so named by His Majesty'; but his Christian name according to the register was Peter only.

It is not possible to determine exactly what place in India the boy came from; he is said to have been born in the Bay of Bengala. At all events he was taught by one of the Company's Chaplains at the Company's expense, and was baptized in the City of London under their auspices, in the presence of a famous assembly brought together by their influence. It was the first of a long series of evangelistic efforts made by the Hon. Company.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1640–1660

In the year 1639 the principal factory on the Coromandel coast was at Masulipatam. It had been since its establishment subordinate to the President and Council of Bantam. The Agent was Mr. Andrew Cogan; and the Council which assisted him in the administration of the Company's affairs included Francis Day, Thomas Peniston, Thomas Morris, Thomas Winter, and Thomas Ivie. These were not all resident at Masulipatam; some of them were at the head of smaller factories either on the coast or inland.

Up to this time the policy of the Company had been to keep aloof from the acquisition of property in the East. In their eyes property meant disputes and complications with native rulers and other owners. Their highest ambition was to carry goods safely to the East, dispose of them profitably, and bring back Eastern products to the port of London. The policy of the Dutch East India Company had been to acquire sites, erect defensive forts, and to found secure settlements, where they and their goods could be safe from hostile attack.

The English merchants commenced operations as the friends and allies of the Dutch; depending upon them entirely for ports and harbours, and largely for supplies and markets. After an experience of nearly 40 years the Company's agents in the East had come to the conclusion that the Dutch policy was a better one than their own. Their masters in London, however, took no steps in the direction of their best interests. And so the Factors, who were in the uncomfortable position of being dependent upon the Dutch for all they had and for all they did, practically took the matter into their

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

own hands, and looked around for a place where they could establish themselves in a territory and fort of their own.

The story of the granting of the Firman to Francis Day on behalf of the Honourable Company 'for tradeing and fortifieing at Medraspatam'—of the reason of his choosing this particular place—and of the building of the Fort have already been told.[1] But a few words regarding the shape and size of the Fort at this period, thirty years before Fryer[2] saw it, will be of interest. Fryer describes the Fort fairly accurately, but gives a map which is misleading because not drawn to scale. When looking at Fryer's map it has to be remembered that (as he says) the inner Fort measured 108 by 100 yards, the longer length being parallel to the sea shore. This inner Fort was inclosed by four boundary walls, having bastions at each corner. The eastern and western boundaries of the outer fort were each about 400 yards long[3]; the northern boundary about 200 yards; and the southern boundary about 150 yards. The enclosure formed an irregular quadrilateral, and measured about 14 acres. Between the walls of the inner Fort and the walls of the outer Fort was the space which was given up for the building of houses. The Portuguese, who were attracted from St. Thoma, were settled in the northern part of this space; here they built their chapel, and had a small burial-ground. The Governor, the Chaplain and some of the unmarried factors lived within the inner Fort. Some of the English Factors and free merchants lived in houses on the west side of the larger enclosure, whose gardens extended to the western boundary. Others lived in streets to the south of the inner Fort.

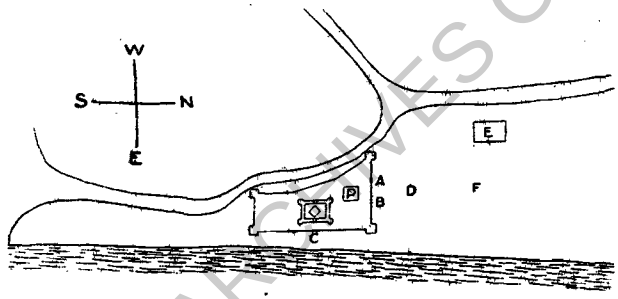
The inner Fort was completed first; the outer walls were built by degrees. There was no wall on the sea face until 1652, when war broke out with the Dutch.[4] There were two gates on the north side, as shown by Fryer; and a sea gate on the east side, which Fryer does not show. The inner Fort had two entrances, one on the east and one on the west: the

[1] *The Founding of Fort St. George*, by William Foster. *The History of Fort St. George*, by Mrs. F. Penny.
[2] Fryer's *Account of East India*, written about 1673.
[3] Hamilton's Account in Moore's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. 673.
[4] Bruce's *Annals*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

latter was the principal entrance; it had a guard room on each side of it. The native town of Madraspatam was separated by a wide parade from the northern wall of the Fort. The Directors were not at first pleased with Cogan and Day, who had most to do with the inauguration of the new policy; but they were soon convinced of its rightness; and they gave orders from time to time to strengthen the Fort and render it secure. It was strengthened in 1652 by President Aaron Baker; it was strengthened again by Sir Edward Winter in 1663, and by Sir William Langhorne in 1675.

FORT ST. GEORGE, 1655.



A. The Choultry Gate.
B. The Middle Gate.
C. The Sea Gate.
D. The open space.
F. The Black Town.
E. The Burial Ground.
P. The Capuchin Chapel, Clergy-Quarters, and Burial ground.

Not drawn exactly to scale. *F. P.*

But our present business is with ecclesiastical matters. There is no record of any Chaplain's visit to Fort St. George before 1647; but it is likely enough that a passing visit was paid by one of the ships' Chaplains on the way out to Bantam or on the return journey. The earliest record is that of a desire for a Chaplain by the Factors and soldiers in the Fort in the year 1644. Fort St. George had been made two years before subordinate to Suratt. In a letter from the President and Council at Suratt to their honourable masters in London, dated January[1] 1644-5, there is a list of the various wants

[1] *Factory Records* at the India Office; Original Correspondence (O.C.) No. 1884.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Company's servants in the East. The 10th paragraph says: 'A minister is needful at Fort St. George unto which place Mr. Isaacson from Suratt was designed.' In October 1645 the Agent and Council at Fort St. George added this postscript to their ordinary business letter home [1]:—'At the sealing up hereof we were presented with a petition from the soldiers for the desiring of a Minister to be here with them for the maintenance of their soules' health, which petition goeth herewith beseeching your wisdom's devote consideration thereon.'

At the end of 1647 Master Isaacson arrived at Fort St. George [2]; he was the first resident Chaplain of the Company's first possession in India. He had been at Suratt since 1644.[3] In the year 1645 he and Master Reginald Swayle, who was at Bantam, were the only Chaplains in the service of the Company in the East. It seems probable that when Isaacson was transferred he wrote a complaint to his father, who occupied a high position in the city of London; for his father requested that he should be re-transferred to Suratt, and his request was granted.[4] The order arrived at Fort St. George in the middle of 1648; but he did not at once return to Suratt. The Company's servants at the Fort desired him to stay; and as the coast was not such an unpleasant place as he anticipated, he remained apparently till the end of the year. The Agent and Council wrote this excuse for keeping him in September 1648 [5]:—

'We cannot but humbly express our sorrow for your worship's order in your letter to the President and Council in Bantam touching the return of our Minister Mr. Isaacson to Suratt, not having been pleased to supply his room with another; since even the very opinion of that President and Council, as of all others, that such a civil and well governed man is as much, if not more, necessary and importing the religion order and reputation of this place where you have

[1] O.C. No. 1953.
[2] O.C. No. 2046 gives a list of the residents at Fort St. George in October 1647; there was no Chaplain there then.
[3] O.C. No. 1910.
[4] *Court Minute Book*, 26 Nov. 1647.
[5] O.C. No. 2085.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

so many servants and other Christians living under your command, and wanting instructions as any other your Factories in India whatsoever; and we doubt not of prevailing with your said President and Council to admit of his continuance here before we shall have any ship to transport him thither; therefore we beseech your worships to approve of his stay here until you please to send out such another (although none for comportment and language can fit this place better than Mr. Isaacson) and not to be offended at this our reasonable request which is so considerably necessary for the good of your servants, and repute of your town, whose inhabitants as well as our neighbours are apt to observe how much your worships seem to slight this place in so small a matter.'

This letter was signed by Henry Greenhill the Agent, William Gurney and Martin Bradgate, members of Council. William Isaacson returned to Suratt in 1648 and was there in 1649[1] and 1650.[2] His successor at the Fort was Robert Winchester. The following letter explains the circumstances of his appointment. It is a letter from the Agent and Council of Fort St. George to the Company, dated 18 January 1650–1[3]:—

'As we remanded Mr. Isaacson according to order for Suratt, so hath the President and Council since taken care to see us re-supplied with Mr. Robert Winchester, a Minister that came out in the Squire Courten service with Captain Durson in the Loyalty, from whom having received many discontents, deserted the employment and retired to Suratt; from thence as aforesaid for his preaching ability, civil comportment and temperance recommended to us, which having experienced now almost three-fourths of a year so agreeable to report, we are not only thankfully contented with him, but do also become humble petitioners to your Worships that you will be pleased to continue him at this place with allowance of the wonted stipend, seeing as yet no agreement hath been made with him either at Suratt or in this place, but wholly refer himself unto your pleasures.'

The date of Mr. Winchester's arrival can be judged from

[1] O.C. Letter dated 7 March 1649–50, from Isaacson to the reverend Mr. Joshua Blackwell of Suratt, welcoming him back to Christianity after his apostasy to Mahommedanism.
[2] *Court Minutes*, vol. 21, fol. 5.
[3] O.C. No. 2238.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this letter to have been about April 1650. He remained at Fort St. George till the end of 1651; the Agent and Council wrote to the Company on the fourteenth of January 1651–2 as follows [1]:—

'Our late Minister, Mr. Robert Winchester, drawn on by the indisposition of his body and Mr. Isaacson's designment hither from Suratt, is licensed to pass home upon the frigate Welcome; he hath not here received any gratification from us, but humbly refers himself to your Worships' bounty, which we shall hope to be in the same proportion with others of his quality shipped out in the service; his civil and godly conversation hath deserved it without addition of his charge here and in coming hither for above two years' time, besides what the owners may require for his passage; though we are confident their noble dispositions will not demand ought from persons of his quality and function.'

The exact date of Robert Winchester's departure can almost be fixed. On the 30 Dec. 1651 an agreement was entered into between Agent Greenhill and the Captain-General of St. Thoma regarding slaves and fugitives. Robert Winchester, Minister, witnessed it.[2] On the 10th January 1651–2 a list of the Company's servants on the coast was sent home [3]; there was no Minister then at any of the Factories.

Winchester was in London in October 1652, as the following extract from the Court Minutes of the 1st Oct. shows:—

'Upon the desire of Mr. Robert Winchester, Minister, lately returned from the coast, for allowance of salary, he having been there almost three years, and during which time he had received nothing for his pains, of whom the Court being very well satisfied concerning his ability and demeanour they were pleased by erection of hands to order he should receive £100 in full of all his said pains, not by way of salary but in compensation of his services aboard several of the Company's ships and on shore at the coast of Choromandell; which being made known unto him he thankfully accepted thereof, and desired that he might spend an hour or two in the pulpit in the audience of the Company; which the Court

[1] O.C. No. 2246. [2] O.C. No. 2238. [3] O.C. No. 2243.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

approved of, and resolved to appoint a time for the same when he should give them notice that he was ready for them.'

The Court of Directors appointed Mr. Joseph Thomson to be one of their Chaplains towards the close of the decade 1640–50. He was at Bantam [1] January 1650–1 and in January 1651–2, as appears from the following extract from the Court Minutes [2]:—

'The Court this day, taking into consideration what answer to return to divers particulars of the letter received from the coast of Coromandel, did in the first place direct that if Mr. Baker [3] should carry Mr. Thomson the Minister from Bantam to the Coast, then that Mr. Winchester should be returned into England, and have 100 Ryalls etc.; but if Mr. Thomson should not come with Mr. Baker as aforesaid, or be deceased before the Love come thither (which God forbid) then it was ordered that Mr. Winchester should be detained there as Minister; and the Company promise to gratify him when he comes home.'

In the early part of 1652 Joseph Thomson was still at Bantam.[4] On Whitsunday 1653 he was at Fort St. George. In 1653 one of the Factors, John Leigh, brought a charge against James Martin, Captain of the soldiers, that he was the enemy of God, of the State, and of the Company; he cited Joseph Thomson as a witness, he being present at Fort St. George on Whitsunday 1653, and hearing Martin speak against the Holy Scriptures. The quarrel was of no importance, and would not be mentioned now, but that the charges and counter-charges contain occasional references to Mr. Thomson the Minister, who would take neither side. Martin was a royalist, and Leigh a puritan. Martin was accused of saying (amongst other things) that the Presbyterians had taken away the King and the Bishops, that the Independents had taken away the Presbyterians, and that he hoped the devil would take away the Independents. Henry Greenhill,

[1] O.C. No. 2207.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 1650–9, vol. 23, fol. 52.
[3] The newly appointed President of Fort St. George.
[4] *Court Minutes*, 3rd Sept. 1652, fol. 77.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Agent at Masulipatam, wrote to the Company a temperate letter,[1] showing that Captain Martin was a 'dangerous, quarrelsome, insulting person, with whom it is not possible to live peaceably.' Martin died at Fort St. George on the 27th June, 1654. Leigh then accused various Factors of cheating, including John Chambers and Yardley who were members of Council. After enquiry he was imprisoned in his chamber for 14 days by President Aaron Baker. It is to be observed that the Factory authorities tried to keep British politics at a distance in the administration of the Company's affairs, and that the Chaplain Joseph Thomson sided with them.

Robert Wynchester must have come out again in the 1653 fleet, for his name is on the list of inhabitants of the Fort in 1654; and as Thomson's name is not on that list, it is probable that he was transferred to Masulipatam, where we next meet him. Isaacson also must have come out with the ships of the following year 1654; for in a letter written to the Agent in August 1660, hereafter printed, he states that he was at the Fort during the Presidentship of Aaron Baker.

Henry Greenhill succeeded Baker as President at the end of the year 1654. Whilst on a tour of inspection in October 1655 a meeting of the Agent and Council was held at Verasheroon—a small Factory subordinate to Masulipatam—and this resolution was passed[2]:—

'It was propounded touching Mr. Thomson and his wife that if they cannot find this year convenient passage for their country, and that if they remain at Fort St. George, they shall have diet at the Company's table; but Mr. Thomson himself is to be referred to the Company's pleasure what salary he shall have for his pains.'

This meant that his covenant time was expired, and that he was at liberty to go home if he wished, but that the authorities would make what provision they could for him if he elected to stay.

On the 4th of December 1655 the Council met at Masulipatam and considered the general subject of allowances at Fort

[1] O.C. No. 2374. [2] O.C. No. 2502.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

St. George and the other Factories. This is an extract from the Minutes[1]:—

'Next was had into consideration what portion of means was thought needful to be allowed for such of the Company's servants as are to reside at Madraspatam and Metchlepatam and the subordinate factories for their necessary expenses.'

It was agreed that 30 old pagodas should be allowed to Mr. Francis Winter, Esquire, to uphold the Company's houses at Metchlepatam and three smaller Factories; 'and 60 new Pagodas' for the President and two Factors, the Minister and his wife, and Chirurgeon at Fort St. George.' This is the first reference in the history of the Company to allowances for the upkeep of houses. The minutes are signed by Henry Greenhill, the chief Agent on the Coast, and seven others, namely Christopher Yardley, Edward Winter, William Curtis, John Leigh, Thomas Chamber, Martin Bradgate and John Chambers. This resolution is remarkable because the Factors resolved to make some provision out of their local resources for their Minister, their Surgeon and themselves, without the previous sanction of the Company.

Thomson set out for home in the early part of 1658; and having served 2½ years beyond his covenant time at Fort St. George, it was ordered at the Company's meeting[2] in September of that year 'that Mr. Joseph Thomson, Minister, lately returned from the Coast, should be paid the sum of £233 10s. 0d., being the foote of his account.'[3]

William Isaacson, who left Fort St. George and went to Suratt in 1648 and was last heard of at Fort St. George in 1654, returned to the Fort at the end of 1657, and remained as Minister there on the departure of Joseph Thomson. A

[1] O.C. No. 2510.

[2] *Court Minutes*, 7th Sept. 1658, fol. 322.

[3] The historian Kaye (*Administration of the E.I. Co.*, ed. 1853) confounds this Chaplain, whose Christian name was Joseph, with another Chaplain appointed in 1667–8, whose Christian name was William. Kaye also says that the early Chaplains were intended only for the Company's ships; this also is a mistake. And he states (p. 628) that on the establishment of the Fort St. George Factory, the Factors made use of the services of a Capuchin friar, who, when it became known at Goa, paid the penalty of his toleration in accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement, by suffering five years' imprisonment at the hands of the Inquisition. But he does not give any authority for this statement.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

document dated 18 January 1657–8 [1] gives a list of men's names in Fort St. George at that time. It includes Henry Greenhill, Agent, Thomas Chamber, Accountant, William Isaacson, Minister, two Factors, a Surgeon, a Commandant, two Assistant Factors, a Gunner, a Sergeant, two Corporals, twenty English soldiers, and forty-nine Portuguese and Mistezoes [2] soldiers. An order of precedence seems to be observed in the list.

A petition of this period to the Agent and Council dated June 1658,[3] contains a reference to 'Padre Isaacson'; it shows how early this affectionate style of designation was made use of. Isaacson was zealous in the exercise of his ministry. When the Fort was built the Agents invited some of the Portuguese of St. Thoma, both pure-blooded and half-blooded, to settle in it as traders and as soldiers. They allotted the immigrants plots of land inside the Fort on which they were allowed and encouraged to build houses; and for the soldiers who were employed houses were built at the expense of the Company. This colony of foreigners were all of the Roman Catholic faith. They were allowed and encouraged to bring their families with them; so that, as few of the English Factors and Merchants were married, the wives and daughters of the Portuguese formed the great majority of the women in the Fort. The inevitable result of an arrangement of this kind happened. Some of the Factors and of the English soldiers took the daughters as their wives, and children were born to them. By the time Isaacson arrived at the Fort on his third tour of duty, the question of the baptism of the children of these marriages had arisen. Isaacson took counsel with the Agent and the principal Factors. He found Agent Thomas Chamber unfavourable to his plan of stopping the Roman Catholic ministrations by expelling the French priests from the Fort; but he had the sympathy of the rest of the Factors; and he persuaded them to write a letter to the Directors complaining of the growing

[1] O.C. No. 2643.

[2] 'Mestiços,' persons of mixed Portuguese and native blood. See a valuable note by A. T. Pringle in vol. iii. (1684) of the Fort St. George Consultation Books.

[3] O.C. No. 2654.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

influence of the Roman Catholics. The letter was as follows[1]:—

'Rt. Worshipful Sirs,—In your order and instructions given to your several factories here in India, we find that you ever begin (as it is most meet) with the worship of God, to which order we willingly and cheerfully submit (as in conscience we are bound). Yet we cannot but acknowledge that there are several persons who are fallen from our congregations, having been seduced by two French mendicant friars, who by the assistance of the English formerly built them a church, in the heart of your Honours' town, and by the encouragement of the present Agent, dare boldly perform their idolatrous rites and ceremonies to the great scandal of our nation that suffers them.

'1st. First they are allowed at the burial of their dead to move before the corpse with bell, book, candle and cross, to the great discontent of those that know not how to remedy it, living under the arbitrary government of one man, which will not advise with his Council in matters which concern the government of your Honours' town.

attested by me William Isaacson

'2dly. In the second place, if any Christians belonging to our congregation are visited with any sickness, they will be so bold as to intrude into our Minister's office of visiting them; and, like the Devil, endeavour to lay their strongest batteries whilst they are weakest, to seduce them if they can to their idolatrous custom of setting the Images of Saints before them, that they may pray to them; and this they do in the night, for our sick men are forced to lie out of the Fort for want of accommodation.

attested by me William Isaacson

'3dly. They have likewise in the night gone to Englishmen's houses, when they have been upon their duty in the Fort, whose wives are newly delivered, to baptise young infants, pretending them to be very weak, which hath been found false; yet for these things we can have no redress here.

'The humble request therefore of us your subscribers is that your Honours would please to take these things seriously into your considerations, and to free us from those two idolatrous friars; for it is certain so long as they are permitted to reside in this place, whatsoever Minister your Honours shall send out, shall find but little comfort in his labours, and as little respect from him that now reigns in this place.

'We could add much more, but desire not to be too tedious

[1] O.C. No. 2840, with spelling modernised.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to your Honours; we shall only say thus much, if your Honours please to condescend to this our reasonable and conscionable request, it will be necessary to send out your positive commands, like the laws of the Medes and Persians not to be altered or contradicted by any power in this place. We are bold to give this caution by reason that Agent Chamber hath declared publicly that the friars shall not be turned out, so long as he stays in this place.

'We send you this letter by the hands of our Minister, Mr. William Isaacson, who can say more concerning this business, etc.

'Your Honours' most humble servants to command,

'William à Court, 'Thos. Shingler,
'William Daniell, 'Wm. Gyfford,
'Henry Thurscross.

'In Fort St. George:
'Jan. 24, 1659-60.'

Evidently William Isaacson intended to have gone home in the early part of 1660, and to have taken the letter with him. But this intention was not carried out. The letter was not communicated to the Agent; but it is not surprising to find that the fact of its having been written came in time to his knowledge. In the early part of August 1660 Agent Chamber demanded of Mr. Isaacson why he had written to the Honourable Company in conjunction with others, and what he had added under his own signature in the letter. In reply, Isaacson wrote the following letter to the Agent, dated the 10th of August [1]:—

'Sir,—Your Worship was pleased a few days since to demand of me the reason of the writing of a letter to the Honourable Company bearing date 24 January 1659–60, which (though it were more proper for the subscribers to give) I have (with as much brevity as I could) in the ensueing lines declared as far as I am concerned therein.

'Your Worship may please to remember that one night about the latter end of last year, after supper, you were pleased to call Mr. Thomas Shingler, Mr. William Gyfford, Mr. Henry Thurscrosse, and myself into your chamber, where, amongst other discourse, some of the French Padres' actions in the matter of their superstitious ceremonies were

[1] O.C. No. 2856.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

urged by Mr. Thomas Shingler as inconvenient and scandalous to Englishmen, and that it was more fit they should be turned out of the town than suffered to reign in that power they then did. This, Sir, you may remember was urged very hot by Mr. Shingler, and (I cannot but confess) with a great deal of reason, although my silence at that time gave your Worship occasion to tell Mr. Shingler that I, who stood by and said nothing, had more reason to speak than he had, yet was silent. But the result was that your Worship declared they, viz.: the French Padres, should not be turned out of the town so long as you continued in power. There were other things likewise urged at the same time, as the conveniency of sending young Andrew Cogan along with Mr. Gyfford to Macassar, not only that he might learn somewhat under him, but likewise that he might be diverted from the French Padres' follies, to which he had been too much seduced. To which motion your Worship at that time seemed willingly to condescend, and promised to put it into execution; but in two or three days after (by the French Padres' persuasions) your Worship's mind was altered, so that now the boy has become their proselyte. Seeing the French Padres to bear so much sway in this business as well as in others, it was thought convenient to write to the Honourable Company for redress, and was accordingly put in execution, Mr. Shingler drawing a form which he delivered into my hands, and desired me either to add or alter what I should think fit; I altered but little or nothing; what I added was approved of on condition that I would attest it myself, which I promised to do in the margin of the letter before I delivered it to the Honourable Company. The second and third clauses were the additions; the first of which is concerning the French Padres baptising of Englishmen's children in private, of which I can give an instance in Mr. Ivie's time, then Agent, at my first coming to this place. The child was a soldier's belonging to the Fort (as the mother of the child affirmed); his name was Richard Underwood; who coming to me to desire me to baptise his child, and going about to provide gossips, one of the French Padres (Ephraim de Nevers by name) hearing of it, comes in a great fury to me, and tells me he hoped I would not baptise a child which was baptised before; which I wondered at, and sent for the father of the child, and acquainted him with it, who protested he never knew of any such thing; and the Padre himself being demanded who were witnesses, would not tell the Agent,

pretending that he could not. Upon which the Agent gave him a check, and threatened if he heard of any more such complaints, he would turn him out of the town. So the child was baptised by me in the form which the Church enorders in such cases of uncertainty.

'The other clause which I promised to attest was concerning their visiting our sick which lie out of the Fort; I could instance in several, but will mention but one at present, William Newbegan by name, who lying upon his death bed, I going (that night in which he departed this world) to visit him, found Padre Zenon upon his knees close by him, either praying by him, or confessing him, I know not which; but as soon as he espied me, away he slipt; of which his bold intrusion into my office I complained to President Baker, and I think he rebuked him for it; but to my knowledge they have been guilty of the same fact several times since. This is all that I shall say at present concerning the two afore mentioned clauses; what else is inserted in the letter, 'tis fit the subscribers (if any) should declare, but this is the declaration of me

'WILL. ISAACSON.

'Fort St. George
'Aug. le 10th, 1660.'

From this letter it is evident that Isaacson was in the Fort some time during the reign of President Aaron Baker. The name of William Newbegan is on the list[1] of inhabitants despatched from Fort St. George at the end of the year 1654, in which Henry Greenhill appears as Agent. Aaron Baker gave place to Greenhill in January 1654–5. It is reasonable to suppose that Newbegan died at about this time, just before Baker gave over charge, and that this must have been the time when the incident took place which Isaacson describes. There is no other record of Isaacson's presence at the Fort at this time. Probably he came down with one of the ships from Suratt or from England, and did duty whilst he stayed ashore, thus giving Joseph Thomson an opportunity to visit Masulipatam.

It is also evident that Isaacson used the Prayer Book of the Church of England, though its use had been proscribed by the English Parliament since January 1645.

[1] O.C. No. 2457.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The above letter of Isaacson to the Agent, Mr. Thomas Chamber, had the twofold effect of causing the Agent to consult the other Merchants and Factors at the Fort about the French Padres, and then to issue an order regulating their proceedings. He seems to have explained to the Factors the reason of his original refusal to forbid the Padres the Fort; and as the reason was both politic and prudent, the wonder is that he had not taken them into his confidence before. If he had banished the Padres, the Portuguese soldiers would probably have deserted. William à Court, the senior Factor, accepted his explanation at once, and added a postscript to the letter of the 24th of January dating it August 1660; he mentioned that the Governor had forbidden public processions, and that the French Padres had promised to keep their ceremonies within their own walls, and not to try and seduce the soldiers or anyone else 'from our congregation'; and he added that as the banishment of the Padres would mean the weakening of the garrison, it would be better to allow them to remain, so long as they exercised their religion privately. With this Thomas Shingler agreed in a separate minute, also dated in August. William Daniell wrote a separate minute in the month of October, also agreeing with the policy of the Governor as explained by William à Court. The whole correspondence was forwarded to the Directors at the end of the year 1660 (January 1660–1), with a letter, by William Gyfford, who had now become Agent, in which he declared his agreement with the later opinions on the same grounds, but left the decision with the Company as to whether anything more should be done or not.

The following letter[1] belongs to this period: from internal evidence it must have been written by one of the signatories of the letter dated 24th January 1659–60; and as it was replied to by the Directors in February 1661–2, it was probably despatched at about the same time as the correspondence mentioned above; and it was probably written by William Gyfford, who officiated as Agent after the departure of Thomas Chamber.

[1] O.C. No. 1983 (misplaced in the records).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

From the Agent at Fort St. George to the Hon. Company.

Right Worshipful and ever honoured Sirs.

He begins by complaining of five inconveniences,

(1) That the Agent has no Council to assist him.
(2) That the inhabitants are inconvenienced when the Agents buy up rice and dictate prices.
(3) The private trade of the ship captains.
(4) The want of a Church, Minister, and Schoolmaster.
(5) 'There is another inconvenience which to me seems very preposterous, that the Hon. Company should want a Church for the service of God in their own town, when the Roman Catholics have one that stands in the heart of the town, where they have likewise a churchyard to bury their dead, whilst we are forced to carry our dead corpses out of the town. Besides there are so many of their "pittiful Christians" die of foul diseases, that in time of the heates it is enough to breed infection. I am certain the scent is very noisome to them that live near the Burying place. I have spoken sufficiently of the two French Padres' insolencies in another writing, therefore shall not enlarge further on that subject.'

The want of a Minister was due to the departure of Mr. William Isaacson with the ships of January 1660–1—a year later than he intended.

The Company replied to the foregoing letters in February 1661–2,[1] thus:—

'We have received several informations and complaints of many evil practises which have been exercised in our town of Madras by the French Padres, which are not to be tolerated where the Protestant religion is professed, viz. their marching to the Burial place before the dead corpse with Bell, Book, Candle and Cross,—intending to visit such persons in their sicknesses who have professed the Protestant Religion,—endeavouring to seduce them to their idolatrous customs of praying to Saints etc.,—as also to baptise the children of Englishmen immediately on their coming into the world;—we having taken these things into our serious considerations have resolved, and do strictly require you that you do not

[1] *Early Despatches*, vol. ii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVE OF INDIA

permit or suffer in any wise the said French Padres or any others within the limits of our power publicly to make any processions or ceremonies or walking before any dead corpse with Bell, Book, Candle, Cross or any of them, or to baptise any English infants, or to visit any English that it shall please God to afflict with sickness, either in our Fort or within the town, thereby to confess or seduce them to their Popish vanities. And therefore that those particulars may be punctually observed we do desire that you do not only give the said Padres notice of them, but that also you take especial care that they be duly and constantly observed; and that they presume not to exercise any of their ceremonies whatsoever without the confines of their own walls. We do further require that, for the preservation of the health of our people, and for the prevention of infectious diseases, you order them to forbear to bury any more corps in their usual Burying place or churchyard, the smell whereof is very noisome in the time of Heats to those who live near that place; but that they find out some place without our town, and there to inter all their dead.'

The severe tone of this despatch was due to three causes. The writers of the original complaint dated the 24 January 1659–60 asked that the orders might be positive, and couched in such a way as not to be 'contradicted by any power in this place.' Padre Isaacson had arrived in London, and had probably given to the Directors the further information he promised. And the King had returned; and by his return had strengthened the confidence of the Directors in themselves. The period of the Commonwealth had not been a prosperous one for them. Whatever the private opinions of the London merchants may have been on the subjects in dispute between the King and the Parliament, or between the Church and the Puritans, they could have had but one opinion about the effect of civil war on trade. Matters were so bad in 1654 that all the English Factories on the Coromandel Coast, except Fort St. George and Masulipatam, were closed.[1] One by one they were reopened, as public confidence was restored at home and trade increased. But it was not till

[1] William Curtis and John Chambers were commissioned to voyage to Coromandel and to close all the Factories except the ones mentioned. *Factory Records; Early Despatches*, 1654.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Restoration and the renewal of the royal charter that the London Company of East India merchants prospered as they had never prospered before. Their position had been a very difficult one during the political and ecclesiastical changes which took place between 1640 and 1660. When the bishops and clergy were deprived of their benefices in 1643, let it be recorded to their honour that the Company made no change in its rightly ordained Chaplains. And when the Book of Common Prayer was by the same fanatics proscribed, and its use forbidden in England under penalties, let it be recorded again to their honour that the Company gave no order and took no steps.

No new Chaplains were appointed by the Company during these troubled times; but the paragraphs in the Commissions of the Commanders of their ships relating to worship and Sabbath keeping were retained year by year; 'let not this duty be omitted either evening or morning.'[1] 'We cannot expect a blessing from God upon our actions without we shall endeavour to walk in those rules and follow those commands which He hath prescribed unto us.'[2] 'We know of nothing more at present to recommend unto you, only to press upon you in the first place that you endeavour to manifest and make glorious your profession and Christian Religion in ordering your lives and conversations according to the rule of God's Holy Word, living honestly soberly and lovingly one towards another that the blessing of the Almighty may abide with you.'[3] Every fresh commission contained a paragraph of this kind. The actual wording varied; but the idea was the same in each. In 1657 politics seemed to have settled down into a more or less permanent form. Oliver Cromwell had renewed the Company's Charter, and had promised to convoy their ships to and from St. Helena. If the supply of Ministers was to be kept up some fresh appointments must be made at once. The merchants of the City had been sorely tried by the fanatical excesses of the Presbyterians and the Independents. They would not trust themselves to make an

[1] Commission to Captain W. Hargrave of the Welcome, 1657.
[2] Commission to Captain Jeremy Blackman, Pres.-Elect of Suratt, 1650.
[3] Despatch to Fort St. George, dated 27th March 1658.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appointment as they had been accustomed to do before the troubles began, when every clergyman had undergone the episcopal scrutiny before receiving his letters of Orders and his licence to preach. They would apply to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and so the following letter was written [1]:—

'Sent to Doctor Connett, vice Chancellor, Doctor John Owen, Doctor Tho: Goodwin and Doctor Henry Wilkinson at Oxford, and to Doctor Tuckney and Doctor Arrowsmith at Cambridge.

'Worshipful.

'The East India Company having resolved to endeavour the advance and spreading of the gospel in India, and the settlement of an orthodox godly minister, such an one as may instruct and teach the people that shall be committed to his charge, in building them up in the knowledge of God and faith in Jesus Christ, we do therefore make these our desires known unto you, entreating that you would be pleased to afford us your assistance herein, by recommending unto us for this purpose some such person whom you shall approve and declare to be a fit instrument, both willing and able to undergo and manage this great and good work.

. . . . . .

'For his encouragement we have settled an allowance of £100 per annum certain, with accommodation of diet, and there is no question but his other benefits will be very considerable.

. . . . . .

(Signed) 'MAURICE THOMSON, *Govr.*
'AND SEVEN OTHERS.

'East India House:
'The 13 February, 1657.'

This appeal to the Universities was not successful. There is no record of any appointment of a Chaplain till five years after the letter was written.

At the conclusion of this period a remarkable suggestion was made to the Directors of the Company. It produced no result at the time, for the reason that the time was an unfavourable one; but it was not lost sight of by those who

[1] *Early Despatches*, vol. ii.; also printed in the *Diary of William Hedges*, vol. ii. page cccli.; and in Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, page 1.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were interested in the subject, more especially by Mr. Robert Boyle himself, so that it bore fruit before the end of the century. The suggestion was made by Mr. Richard Baxter, the eminent nonconformist. He wrote a letter to the Company suggesting that their Agents in the East should be instructed to try and propagate the Christian religion by distributing an explanation of its principles which had been translated at Oxford into Arabic. This is the record of the letter and its reception[1]:—

'Upon reading a letter from Mr. Richard Baxter, an eminent divine, wherein he requested the Company's permission that some number of the books named Grotius de veritate religionis Christianæ which are translated into the Arabicke tongue at the charge of Mr. Robert Boyle, might by some of the Company's Agents be prudently dispersed in such places of the Company's trade (not in the Turkish empire) where that language is understood, to the end Christianity may be established among those infidels, The Court was very ready to promote so pious a work, so they may be first satisfied that those books have the allowance of authority.'

The Directors, whilst declaring their willingness to promote mission work, were obliged to be cautious in their reply. The times were dangerous. Richard Baxter, though an eminent divine, was an unstable character, whose lead they were not quite sure it was safe to follow. He was an ordained priest of the Church of England, and had been duly collated to the vicarage of Kidderminster in 1640 before the civil troubles of the kingdom commenced. Then he threw in his lot with the Presbyterians. Later on he sided with the Independents. The work of Grotius which he recommended to the Directors of the East India Company was a work written against Calvinism. The Directors were obliged to be careful; for the Independents were Calvinists.

The suggestion, however, must be remembered as the first that was made to the Company to give the natives of India a knowledge of Christianity. The Arabic translation would not have effected the pious purpose. This Richard Baxter did

[1] *Court Minute Book*, 14 Nov. 1660.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

not know. But the credit of making the suggestion belongs to this undoubtedly religious and highly intellectual but wayward son of the Church.

The story of the building of Fort St. George has already been dug out of the early records and published.[1] It is not necessary to repeat it; but it will perfect this history to give the following particulars of the early Agents and Presidents; and to connect them with the early Chaplains. The names and dates have been extracted from the Factory Records at the India Office.

1642. Andrew Cogan. Promoted to Bantam in 1643.

1643. Francis Day.

1644. Thomas Ivie. During his Presidentship the petition for a minister was sent to Suratt and to London; and Isaacson was sent from Suratt.

1648. Henry Greenhill. Isaacson returned to Suratt and Winchester took his place, and remained for two years.

1652. Aaron Baker. During his Presidentship Isaacson visited the Fort a second time, and Winchester also; a second Chaplain on the Coast, Joseph Thomson, was stationed for a time at Masulipatam; when Winchester sailed away, he was brought to Fort St. George.

1655. Henry Greenhill. Joseph Thomson remained at the Fort during this Presidentship until 1658.

1659. Thomas Chamber. Isaacson returned for the third time to the Fort and remained two years.

1661. William à Court officiated till the arrival of his senior.

1661. William Gyfford officiated till the arrival of the Company's own nominee.

1662. Sir Edward Winter. During his Presidentship there were three Chaplains on the Coast; Charles Walsh, William Whitefield and Simon Smythes.

After this period the Presidents and Governors continue as in the published lists.[2]

[1] *The Founding of Fort St. George, Madras*, by William Foster, B.A. Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902.

[2] *History of Fort St. George.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER III

THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS, 1660–1680

WILLIAM ISAACSON'S place at the Fort was taken by Mr. William Whitefield. No record has been found of Whitefield's appointment by the Court of Directors. It is probable that the ship which took home Isaacson brought out Whitefield; and that the two ministers were both on the Coast from the date of the ship's arrival to the date of its departure.

During the year 1661 Whitefield was alone at the Fort. His spiritual charge was not a heavy one; there can be no doubt that he had a good deal of time on his hands, and sighed for books. He accordingly brought to the notice of the Agent and the resident merchants the fact that there was no library in the settlement, and that he himself had a personal and professional need of one. The merchants appear to have collected among themselves a sum of money for the purpose of gratifying their new Minister. This they invested in a bale of calico, which they sent home in the ships of January 1661–2 to be sold in London; and they asked the Governor of the Company to effect the sale, to purchase the books mentioned in the list they sent, and to send them out.

The following resolution on this matter is found in the Court Minute Book under date 20 Feb. 1662–3 :—

'It was ordered that the remainder of the proceeds of the calicoes sold by the Governor, which was given the Minister at the Fort by the Factors, and sent home to buy him books, should be sent him in rialls of 8 after the books are paid for.'

In their General Letter to Fort St. George of the same date, 20 Feb. 1662–3, the Directors said :—

'On our last year's shipping came to our hands a bale of moorees, sent for account of your Minister, to be sold and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

returned in books; the said calicoes are accordingly sold, and amounted to £85 sterling, in which sum we have bestowed in several books (as per list herewith sent you) the sum of £58 10s. 0d.; the remainder, being £26 10s. 0d., deducting thereout for several charges, we have given to Captain Charles Wyld in 23½ pieces of gold to be delivered to your said Minister.'

It cannot be determined in the absence of all evidence whether this handsome present of books was a personal or an official one. It can only be guessed that it was official. The Directors, however, took the hint; and a year later[1] purchased books to the value of £20, which they directed to be kept in the Fort for the use of succeeding Ministers. These presentations were jointly the origin of the Company's library at the Fort.

William Whitefield was alone at the Fort during 1661. At the same time that the Fort St. George merchants were sending home money for books, the Directors were choosing and sending out another Chaplain. In doing this they made no reference to Whitefield, nor to Masulipatam; and as there was no necessity at that time for the presence of two Ministers at the Fort the only possible inference is that they intended to relieve Whitefield and enable him to return home.

Their choice fell upon Master Charles Walsh, 'an able orthodox divine who was well recommended, and who they were encouraged to believe would be very exemplary in his conversation'; he was to go with Sir Edward Winter to Fort St. George, and his wife was allowed to go with him.[2] The Court wrote thus of him to the Agent and Council of Fort St. George[3]:—

'On the ship Madras taketh passage Mr. Charles Walsh, a Minister, whose salary is £50 per annum, to begin at his arrival with you; and end at his coming for England, decease, or leaving our service.'

The Directors gave him a free passage, and £10 for provisions on the voyage, and advanced him £25 out of his

[1] Letter to Fort St. George, 26 Jan. 1663–4.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 17 and 18 Feb. 1661–2.
[3] Despatch, 20 Feb. 1661–2, postscript. *Factory Records*, vol. 3.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

salary which was to be repaid when he received his salary at the Fort. The cost of provisions on the voyage was about £20 for one person. The effect of this ungenerous arrangement was that Mr. Walsh had no pay during the five months of the voyage; when he arrived he had to live without pay for six months; then £25 became due to him; and this he had to repay to the Treasurer on account of the loan granted him in London. It is not surprising that he did not find it advantageous to stay very long in the Company's service. He arrived in July 1662, and returned home at the beginning of the next year, leaving Whitefield in spiritual charge. The presence of the two Ministers on the Coast during the latter half of 1662 made a visit to the factors at Masulipatam possible. There can be no doubt that the visit was made.

In 1663 someone, either at Fort St. George or in London, gave the Directors an unfavourable report of Sir Edward Winter with respect to his religious sympathies. Since 1657 the Company had been increased by the addition of members not of its own choosing. It traded with special privileges under royal charter till 1649, when the death of the King terminated the charter. From that time till 1657 the trade was open to any adventurers. In 1657 Oliver Cromwell re-established the Company in its privileges of exclusive trade on the basis of coalition with the principal independent merchant adventurers.[1] This coalition brought about religious and political differences which could be and were restrained in the Court of Directors itself, but could not in the same way be restrained in the factories abroad. When the Board meetings were over the Directors dispersed to their offices or their homes. There was not necessarily any communication between them till the next Board meeting. The merchants and factors abroad could never get away from one another. When they separated at the conclusion of business, it was to meet again for meals and conversation—an excellent plan so long as all were agreed, but a dangerous one in times of political and religious disquiet.

[1] Bruce's *Annals*, p. 516. Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, ii. 267. Evelyn's *Diary*, 26 Nov. 1657.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In their method of dealing with the report the Directors themselves are not free from blame; for from this period they commenced a policy which they pursued for the next thirty years, of listening to tales against their servants behind their backs. Without making further enquiry, they dealt with the unfavourable report in a letter to Fort St. George,[1] dated the 16th Dec. 1663, in which they said:—

'Notwithstanding we, in our instructions given our said Agent, did in the first place recommend unto his due observation the promoting of the worship and service of the Almighty as that which would bring a blessing along with it on all other his actions if conscionably performed, he hath (as we are informed) neglected the same. And instead of exercising himself and those under his charge in the Protestant Religion, he rather countenanceth and encourageth the Popish Mass to the great dishonour of Almighty God and reproach to the Protestant Profession.'

This despatch brought forth a reply from the President and Council, from which it appears that the charge was unfounded, and that Mr. Whitefield—the Minister at the Fort at the time it was made—was cited as a witness to prove its untruth. The letter is dated January 1664-5.[2] It is signed by the President and by the three Members of Council; it may therefore be taken as something more than a personal denial of the charges.

'As touching your Worships' last accusation your information is so ridiculous a falsity that your Agent almost thinks it better to answer it with silence; therefore we will say no more than this that Mr. Whitefield, who was our Minister, can testify to your Worships that your Agent constantly himself attended public prayers, except some days during the church's repair, and commanded all under him so to do, and punished them with an amercement if they neglected, insomuch that thereby we have a small stock of money gathered for the poor; and for the Popish religion he hath publicly shewn his distaste against it by banishing the town two of their Bishops, who would have been tampering with some who were baptised

[1] *Factory Records*, vol. 3.
[2] O.C. No. 3046.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

into our Religion; and the same party [1] had something left (by one that is gone home) to enjoy it so long as they kept the Protestant Religion; whereupon your Agent permitted them not to possess it, unless they would renounce the Romish Church and come constantly to ours; which, they performing, do enjoy their estate again. Thus your Worships have received an answer to your charge against your Agent, etc.:—

(Signed) 'Edward Winter.
'William Gyfford.
'Jeremy Sambrooke.
'William Dawes.'

The letter shows that at this early period some little pressure was being put upon the country-born to acknowledge the religion as well as the nationality of their fathers.

Six months before this letter of explanation was written Mr. Simon Smithees [2] had arrived at Fort St. George. His appointment was thus announced in a postscript to the Company's despatch dated 26 Jan. 1663-4 [3]:—

'Since writing and signing the preceding part we have entertained Mr. Symon Smithees, a Minister of God's Word, one that we hope will not only by his preaching and doctrine instruct and direct our people in their way to happiness, but also in his life and conversation be an example of holiness; he proceeds on the Coronation; we have made his salary £50 per annum, and have also disbursed the sum of £20 in books, a list whereof we herewith send you, which books we do appoint shall remain in the Fort for the use of any succeeding Minister after the return or decease of the said Mr. Smithees.'

On the same date the Company wrote a kindly letter of instructions to Mr. Smithes himself.[4]

'The good testimony we have received of your abilities for the work of the Ministry, and having a strong hope that your life and conversation will be such as becometh your calling, we have therefore entertained you to proceed on the

[1] *I.e.*, some of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the Fort.
[2] So spelled in the letter to Fort St. George, reporting the appointment; he signed his own name Simon Smythes (O.C. No. 3075), and Simon Smithes (O.C. No. 3076), but more often Simon Smythes (O.C. No. 3078 and No. 3107).
[3] *Letters to Fort St. George*; also *Court Minutes*, 20 Jan. 1663–4.
[4] Despatch, 26 Jan. 1663–4.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ship "Coronation" for Fort St. George, in which ship for your accommodation (together with our factor Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke) we have appointed the use of the great cabin, and have given order for the setting up a convenient place for your lodging.

'During your voyage to the Fort we recommend unto your careful performance the daily exercise of prayer both morning and evening aboard our ship, and in especial the due observation of the keeping holy the Sabboth Day in prayer and preaching and other good duties, and as far as in you lieth to suppress all swearing drunkenness and other unchristian behaviour in all or any of the ship's company by reproofs and admonitions as you shall see occasion, that the blessing of the Almighty may accompany you in your voyage.

'When it shall please God to arrive you at Fort St. George let it be your great care to instruct our people in the way to heaven and happiness, and to that purpose to be constant in prayers and good admonitions daily as occasion shall be offered; more especially let the Sabbath be sanctified by preaching and prayer with all due reverence, as becometh the servants of the Lord of Sabboths, who will doubtless bless and crown your good and faithful endeavours in his service with happiness here and glory hereafter.

'In the town of Madras you will find several Priests and others of the Romish Religion. And because we doubt not but you are a well grounded champion in our Protestant profession, we would have you, as opportunity may present, entertain a controversy or dispute with them in opposition to their Popish ceremonies and sacraments; although it may not so far prevail upon them as to a reformation, yet it may be for the confirming of our own people to be constant in the Protestant profession according to the rules and directions in the Holy Scriptures.

'We shall not further enlarge because we doubt not that you will not only observe what precedes, but what also may conduce to the glory of God, and promoting of religion, both by your doctrine and holy and unblameable life. We therefore recommend you to the Almighty and remain

'Your very loveing friends,

'Thomas Chambrelan, *Govr.*
'Samuel Barnardiston. 'John Bathurst.
'Wm. Thomson. 'Thomas Papillon.
'George Ld. Berkely. 'Christopher Boone.
'Maurice Thomson.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The form of valediction employed in this letter is worthy of remark. It was the form used by the East India Company when writing to their servants abroad from the very beginning of their authority in the East; and it continued to be observed as long as the authority of the Company lasted.[1]

Simon Smythes arrived at Fort St. George in the middle of 1664. He found that his spiritual charge consisted of the Agent, six Factors, the Surgeon, the Commandant of the garrison, 24 English soldiers, a few British and Portuguese Eurasians, together with a small number of English and Eurasian women and children.

During the year the Directors received other charges against Sir Edward Winter and some of their servants at Fort St. George. Again they perpetrated the injustice of acting on the information without seeking an explanation from the accused. They wrote to the Agent and Council[2] informing them

1. That they had received advice that Sir Edward Winter wished to return to England when his contract time expired on the 21 Sept. 1665.

2. That they had entertained Mr. George Foxcroft to supply his place.

3. That they had constituted and ordained the following persons to form his Council, namely: Sir Edward Winter (until his departure), Mr. William Blake, Mr. William Jearsey, Mr. Charles Proby, Mr. John Nicklaes and Mr. Jeremy Sambroke.

The same letter contained orders to strengthen the Fort; and advice of the despatch of soldiers, guns and musketts. There were also orders to occupy Tuticorin lest the Dutch should get possession of it. Finally there were orders to enquire into the complaints against Winter, Blake, Jearsie, Nicklaes, Proby and Dearing. The letter, which concluded in the usual manner, was signed by William Thomson, Governor, and the rest of the Directors.

[1] A note on this form by Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., is printed in *The First Letter Book of the East India Company*, edited by Birdwood and Foster, p. 152.

[2] Despatch, 21 Dec. 1664.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

When Foxcroft was appointed, he made various conditions before he consented to go. He was permitted to take his son Nathanael and a Mr. Joseph Farley as Factors; he was permitted to nominate a Surgeon; and 'observing that he had liberty to present a Minister, he desired to know the usual terms for a Minister that he might propose it to a person in his eye.' The Court resolved that, as 'there is two Ministers there already, they did not think it convenient to send another now, unless he can meet with a very fitt man that will carry his wife out to live there, and preach and keep a school beside; which being made known to him, he was well satisfied therewith.' Eventually he did not nominate a Chaplain.[1]

Mr. George Foxcroft carried his commission with him; it was dated the 21st December 1664, and contained orders to treat Sir Edward Winter with all respect:—'Sir Edward to be next to you in Counsell, and to sit at your end of the table on the left hand of you our Agent.' He also carried a letter to Sir Edward Winter of the same date, ordering him to give over charge to Foxcroft, offering him the second seat in Council, and allowing him to bring two or three tons of goods free, on his return home, as a demonstration of respect and kindness to him. The anonymous charges against Winter were

1. Self-aggrandizement at the expense of the Company.
2. Profuse expenditure of the Company's money.
3. That he employed the Company's servants to carry on his private trade.

During the following three months Winter and his friends nursed their resentment at this unjust supersession; and probably arrived at some just conclusions regarding backbiting. What happened at the end of the three months has been ably related by Wheeler[2]: he states that Winter and his party suddenly made an attack on Foxcroft and his party[3]; Bruce[4] says that Foxcroft and his son and Jeremy Sambrooke attacked Winter and his party, viz.: William Dawes, Charles Proby, Lieutenant Chuseman of the Garrison,

[1] *Court Minutes*, 19 Oct. 1664.
[2] *Madras in the Olden Time.*
[3] O.C. No. 3080.
[4] Bruce's *Annals.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Simon Smythes the Chaplain. However, the result was that Dawes was killed, several were wounded, Foxcroft was overpowered and imprisoned with his son, and Winter reassumed the direction of affairs. This happened in September 1665. Winter's excuse was that Foxcroft had spoken treasonable words: his friends, including Mr. Simon Smythes the Chaplain, deposed on oath to this effect. Joseph Farley declared that though he heard the words asserted to be treason, yet he did not allow them to be treason; he took the side of Sir Edward Winter, but disclaimed all knowledge of his ends.[1] The Company felt that their authority had been despised, and appealed to the King to uphold it. This His Majesty did; so that on the 21st May 1668 Mr. George Foxcroft was reinstated as Agent. But after a searching enquiry by the Company's Commissary, Sir William Langhorne, the Company altered their opinion of the two men. Foxcroft was deposed; Sir William Langhorne was appointed to reign in his stead; and both Winter and Foxcroft were recalled to England in 1670. It is a curious fact, worthy of notice, that during the usurpation of Sir Edward Winter 1665–8 trade with Fort St. George went on as usual. The fleets of merchantmen came and went. The complaint of the Company was, not that their affairs were being administered badly, but that they were being administered by men not of their own choosing. They made much more of the incident than was necessary; they affected a fear that Sir Edward Winter would deliver the Fort to the Dutch; and they suggested that he had bribed Proby, Chuseman, and Smythes to act with him.

The Directors had however some excuse for the attitude they took up; they hardly knew what to believe; they received conflicting reports from both sides. Jeremy Sambroke reported[2] that Sir E. Winter 'employed his drunken chaplain (who had married his kinswoman) to stir up the faction against Foxcroft,' meaning Simon Smythes. Foxcroft in his narrative hurled similar accusations against all his enemies including the Company's Chaplain.[3] And the other party

[1] O.C. No. 3220. [2] O.C. No. 3052. [3] O.C. No. 3098.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with equal liberality accused their opponents of various irregularities.

In their letter to the Agent and Council dated 24 January 1667–8 the Directors notified the appointment of two fresh Ministers, Mr. William Thomson, 'to reside at the Fort, if it shall be reduced, his salary (£50) to begin from his going aboard at Gravesend, and to be paid in India; also £50 to be paid in England as a gratuity, as he shall be found to deserve'; and Mr. Walter Hooke, 'likewise a Minister of God's Word, to reside at Masulipatam, if the Fort be reduced; else to go for the Bay, and to have the same allowance' etc.

William Thomson was recommended to the Court by Mr. Benjamin Albyn, one of the Directors. On the day of his recommendation he was called in before the Court and 'declared his willingness to embrace their service. Mr. West a Minister gave testimony both of his gifts and grace and of the good success that had attended his ministry.'[1] A week later he was elected by the Court and appointed. Walter Hooke was recommended to the Court by another Director, Sir Francis Clarke.[2]

Profiting by a former experience the Court gave more generous terms to Thomson and Hooke than they had hitherto given. They gave £20 to each for providing necessaries on the voyage. They gave the same salary; but they promised a gratuity of the same amount 'if they should be found to deserve it'; which was equivalent to doubling the salary. They made the salary to commence on going on board at Gravesend; but the gratuity was to commence on arrival in India. They ordered, however, that the salary was to be paid in India, as it became due; but the gratuity was to be paid in England. In effect they held half the Chaplains' pay in reserve, intending to pay them the gratuity in a lump sum on their return from the East if they were well reported of by the Agents.

A list of the books in the Company's Library at Fort St.

[1] *Court Minutes*, 29 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1667.
[2] Do. 13 Dec. 1667 and 3 Jan. 1667–8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

George having been delivered to Mr. Thomson, the two new Chaplains took their leave of the Court.[1]

In the letter announcing the appointment of Thomson and Hooke the Directors added:—'We have received reports of the irreligious and disorderly practises of many of our servants; and being very desirous to redress the same, have therefore agreed upon the Rules herewith sent you, of which we require a strict observation.' These are often referred to as the 1667 Rules.

These two ministers arrived at Fort St. George in July 1668. They remained there till the 3rd September, when one of the coasting vessels carried Hooke to Metchlepatam with a general letter from the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to the Chief and Council of the subordinate settlement.[2] In this letter they said:—

'They[3] have also provided a godly, prudent, and sober minister, Mr. Walter Hooke, who goeth in one of these ships to reside with you, to whom we pray you give all encouragement and assistance. The Company before his coming out of England was acquainted that he could not conform to the Common Prayer; nevertheless they have sent both him to you and Mr. William Thomson to us, who is of the same mind; and seeing the Company, notwithstanding their knowledge thereof, have sent them, in this place we do not enjoin anything upon them, but without imposing leave them to their own liberty; but we are very glad to partake of their pious and profitable labours in reading and expounding the Scriptures and preaching, in all which they employ themselves with much diligence piety and sobriety, and we hope will prove a great blessing to us and our people.'

There is nothing in the Court Minutes to substantiate this statement. The letter containing it is signed by the President and all the members of Council—George Foxcroft, Jeremy Sambrooke, Richard Smithson, John Bridger and John Hall. As will be seen Hooke and Thomson appear to have been rightly ordained; but on arrival at Fort St. George they appear to have declined to conform with the law requiring

[1] *Court Minutes*, 27 Jan. 1667–8.
[2] *Factory Records*, vol. 16. Letter dated 26 Aug. 1668, p. 6.
[3] The Company.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the use of the Prayer Book. It is probable that in doing this they were relying upon the support of the Puritan President and members of Council. But although by order of the Company the Puritan party was in power, the majority of the merchants on the Coast were not Puritans, and had no sympathy with nonconformity. It is on record that there were disputes and unpleasantness at Metchlepatam; there must have been similar signs of disapproval at Fort St. George. Mr. George Foxcroft and his party were warned by the signs and withdrew their support; and in 1669 they reported against the newcomers to the Directors.

Simon Smythes stayed on the Coast till the beginning of the year 1669; but he did not exercise his functions as a Chaplain after the arrival of William Thomson. In a letter which Sir Edward Winter wrote to his brother dated 28 April, 1669,[1] he refers to Padre Smythes' departure, 'by whom I largely wrote'; and he mentions his own departure to Masulipatam by sea—his wife and Padre Smythes' wife going by land. A year later Mrs. Smythes was allowed to have a passage home in one of the Company's ships at the request of her husband.[2]

In 1667 Smythes appears to have complained to the Directors of the slackness of official attendance at divine service; and in 1668 of a want of respect shown to himself under the new government of Foxcroft. The Directors therefore wrote[3]:

'By the aforesaid letter we have complaints that there was not that respect given to one of our Ministers, as is due to him in his employment, and as we directed. Wherefore as we wrote to you the last year, so we now again require that you encourage him in his work of the Ministry by your attendance thereupon, and causing others so to do, and to give respect unto his person as befits him in his place. And we have written unto him to behave himself with wisdom and prudence, so as to make his labours in the Gospel more acceptable.'

This rebuke must have reached Fort St. George in the

[1] Inserted in the volume of Letters to Fort St. George of this date.
[2] Directors' Despatch, 7th Dec. 1669.
[3] Despatch, 20 Nov. 1668.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

early part of 1669, just before the departure of Smythes, and when Hooke and Thomson had been on the coast about nine months. It was evident from this that the Directors were not in favour of nonconformity. It was equally evident that there was a strong local feeling in favour of the ordinances and the services of the Church. The President and Council therefore drafted a remonstrance against the two new ministers; and sent copies to the Directors, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King. They stated that Hooke and Thomson were mere laymen; that they refused to use the Liturgy; or 'to baptise, marry, or bury as by law established.' The petitioners proceeded, 'we therefore make it our humble request and desire to the Hon. Company that as we do and have in this far country served them both to the hazard of our lives and estates, they would for the service of God in the first place, and next the comfort of our souls and the honour of the gospel among the heathen,' recall the two lay officiants and send out properly ordained ministers.[1] The petition was considered by the Court at Whitehall [2] as well as by the Court of Directors; and though the two Chaplains were rightly ordained, it was considered advisable to recall them. But in their letter of the 7th Dec. 1669 the Directors wrote:—

'We formerly having observed our factories much disordered, we used our endeavours to get able and pious ministers to instruct them in the knowledge and fear of God, and their duty towards us; and thereupon entertained Mr. Thomson and Mr. Hooke (being learned orthodox and Protestant ordained Ministers and loyal to His Majesty) in that employment; who being (as we are advised) in the conscientious discharge of their duties in preaching and admonishing our factors, to leave off their disorderly practises, they took thereupon an occasion not only to discountenance them in their preaching, but to frame a remonstrance against them, wherein, though they lay no evil to their charge, yet they have filled it with reproaches, such as their invective fancies could suggest, which they sent over not only to us but to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; and it being pre-

[1] Article by Sir W. Hunter in the *Fortnightly Review*, April 1896.
[2] On the 13th October 1669.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sented to the King, His Majesty hath been pleased to declare his pleasure that Mr. Thomson and Mr. Hooke be sent for home. Wherefore we require you to give them liberty to choose what ships they desire to take their passage in for England; and to take care that they be well accommodated in their voyage, upon whose return it may further be examined what grounds there were for such a Remonstrance.'[1]

Mr. George Foxcroft presided over the Council at Fort St. George from 1668 to 1670. One of the Factory Record Books[2] contains copies of the letters sent home during this period, sometimes by the Agent and Council, sometimes by persons who signed their names, and sometimes by persons who did not. They are all in the worst possible taste. An anonymous letter on page 131, dated 14 April 1668, accuses Robert Fleetwood, chief of Madapallam, of being the enemy of all goodness, and abuses five other of the Company's servants, using such terms as wicked, swearing, debauched, drunken etc.; it charges two of them with being the chief opposers of Mr. Hooke the Minister; and another is said to have drawn his sword on the Minister when reproved for swearing.

The Directors unfortunately took notice of this anonymous letter, and made enquiry of the Agent and Council regarding the lives of the men attacked. Their reply, dated the 19 July 1670,[3] is full of recriminations and excuses. They enclosed a charge delivered by Mr. Jeremy Sambrooke against Mr. Thomson, the Minister, with his answer thereto; they attacked some of their subordinates, and defended others, especially Jeremy Sambrooke; and they defended Fleetwood and Salisbury against the scandalous accusations which were made. They said:—

'We have neither had any satisfaction either by information or report that Mr. Robert Fleetwood or Mr. Ambrose Salisbury are persons of such profane spirits, scandalous lives or notoriously wicked as they are represented to you, unless their zeal for conformity and against nonconformity

[1] Letter to our Agent and Counsell at Fort St. George, 7th Dec. 1669.
[2] *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. 3.
[3] Do. Do. pp. 83–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

are made the grounds for that accusation; and although Mr. Hooke at his going down to Metchlepatam made some complaints of Mr. Fleetwood's opposition, yet since Mr. Hooke's second time of going thither, and since Mr. Fleetwood being there as second,[1] he professed to have received all kindness from Mr. Fleetwood, and had that confidence in him that he made choice of him to be executor of his last will and testament.'

They defended a Company's servant named Arnold against a charge brought by Hooke, and this in a manner which leads one to suppose that they suspected the two ministers or their supporters of writing anonymously to their Honourable Masters; they said:—'Even Ministers in their heates are subject to light [*sic*] passions as other men, and may in the heate thereof utter such things which in calmer temper they recant; and therefore it is fit that their informations should be duly examined as well as other men's,' etc.

Soon after this letter was written, orders arrived at Fort St. George appointing Sir William Langhorne President; and so the reign of George Foxcroft with all its follies came to an end.

William Thomson went home as soon after his recall as possible. On the 10 Feb. 1670–1 the Directors paid 'Mr. Thomson, late Minister of the Fort,' a gratuity of £50.[2] And on the 27 Sept. 1671 they paid him a year's salary in compensation for his recall.[2]

Walter Hooke died at Masulipatam at about the time of his recall, December 1669. On the 8 July 1670[2] his gratuity of £50 was paid to his nominee by the Court. The following year, on the 4 Oct. 1671,[2] a further payment of £50 on account of salary was paid to his representative, Mr. Caleb Hooke; who made a claim also for the value of the books Walter Hooke left at Masulipatam, and was on the 3 January 1671–2[2] awarded the sum of £5 10s. 0d. The books were added to the Company's library at the factory. Mr. Hooke was the first Chaplain to leave his bones on the Coast.

[1] He was Chief of Madapollam, and therefore second to Mr. William Jearsey in the Masulipatam Council.

[2] *Court Minute Book*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

When it was decided to recall Thomson and Hooke it was resolved to appoint two other Chaplains in their place. The Court received a satisfying character of the abilities, sobriety, and pious conversation of Mr. Thomas Bill; they elected him; they voted £5 for the purchase of certain books he required, which were to be added to the library at Fort St. George; and they directed him to take his passage in the Rainbow.[1] The other Chaplain elected was Mr. Edward Newcomb. This is the extract from the Court Minutes of the 6 Dec. 1669:—

'Mr. Thomas Bill, upon the recommendation of Mr. Ironside, Warden of Wadham College, and Mr. Grigg Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London,—and Mr. Edward Newcome, upon the recommendation of the Lord Archbishop of York and Mr. Daniel Shelden, being elected as the Company's Chaplains in India; and their names being presented to Sir John Trevor, principal Secretary of State, and by him unto the King; His Majesty was pleased to declare his satisfaction that they might proceed accordingly without being presented elsewhere.

'It is ordered that it be referred to Mr. Albyn to provide the works of Cornelius à Lapide as an addition to the Library at Fort St. George.'

About two months before these appointments were made for the Coast factories, the Directors appointed a Committee[2] of four 'to speak with Mr. Samuel Tutchin, who is propounded to be a Chaplain in the Return, and to inform themselves of his qualifications for the work of the ministry, and to report the same unto the Court.' The result of the interview was that Tutchin was appointed to the Return on £3 a month, and received an allowance of £5 for the voyage.[3]

Mr. Thomas Bill was intended for Fort St. George, and Mr. Newcome for Masulipatam. It cannot be discovered from the records if the former even embarked for the voyage; but it is certain that he never arrived at Fort St. George. Newcomb arrived in the middle of the year 1670; he appears

[1] *Court Minutes*, 19 and 22 Nov. 1669.
[2] Masters Albyn, Papillon and Paige, and Major Thomson.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 12 Nov. 1669.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to have gone out in the Return with Samuel Tutchin. The Masulipatam factors being disappointed of their Chaplain, wrote to the Agent at Fort St. George,[1] and asked that Mr. Newcomb might be sent to Christen their children, they undertaking to be at the charge of returning him overland.

No reply has been found to this request; but it seems from the following letter that Newcomb had not paid a visit to Masulipatam at the time it was written. It is from the Chief at that Factory and his Council to the Company[2]:—

'We are in great hopes that by the next ship you will have provided us with a Minister; for though we neglect not the means appointed in want thereof, knowing God's goodness is sufficient, yet seeing at your Chief's departure you were pleased to allow us the hope of a speedy supply, that assurance and nearness quickens expectation; allowing the (same) difference between the efficaciousness of the ordinance (as to) the first and second delivery as the earth finds between the cold watering by the hand and a temperate and soaking rain; we had indeed as for us newcomers a very happy voyage out, Mr. Newcome and Mr. Tutchin, so able and so exemplary,' etc.

In July 1670 the Directors appointed Mr. John Hounsill, 'a minister of known learning and exemplary life,' of whom they received 'a very satisfying account' of his pious conversation, to serve them in one of their factories. They subsequently decided that he was to go to the Bay. His salary was to be £50, payable in India, and £50 gratuity payable on his return to England; but at his request both salary and gratuity were made payable in India. He was allowed £20 for the voyage. The Directors voted also £30 for the purchase of books for the Library at the Bay; and they allowed passages for his wife, her maid, her maid's child, and his own servant.[3] Newcomb died before Hounsill reached the Fort on the way to the Bay, to the regret of many at home and abroad; and the Council detained Hounsill to take his place. The Directors wrote on the 15 March 1670–1:—

[1] Metchlepatam Gen. Letter to the Fort, 14 July 1670. *Factory Records*, Masulipatam, vol. v.
[2] *Factory Records*, Masulipatam, 28 Dec. 1670.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 6 & 8 July, 7 & 9 Sept., 9 Nov. 1670.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We are sorry for the death of Mr. Newcombe, but must submit to the will of God.' On Hounsill's arrival at the Fort the Agent and Council wrote as follows[1]:—

'Mr. John Hounsell, your Minister, a very worthy person, desires to have his whole salary of £100 per annum paid in Fort St. George;—we believe he will well deserve your favour;—had his wife lived he would have had more urgent need of it.

'The death of Mr. Newcombe, Minister, supersedes his friends' desires of having him to go for Metchlepatam.'

Hounsill's wife apparently died at the Fort soon after his arrival. He himself died there before July 1673; his death was reported to the Directors, who wrote to Fort St. George on the 13 March 1673–4:—'Mr. Hounsell, Minister; the death of that worthy person we are sorry for, and would have you to make use of the best means that God in his providence has continued.' In the same letter was announced the appointment of Tutchin as Minister at the Coast, and of Darley at the Bay.[2]

Samuel Tutchin returned home with his ship in 1671[3]; and went another voyage in the same ship to Bantam in 1672. Here he was ordered to remain as Chaplain, and the ship went home without him. Whilst at Bantam Hounsill died; and Tutchin received orders—presumably from Fort St. George, the presidency of all the factories at that time on the Coast and in the Bay—to go to the Fort. On arrival there it was necessary to raise the question of his pay and travelling expenses; for his sanctioned pay was that of a ship's Chaplain only. He submitted his case to the Agent and Council; and it came before the Court in November 1673.[4] The Court at once allowed him 'now a Chaplain of Fort St. George,' the pay of his post, that is, £50 salary, with £50 gratuity 'if he shall be found to deserve it,' both to commence from the time of his arrival there. Then the records show that they considered his further claims:—

[1] General letter home, 14 July 1671. *Factory Records*, O.C.
[2] *Factory Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 34.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 14 Sept. 1671.
[4] Do. 26 and 28 Nov. 1673.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'It having been represented unto the Court that Mr. Samuel Tutchin, who went out Chaplain on the Return and was left at Bantam, had been at a great charge in his transportation from thence into the Bay of Bengall and thence to the Fort' etc., Masters Shelden and Rudge were ordered to report what they considered would be a fair compensation for the expense incurred. They gave their opinion that he should be allowed the £50 salary and the £50 gratuity from the time he left the ship at Bantam till the time he arrived at Fort St. George. The Court concurred.

As he was now settled at the Fort, his wife petitioned the Court that she might be allowed to join him. The petition was granted; and she was given a free passage with her young son and her maid.[1] Samuel Tutchin died at Fort St. George on the 1st of June 1674, about a month before she started; so that when she arrived at the Fort at the end of the year, there was nothing to be done but to return by the next ship.[2] Her husband's estate was sent home in goods, and she was allowed to land them without paying the Company's dues.[3]

In the place of Thomas Bill, who either died or withdrew from his appointment in 1670, the Company appointed Thomas Whitehead[4] on a salary of £50, with a gratuity of £30, and allowed him £20 for the voyage. The difference in the amount of gratuity seems to point to a difference either in training or accomplishments or age. He was intended for the Bay; but on arrival at Fort St. George he was directed to go to Masulipatam, and arrived there in June 1672. Before leaving England he made an arrangement by which his salary was to be paid to relations in London.[5]

Up to 1670 the Company had only appointed men in Holy Orders to be Chaplains of their ships and settlements abroad. Between 1670 and 1675, for reasons which do not appear in the records, they adopted a policy of appointing ministers who were not in Holy Orders. Hounsill, Tutchin,

[1] *Court Minutes*, 18 Feb. 1673–4, and 30 Mar. 1674.
[2] Letter from the Fort, 20 Nov. 1674.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 18 Oct. 1676.
[4] Do. 29 Sept. 18 Oct. and 25 Oct. 1671.
[5] Do. 22 Nov. 1671.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Warner, were amongst those thus appointed. During the year 1674 they must have received complaints about some of these men; for on the 24 Dec. 1674 they wrote to Fort St. George thus:—

'We desire that you examine the carriage and demeanour of our Chaplains at the Coast and Bay[1]; and if it appear that any of them are scandalously vitious, that you cause them to be sent home with a copy of what is proved against them.'

In the same year and month they issued a commission to Mr. William Puckle to examine all matters at the Coast and Bay, just as they had commissioned Sir William Langhorne seven years before. One of his instructions was this:—

'That you carefully observe whether our orders for religious duties are followed; and if they are not, that you require all persons strictly to observe them; and if upon your admonition they comply not, it is our order that you take notice, and advise the Company of all such refractory persons, likewise of all others that are idle and debauched.'

The following account of the arrival of two of these ministers is taken from a letter from Sir William Langhorne to Mr. Cooke, one of the Directors, dated 10 Sept. 1673[2]:—

'We have here two Scotch ministers of the ships President and Sampson released by the Dutch, Mr. Warner, a very good preacher, and of a sober peaceable disposition, whom seeing it hath pleased God to disappoint my honourable employers' pious care in providing the Bay by the mortality of several sent out, I am thinking to let him proceed thither, Mr. Clavell and Council writing very earnestly for one, there being besides many children unbaptized.

'Mr. Pringle, the other, who I understand is not yet in orders, but Mr. Tutchin tells me would be content to undertake the schooling of the children here, which would be a very good work, and which I hope my honourable employers will not disapprove, seeing it may happily save them the trouble and charge of seeking and sending others out.'

[1] They referred to Tutchin, Whitehead and Darley.
[2] *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. 3, p. 141.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Patrick Warner was not sent to the Bay; he remained at Fort St. George; and when Samuel Tutchin fell ill of dysentery at the beginning of the following year he supplied his place, as the following letter shows [1]:—

'We have now to advise you of the decease of Mr. Samuel Tutchin our late Minister the 1st June after a four months' sickness of the flux, during which time Mr. Patrick Warner, late Minister of the ship President, so worthily supplied his want, and has ever since his landing behaved himself so vertuously and becoming his calling, that has emboldened us to entreat him to supply the place, which he has been pleased to undertake for two years' time, computing that to be sufficient to provide him a successor, when his inclinations are to return home; he is truly a person of those abilities piety and meekness, so becoming that holy calling, that we hope he will be a means of much good unto your people here, and wish we could prevail with him to make a longer abode amongst us; or if not that his successor may resemble him. In the meanwhile we make bold to recommend him to your favour to give him the same encouragement as to wages and salary as you have been pleased to allow his predecessors; who, though all men of great worth, yet truly since Mr. Newcomb of pious memory this gentleman, although of a different persuasion, comes nearest to him in all those so desirable qualities.'

Before the end of the year the Agent and Council of Fort St. George wrote again to the Directors on the same subject [2]:—

'Mr. Patrick Warner's succession on the decease of Mr. Tutching the 1st June with our intercession for his salary and gratuity, are at large in ours of the 20th August, which if you pleased to order him here for his better improvement would be a great help to him; of whose virtues and piety we are more and more confirmed.

'Mrs. Tutching has received the balance of her husband's account, and now returns by the ship ——.

'Mr. Darley proceeded for the Bay by ship Lancaster, where he was much wanted; and appearing to be a very discreet and learned man, will with God's blessing be a means

[1] *Factory Records*, 20 Aug. 1674.
[2] Do. 20 Nov. 1674.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of much good there; your Agent having desired him to do his endeavour to quiet the differences amongst them.

'Mr. Pringle, the Scotch student, of the ship Sampson, returns by these ships, not well agreeing with these parts, being a man of most unquiet spirit.'

The Mr. Darley mentioned was appointed on the 11 Feb. 1673–4[1] on a salary of £50 with £50 gratuity and £20 for the voyage. In the Court Minutes he is called Joshua. In the Factory Records of 1676[2] he is called Josiah.

When Mr. Puckle, therefore, arrived in 1675, Patrick Warner was at Fort St. George, Thomas Whitehead at Masulipatam, and Josiah Darley at the Bay. He brought with him authority to inquire into the morals of the Company's servants and ministers; and to employ Mr. Brindley,[3] 'a minister which belonged to one of the ships for a schoolmaster, if he be fittly qualified, and continue sober,' fixing his remuneration at £30 per annum salary and £20 per annum gratuity. But Pringle had returned home before Puckle arrived.

Mr. Puckle[4] began his inspection tour at Masulipatam. No one seems to have had any grievance against Thomas Whitehead; but Whitehead himself had a grievance, and submitted it to the Council on Major Puckle's arrival. It was that he had not the same pre-eminence of place at table that the Chaplain of Fort St. George had, that is, to sit next to the second in Council. His complaint was considered,[5] and he was informed that the Council was one body and could not be separated, and that he must take his place next to the Council; the Council added 'this only is intended in our public capacity, which we doubt not but he will take in good part.'

He also claimed the same allowance for diet, house rent, candles and oil as the Fort St. George Chaplain had, with arrears since his arrival. This claim was allowed.

In the Masulipatam Consultations of the 20 Oct. 1675

[1] *Court Minutes*, 11 Feb. and 9 Mar. 1673–4.
[2] O.C. 4231.
[3] Pringle. Despatch was dated 23 Dec. 1674.
[4] Called in the *Factory Records* Major Puckle.
[5] *Factory Records*, Masulipatam Consultations, 28 July and 2 Aug. 1675.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

his name appears again; he laid an information before the Council against a man named Thomas Davis for keeping a Punch and gaming house to the ruin of the young men of the settlement; for profanity, and for a personal affront. The Council sided with the Chaplain, and obliged Thomas Davis to take out a licence for his Punch house; and warned him against any repetition of the affront. There seems to have been nothing against Whitehead, though he had some enemy who supplied the Directors with ill reports.

In their annual letter dated the 24th Dec. 1675 the Directors replied to the Fort St. George letters of 1674 and again mentioned these ill reports:—

'We do grant your desire in behalf of Mr. Patrick Warner that he shall have[1] £50 per annum salary and £50 per annum gratuity to begin from the time of his entertainment with you, and to be paid him in the country, and are very glad you are so well supplied, and pray God to give a blessing to his labours. And having understood that Mr. Warner did not intend to remain so long in that country, we have entertained Mr. Richard Portman to be our Chaplain at the Fort at the rate—etc.—etc.—to be paid him in the country; and in case Mr. Warner shall desire to stay, you may with one of these supply Metchlepatam.'

'We have some intimation that Mr. Whitehead doth not behave himself as becomes his function, which we would have you to enquire into; and if you find him unfit for the employment and scandalous, that you send him home. But if his conversation be blameless, and that Mr. Warner stays in the Country, whereby the Fort and Metchlepatam will be supplied with two able men (that is, Warner and Portman), then let Mr. Whitehead be removed to the Fort to assist our Chaplain there in the duties of prayer and cathekising, and to be a schoolmaster also for the education of children.'

'Herewith you have a catalogue of such books as were desired by Mr. Portman to be provided, which we send as an addition to our library; and in regard we find every Chaplain we send as desirous of an addition, and that we have no perfect list here, we do require you to send us by the return of these ships a perfect catalogue of all our books both with you, at Metchlepatam and the Bay.

'We have been informed that it hath often been the

[1] *Court Minutes*, 3 Sept. 1675.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

practise both at the Fort and also at subordinate factories by our servants and other English to be married, buried, and cause their children to be baptised by Romish Priests, which we look upon as a thing so scandalous to the Professors of the Reformed Religion, that we cannot but disallow of all such practises. And therefore we do order that you prohibit the same for the future in all our factories. And if after this notice given any shall dare to do the like, that you cause them to be sent home by the first ship; and take care to give notice of this to all subordinate factories, and send us an account thereof by the next opportunity. And if there be any married there that do not educate their children in the Protestant Religion let them also be sent home.'

'We formerly sent you some catechises and bibles to be dispersed amongst the youth and soldiers; when they are disposed of, we would know; and if you desire more we will send them.'

The above letter, written in December 1675, was being carried to India at the same time that a letter written a month later by Patrick Warner was being carried to England. The latter, which has been reproduced at length by Wheeler,[1] need not be reproduced here. It is the Chaplain's report to the Company of the evil lives of some—not by any means all, but some—of the residents at Fort St. George: 'I must bear witness for most of the young men, that they cannot, to the best of my knowledge, be accused of the former enormities.' He mentions with gratitude the civility he has received from the Governor and others of Council, and from all generally; but he laments that they are not more zealous; and regrets that the Governor refused to listen to any that would prevent his firing of great guns and volleys of small shot at the consecration of a popish church within the walls. Finally he announces his intention of going home with the next ships.

Richard Portman arrived on the 7th July 1676; and Warner went home in one of the August ships. This letter dated the 23rd July 1676 went by the same ship; it was a reply to the Directors' despatch of the previous December:—

'5. We return you our humble thanks in favour of Mr. P.

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 34–36.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Warner, his allowances of salary etc., and for supplying the place with Mr. Richard Portman; the former taking his passage with these ships.

'6. We do not hear any just cause of blame of Mr. Thomas Whitehead; however we have wrote to Metchlepatam to enquire and advise of any such thing. But surely it is here in India above all other places that ill will knows no bounds, neither of charity truth nor common honesty, but that if anyone be so affected toward another, he reckons his tongue his own, who or what shall control it? We hope you will not think the worse of them that pretend to better principles; and wish the others were not so much encouraged.

'57 and 58. Mr. Darley has proceeded to the Bay etc.

'69. We make note of your order against the use of Romish priests in marrying, burying, baptizing etc., which to prevent it will be requisite that your factories be still supplied by Ministers in lawful ordinations, who will perform those duties as they should, which since Mr. Newcomb's decease, anno 1671, until now has not been so.'

This letter was written soon after Streynsham Master's arrival at the Fort, and seems to bear marks of his individuality. After its despatch he commenced his tour of inspection, of which he has left an interesting record in the form of a diary.[1] This diary gives a better idea of the daily life in a factory than any other existing record. Wherever he stayed the Council assembled for business 'after prayers, in which all who could be spared joined.' During August he was at Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Balasore. When he was at Madapollam, Robert Fleetwood, the chief of that subordinate agency died, leaving his affairs in great confusion. When he was at Masulipatam Thomas Whitehead died. This entry is dated August 12:—

'It having pleased God to take from us Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the Chaplain of this Factory, who died about half an hour since, and the Council sending to seal his things, Mr. John Heathfield the Surgeon brought his last will and testament—wherein he hath named Mr. John Fitzwilliams, Chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, his executor, and the said Mr. Heathfield his overseer, with power to receive and

[1] *Factory Records*, Miscellaneous, vol. 14.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pay all debts and demands; whereupon the Council thought fit to hand his concerns to Mr. Heathfield, ordering a copy to be taken of his will, and entering it in the book directed to be kept by the Purser-General for a register of deceased men's wills and inventories, two copies of which to be sent yearly to Fort St. George, of which one copy to remain there, the other to be sent for England.'

Then next day:—

'This morning the corpse of Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the late Chaplain of the factory, was buried in the usual burying place in the English garden, which is about two miles out of the town, myself and most of the factory accompanying the same.'

On the 29th August Streynsham Master was at Balasore; he records on that day that 'Mr. Darley the Chaplain and myself agreed that the most convenient times for prayer would be at 7 o'clock in the morning and 8 at night.' Within a fortnight he recorded Mr. Darley's sad death by drowning. He headed the entry, 'On board the ketch Arrivall, Sept. 11, 1676.' He then proceeded to relate the cause of the misadventure. It appears that Darley was on board the Arrivall; and that Mr. Douglas the Surgeon of the Eagle sent for him to see Mr. Calloway who was very sick and on the point of death. Darley willingly went, and performed the last office for the sick man before he died. The party then went into the boat to return to the Arrival. By some unhappy accident the boat came in contact with a hawser and was cast athwart the stream; and as the stream was running very fast, the boat filled with water; Darley and another Englishman were drowned; Douglas and another Englishman were saved.

On the 17th Oct. 1676 Streynsham Master was at Cassimbazzar. On that day he records the death of Major William Puckle, and his burial 'in the garden'—a euphemistic, not to say beautiful old term for the factory burial grounds. Major Puckle was accorded a public funeral; the merchants and factors both of the English and Dutch factories were present; and the soldiers from the English factory fired the regulation three volleys over his grave.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

On the 15th Dec. 1676 Master was back in Balasore. It appears from an entry on that date that the Church services were performed by three ministers from the ships at that time; but their names have not been preserved :—

'The Council, taking into consideration that the ministers of the ships have preached in this factory since the decease of Mr. Darley the Company's Chaplain upwards of three months, did think fit to gratify them for their pains therein, and ordered that Rs. 100 be delivered to the commanders to be divided amongst three ministers.'

When the Directors wrote their annual letter in December 1676 they replied to the letters of 1675, and sent the Agent a copy of Patrick Warner's letter. At this time Richard Portman was at Fort St. George and was the only Chaplain in the Agency.[1]

The Directors wrote as follows [2] :—

'When we require an account of you of our Chaplains on the Coast and Bay, you only tell us, if there be any scandal in them, it will be wrote us from Metchlepatam and the Bay, as if that were a discharge of your duty; when, as we have made all in those places subordinate to you, and you complain of contumacy in some of them, yet will not act your part to keep them in that due order.'

'Mr. Prindle [3] hath not made any clamour against you, of which you were so jealous, and we hope he had no cause.'

'Inclosed is a copy of a letter from Mr. Warner with the list therein mentioned, and we require you to take it seriously into examination; and if you find Mallory and Barnes guilty of what he alleges, to send them home, and that others be admonished, and such as will not be reclaimed that you proceed with them according to our Rules.'

'We note what you say of firing your guns upon the naming of a Church by the Papists; we cannot approve thereof, and do desire you to give as little encouragement and countenance to that Religion as they do to ours; and we would have you discourage and discountenance all of our nation that any ways incline to that profession.'

'We are well pleased at the good character Mr. Puckle gives of Mr. Whitehead, but do order that on Sabbath days in

[1] This included the Bay.
[2] Despatch to Fort St. George, 15 Dec. 1676.
[3] Pringle.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the afternoon, being he preaches not, that he catechise the youth and expound thereupon, and that all in our service be present at that exercise.'

'P.S.—We have entertained Mr. William Bedgeant to be our Chaplain at ———— etc. We design him for the Bay in regard Mr. Darley writes he would return by the next ships, and for that the Fort and Metchlepatam are supplied; yet we leave it to you to settle him where you find there is most want.'

'There being two useful treatises lately extant, the one touching the existence of God, the other against Popery, we have thought it fit to send ten of the one and four of the other' etc.

Presumably the books were intended for the various factory libraries. As for Mr. Bedgeant there is no factory or other evidence that he ever reached Hugli. As to Mr. Warner's letter, it received no more attention than was due to it. It was neither the first nor the last of its kind. As long as the Directors encouraged their servants to write ill reports of one another home there was a supply. Streynsham Master, Elihu Yale, and several other excellent men fell a victim to them. From the very beginning the Directors ought to have destroyed the letters and discouraged in every way the odious system. The 1667 Rules, sometimes known as the Company's Ten Commandments, were quite sufficient to stop local illdoing, if there was any, and to maintain the character of the settlements.

Before leaving Fort St. George, Patrick Warner turned his estate into goods and sent it home in that way in the Company's ships. When it arrived in 1677 he asked the Company to allow him to land the goods duty free; they deliberated; this is the entry in the Minute Book[1]:—

'On reading a representation from Mr. Patrick Warner, late Chaplain at Fort St. George, praying consideration may be had of his present condition with respect to the prohibited goods by him brought home, the Court were pleased to allow him a gratuity of £20 for his service in India, he having had no imprest at his going out; to discharge the Romals from stated damages; and it is referred to the Committee for private

[1] *Court Minutes*, 3 Oct. 1677.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

trade to direct the delivery of his other goods, he paying what is due.'

They allowed him to have the Romals (kerchiefs) free of duty, but made him pay for the rest of the consignment.

On the 12th Sept. 1677[1] the Directors had before them the application of Mr. Evans, Curate of Thistleworth, to be employed as a Chaplain in India. He was recommended by Sir Joseph Ashe. The application leads one to conclude that William Bedgeant withdrew from his appointment. If he had started in one of the February ships, there would not have been time for the Company to hear on the 12th September either of his death or resignation. The probability is that he did not go. John Evans was appointed on the 2 Nov. 1677[1] on £50 salary with £50 gratuity subject to the usual conditions, both to begin on his sailing from Gravesend; and they gave him £20 for provisions on the voyage.

At the end of the year 1677[2] the Directors wrote to Fort St. George in reply to the 1676 letters; they advised the despatch of 100 Bibles and 200 catechisms. They expressed their desire that the children living in the Fort should be catechised every Sunday afternoon, and that a present of two pagodas should be given to each of them for their encouragement when they were able to repeat the Catechism correctly. In the Consultation Book of the Fort St. George Council under date 12 Dec. 1678 there is this entry:—'There being nine boys which have repeated the Catechism by heart in the Chapel upon the Lord's Day, it is ordered that two rupees be given to each of them for their encouragement according to the Honourable Company's order.' There is a similar entry on the 26 April 1680.

In the same despatch the Directors expressed their regret at the death of Major Puckle, and 'of our Ministers[3] and others that you name to us.' They announced the appointment of Mr. John Evans for the Bay.

'We have entertained Mr. John Evans to serve as Chaplain in your Agency, etc. . . . whom we order to be sent

[1] *Court Minutes.* [2] Despatch, 12 Dec. 1677.
[3] Thomas Whitehead and Josiah Darley.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

down into the Bay; but if it shall have pleased God to deprive you of Mr. Portman, you may detain him with you, and we pray God to give a blessing to his labours.'

Evans arrived at Fort St. George in June 1678; and was sent on the following month to Hugli with a letter from the Agent and Council to the Chief and Council at the Bay [1]:—

'Mr. John Evans whom the Hon. Company have entertained as Chaplain to serve in the Agency . . . went forward to you upon the ship Williamson; and to prevent any disputes in precedency which sometimes hath happened between the Chaplains and others, we have thought fit to appoint that the Chaplains do take place next after the Chiefs of the subordinate factories upon all occasions and in all places whatsoever.'

The ship called at Balasore where Richard Trenchfield was chief, and proceeded to Hugli on the 22 August.[2] It must have been on this occasion that he met Trenchfield's sister or Trenchfield's wife's sister, whom he married in February 1678–9.[3] He had two children by her; but both died.[4] John Byam of the Company's service married a sister of hers; so that Trenchfield, Byam and Evans were brothers-in-law; it was with their assistance that Evans engaged in trade in the Company's commodities, and incurred the Company's grave displeasure.

At the close of this year 1678 the Company appointed Mr. Richard Elliot to be a Chaplain on the Coast.[5] They wrote to Fort St. George about him on the 3 January 1678–9 thus:—

'We have entertained Mr. Richard Elliot to be our Chaplain, of whom we have received a very satisfying character of his learning abilities and pious conversation, etc. . . . . You are to settle him at Metchlepatam, or elsewhere where you judge there must be most want, and he most serviceable.'

[1] *Factory Records*, O.C. 4470, dated 8 Aug. 1678.
[2] *Factory Records*, O.C. 4483, dated 22 Aug. 1678.
[3] *Factory Records*, O.C. 4573, dated 6 Feb. 1678–9.
[4] See Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 4–13, for an exhaustive account of Evans. Frances Glynne must have been a second wife.
[5] *Court Minutes*, 4 Oct., 6 Nov. and 18 Nov. 1678.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Elliot arrived in July 1679. He accompanied the Agent, Streynsham Master, in his tour of the subordinate factories on the Coast and in the Bay in that year [1]; and on his return was sent to Masulipatam where he remained till the end of 1680.

A few gleanings of events happening in other factories at this period are interesting. It will be remembered that Mr. Robert Fleetwood, the Chief of Madapollam, died in the year 1676. He was in debt to the Company, to the native merchants, and to others. Some of the native creditors made a raid upon his property and helped themselves; the Chief and Council of Masulipatam thereupon stepped in and protected what was left in the interest of the Company. This interesting extract from the Madapollam Consultation Book [2] shows what became of the widow :—

'Thursday 16 May 1678. Mrs. Margery Fleetwood, the relict of Mr. Robert Fleetwood, deceased, was joined in matrimony with Mr. John Heathfield, Chirurgeon, of this Factory, whom he received in her shift.'

It is necessary to explain that there was at this period a popular belief that if a man married a widow in the ordinary way he took upon himself the liabilities of her first husband; but that if she divested herself of everything connected with her first husband, her second husband could receive her without being liable for any of her first husband's debts. So Mrs. Margery Fleetwood turned her back upon her household property and deserted her two houses and was received by John Heathfield free of liability. Four days afterwards there was a sale of the deserted property; and the proceeds were brought into the Company's cash to Robert Fleetwood's credit. Heathfield bought a good quantity of the furniture, besides two slave wenches and a slave boy.

In the Cassimbazzar Consultation Book [3] there is an entry on the 29 Sept. 1678 showing that Mr. Walter Clavell the Chief had a son baptised on that day by Mr.

[1] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 7–10.
[2] *Factory Records*, Masulipatam, vol. 2.
[3] Do. Kasimbazar, vol. 1.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Samuel Epes, Minister of the ship Society. John Evans had arrived and had charge of all the subordinate factories at the mouth of the Hugli; but he could not be everywhere at once. The presence of an occasional ship's Minister was a boon to the Company's servants.

In the Metchlepatam Consultation Book there was entered on the 31st March 1678 a list of books in the factory library. There were 73 in all. With very few exceptions the books were theological.

The following entries eloquently speak for themselves, the incidents being greatly to the credit of all the English merchants concerned. It must be explained that Masulipatam was in the Kingdom of Golcondah, and that both the Dutch and English Companies had established themselves and their factories there with the King's permission. His Highness was in 1678 making a tour of inspection of his dominions:—

'Sunday 8 Dec. 1678. This morning Shaw[1] Raza sent to desire license from Mr. Christopher Hatton[2] to come and see the manner of our religion and worship, having a great curiosity to see it; which was thought requisite to be granted, and a seat was prepared for him; he accordingly came and stayed all the time of divine service, and till sermon was read; observing with much attention the performance thereof, wherewith he seemed to be pleased; and about a quarter of an hour after it was finished, departed.'

'12 Dec. 1678. Shaw Raza acquainted the King that he had been on Sunday last at the English Church, and there saw the manner of their worship and devotion; which relation made the King desirous likewise to see the same. Whereupon he sent notice to the Chief and Council that on Sunday next he would come to the Factory to that purpose. Order was therefore given to prepare a seat for His Majesty, and that all things might be as decently and conveniently made ready for his reception as the time would permit.'

'Sunday 15 Dec. 1678. This morning according to the advice given on the 12th instant the King came to the Factory attended by Shaw Raza and some few of his principal servants, who was conducted by the Chief etc. into the hall,

[1] Shah Raza was one of the principal ministers of the King.
[2] The Chief of the English Factory.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the place appointed for the performance of divine service, where he was pleased to stay till it was done; observing heedfully the manner thereof; and taking notice that the women made use of books, desired to be satisfied whether they could read; and calling for the Chief's Bible and Common Prayer Book gave them into the hands of Mistress Field and Madam Mainwaring,[1] who according to his desire read before them.

'The Chief and Council had ordered to be made ready six pieces of fine broadcloth to be presented to his Majesty; wherewith being acquainted, he would not by any means accept thereof, desiring them to forbear, and that he came to gratify his curiosity and not to put them to any expense; that the trouble of preparation made to receive him was sufficient.

'After his departure he went to the Dutch Factory (who had made preparation in like manner, and had been very busy to prevent us of the honour of the King's first coming hither) where after their prayers were ended they entertained him with music and dancing wenches belonging to their Chief's lady in the very place where just before they had performed their devotions.'

An extract from one of the Company's letters to Suratt at this period shows that even then the Company had some sense of Christian obligation towards those dependent upon them.[2] Whilst approving of the reported purchase of 100 blacks, the Company directed that they were 'to be taught; and after three years' service as Christians, to be set free.'

In December 1670 the Company wrote a similar letter to St. Helena, directing that the negro slaves there were to be carefully instructed in the knowledge of Jesus Christ; that after baptism they were to serve seven years and no longer, and then to be free planters. The system of Christian instruction for their heathen subordinates was a new policy; it was apparently carried out by the Company of their own free will and without any pressure from outside.

Equally new was the policy of toleration for those of other

[1] The difference of honorific is to be noticed: Madam Mainwaring was the wife of a member of the Masulipatam Council; Mistress Field was the young wife of a young merchant; she was the daughter of Robert and Margery Fleetwood.

[2] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 34, p. 41.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

religions; but with certain limitations the Company deliberately pursued it. The acquisition of territory on the Coromandel Coast in 1640, and on the Bombay coast in 1660, placed the Company in a new position as rulers over persons of various religions, which it took them some time to understand. The civil war in England had carried conviction to many that toleration of religious views was better than civil strife. When the East India Company became the ruler over many Hindus, Muhammedans and Roman Catholic Christians it became necessary to declare their religious policy towards their new subjects. They wrote to Suratt[1] directing the President to choose a person fit for the government of their new settlement at Bombay, 'to whom give special instructions to promote the worship of God, according to His holy word and our Christian profession, amongst our own people and those that shall be invited to embrace the same; and yet not to persecute and disturb those that shall be of different apprehensions of any other nature.'

Similar instructions were sent to Fort St. George, and were referred to in the annual letter of the following year[2]:— 'in our former instructions we advised you chiefly to encourage the Protestant Religion, and to indulge those that dissented therefrom'; these were important steps in the direction of toleration at a time when the public mind was inflamed in England against Roman Catholics on the one hand and Protestant dissenters on the other. But at the same time the Company were more than alive to the danger of familiarity with Romanism; and they added this:—

'We understand that your overmuch familiarity with the Portugal and French Padres becomes a great snare to our factors and servants; for they are a very great means to lead them into all manner of debauchery and disorder, which we desire you for the future to take care to prevent.'

The Agent and Council replied that persuasion was better than persecution, and that perhaps the Portuguese and French Padres might be persuaded to embrace the Protestant religion,

[1] Despatch, 24 August, 1668.

[2] Do. 7 December, 1669.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and so become instruments to promote the glory of God. The Directors replied [1]:

'As to what you write concerning the Padres we heartily wish that you would use means to bring them over to the Protestant religion, that they might then (as you say) become instruments to promote the glory of God and the good of those people; which if you can obtain we would have you give them all reasonable encouragement; but if they remain in their former way, that then you indulge them in their continuance there; but chiefly to encourage the Protestant religion; and to the same effect we wrote you last year.'

What troubled the Company was that the children of Englishmen, soldiers and civilians, were being brought up as Roman Catholics. They were willing to extend toleration and indulgence to those of Portuguese birth; they regarded it only as natural that a Portuguese or a Frenchman should be a Roman Catholic; but it seemed equally natural that the child of an Englishman should be brought up in the faith of an Englishman—in what they called the Protestant Religion, meaning, thereby, the religion of England's Church. They wrote to their Agent at Fort St. George in February 1670–1:—

'And now we are speaking of this subject we must acquaint you that we have great complaints that English children, especially children of those who have married Portuguese women, are educated and brought up in the Popish Religion, which we cannot allow of; and therefore require you to take special care to prevent it; and if there be any such, send us a list of the names of the parents and children, for as we formerly writ you, we do but permit and suffer those of the Romish Religion; but that our endeavours are (as we hold it our duty) to encourage the Protestant Religion.'

The Agent represented the difficulty of carrying out the wishes of the Board; the Portuguese mothers, both castiçoes and mestiçoes,[2] claimed to do with their children as they pleased; some of them were not married; what could the fathers do against their wishes? And so the Directors wrote once more [3]:—

[1] Despatch, 29 November, 1670. [2] Both pure and mixed blood.
[3] Despatch, 13 Dec. 1672.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'Though you say it is difficult to follow our orders in the educating of children of English in the Protestant Religion, yet they being at the dispose of their fathers, you must as they grow up do your utmost endeavours that they be brought up therein.'

After consultation both at home and at Fort St. George the Directors wrote [1] and authorised the Council to give two pagodas to each boy of such marriages when he could say the Catechism by heart in the chapel on the Lord's day. The girls are not mentioned; which leads one to suppose that the Company compromised the matter with the mothers and their parents by allowing the girls to go the way of their mothers. Nine boys received the gratuity in 1678, and sixteen in 1680.[2]

Though there is this reference to the chapel at this period, the East India Company had built neither Church nor chapel in any of their factories. Divine service was regularly held in all of them, not only weekly but daily; but it was held in a room in the factory house set apart for that purpose. This sufficed for the day of small things; but that day was already drawing to a close.

[1] Despatch, 12 Dec. 1677, para. 29.
[2] Consultations, 12 Dec. 1678 and 26 April 1680.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER IV

STREYNSHAM MASTER AND THE BUILDING OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH

In the year 1677 the Honourable Company in London selected Mr. Streynsham Master, one of its own servants in the East, to succeed Sir William Langhorne as 'Agent of all our affairs on the Coast of Choromandell, Governor and Commander in Chief of Fort St. George and the town of Madraspatam, and of all the forces which now are or shall be employed in our service on the Coast' etc. In their commission they laid upon him certain obligations, the principal of which were :—

1. To observe all orders.
2. To observe and to see observed the printed rules of conduct dated the 18th Dec. 1667.[1]
3. To rule impartially and to do justice.

Streynsham Master's service had been principally at Suratt, where he had risen to be a Member of Council. In January 1676–7 he was promoted to be second of Council at Fort St. George, with the right of succession to the office of Governor, to which a year later he succeeded. His arrival marks an epoch in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Presidency; for he was a man of strong personality and independent judgment; and he was as zealous in the cause of the Church as he was loyal in the cause of the State.

When he was at Suratt in 1675 a movement was set on foot by the merchants and factors there to build a Church. There can be very little doubt, if one may judge from his subsequent action at Fort St. George, that Master took a prominent part in this effort. The President and Council at Suratt asked the Company to assist in the undertaking; and

[1] See *Madras in the Olden Time*, Appendix, Nos. ii. and iii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this they promised to do to the extent of Rs. 4000. They wrote on the 7th March 1676;—

'As to the building of a Church we are glad to understand the ready inclination of our servants and others thereunto; and as we promised so are we willing to allow 4000 rupees towards it, but shall not pass it upon our account till the Church is finished; and though we have a great confidence in our Chaplains, yet we would have you take particular care herein, that it may be built convenient and serviceable and not for ostentation.'

The intention of building a Church at Suratt was not carried out. It was becoming evident to the Factors and Merchants there that Bombay would ultimately supplant Suratt. Bombay was a possession, and had the same kind of advantage over Suratt as Fort St. George had over Masulipatam. Besides this Bombay possessed a great harbour. The manifest success of Fort St. George as a trading centre had won over the Directors to the policy of having settlements of their own for trading purposes. At Suratt itself the Merchants must have felt that it was only a question of time when the relative positions of Suratt and Bombay would be reversed, and the former made subordinate to the latter. And so, when Streynsham Master was promoted to Fort St. George at the end of the year 1676, the President and Council at Suratt held their hands and let the Church building scheme drop. Two years later in consequence of a falling off in trade, by which the receipts barely exceeded the necessary high expenses of the Factory, that which was anticipated actually came to pass, and Suratt was reduced from a Presidency to an Agency in favour of Bombay; and nothing further appears in the records regarding the proposed Church. Thus St. Mary's, Fort St. George, narrowly escaped not being the first English Church in the East Indies.

Before Master left Suratt, the President and Council issued an order banishing all vagabond pretended padres. One cannot help feeling that the order, which was approved by the Directors in their letter to Suratt dated the 15th March 1677, bears the stamp of Master's influence. It has been

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

stated[1] that some of the Dissenting Ministers, who were ejected from the rectories and vicarages of England at the Restoration, were appointed ministers to the English Factories at various places on the continent, in the East Indies, and in the plantations of America. There had been a few of this kind at Fort St. George, and one at the subordinate factories in the Bay; but they had kept from politics and religious differences, and as a rule had used the Prayer Book; so that there was little decided objection to them. At Suratt it seems to have been different.

At the time Streynsham Master was appointed Governor of Fort St. George, Josiah Child was exercising a preponderating influence in the Council of the East India Company. It was inevitable that two such masterful men should at some time or another, sooner or later, come into conflict. There was a skirmish over the expenditure of the local Charity Fund. The Directors wrote on the 12th December 1677:—

'As to money raised by you for charity by way of fines or otherwise we would have an account kept thereof and yearly sent us; and if there be any poor there that have been in our service, and through age or otherwise rendered incapable of getting a livelihood, or the widdows or children of such, let them be relieved therewith.'

A year later the Governor and Council of Fort St. George replied to this paragraph that they would rather manage their charities in their own way.

On the 3rd December 1679 the Company replied as follows:—

'In your next paragraph you say that if money be given for charitable uses, the givers desire to dispose thereof, and argue a little odly (to give it the modestest expression we can) that you are in a way of raising fines, and that you will distribute it to the most necessitous etc., which we hope you will, and are content you should.'

As time went on relations became more and more strained. Master was certainly the nominee and the servant of the Company; but he was also the Ruler over many thousands, and realised the importance and the dignity of his

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, page 309 (ed. 1862).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

position. Besides being a capable Governor, he was a large-hearted and large-minded man, and was able to settle some important points of domestic policy which had been shirked by his predecessors. He understood the Oriental character, and how to deal with it. He was not afraid of the responsibility of acting when the right time came. And he was one of those men, born to command, whom others naturally and without question obey. From the time that the Fort was built and garrisoned the English merchants there had had before them the Roman Catholic question. Rightly or wrongly the existence of Roman Catholics was by English people esteemed to be a political danger to the State. They were looked upon, not as persons exercising their religion according to the dictates of their conscience in their own way, but as persons banded together for the subversion of political and religious liberty. The Directors always wrote of them as if this notion were uppermost in their minds; and it may be added that the Roman Catholics had no one but themselves to thank for this very general opinion. For many years the English minority at Fort St. George had felt the difficulty of enforcing any regulation against them; for the Roman Catholics formed the bulk of the military force at their disposal; and this force, it was felt, could not safely be weakened. No Agent or President before Master had cared to run the risk.

In the year 1678 it was patent to all the inhabitants that there were more Roman Catholic priests in the settlement than were required by the number of Portuguese settlers; and that the newcomers were not French Capuchins such as the Company had allowed from the time the Fort was built, but were of the Portuguese nation, owing allegiance to the Bishop of St. Thoma and to the Archbishop of Goa. At this early period political considerations made it wise and expedient to exclude Portuguese influence from the Fort, and to employ French religious teachers for the Roman Catholic inhabitants; just as seventy years later similar considerations made an exactly opposite policy necessary. The Council considered the danger of the increase and resolved [1]:—

[1] Consultations, 4 April 1678.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'That in regard the town is very much pestered with Portuguese Popish priests more than in former times, it having always been the care of the first Agents in this place not to suffer those sorts of priests to intermeddle, or to admit them to have anything to do in this town, but wholly left the government of the Roman Church to the two French Capuchin friars Ephraim and Zenon,—(for whom the Church was first licensed to be built),—men that have ever behaved themselves with all due respect to the government of the place and the English interest; it is therefore thought fit that convenient opportunity be taken by degrees, as they shall give occasion through ill behaviour, to remove some of the Portuguese priests out of the town, that there may not remain more than is necessary to content the inhabitants of that nation and religion, and not such a number as will be a charge and burden to them, and breed disturbance in the town.'

In the year 1680 a case of intermarriage occurred, the like of which had not occurred before. One of the English free merchants named Brewster married a Roman Catholic Portuguese woman, the widow of an Englishman named Barrick; and the marriage was solemnised by one of the Portuguese priests. The fact of the marriage was soon known, and was at once taken into consideration by the Council.[1] It was reported that the Portuguese priest had fled the jurisdiction of the Council to avoid punishment 'which shall be inflicted if he comes back.' The question was whether it consisted with our religion and interest to admit of such marriages; and it was resolved:—

'1. That it is not against the law of God in Holy Scripture, nor the laws of England, and hath frequently been practised in England for Protestants to marry Roman Catholics.

'2. That the Roman Catholics of this place, being the offspring of foreign nations, chiefly Portuguese, and born out of England, and not liable to the laws of England provided against Roman Catholics, they always owning themselves vassals to the King of Portugal.

'3. That it is our interest to allow of marriages with them, especially our men with their women, to prevent sin; and in regard there is not English women enough for the men, and the common soldiers cannot maintain English women and

[1] Consultations, 22 March 1680.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

children with their pay as well as they can the women of the country, who are not so expensive and not less modest than our ordinary or common people are; and in the matter of marriages we have already gained by them many hopeful children brought up in the Protestant religion.

'And it is also further to be remembered that these Roman Catholics of the Portuguese nation were invited hither upon our first settlement; ground was given them to build upon; a Church and French priests were allowed to encourage them to come in and inhabit here; and they have been loyal and serviceable in the defence of the place in time of war, and are a great security to us on that account. Moreover our greatest income arises from the customs upon their commerce.'

With these resolutions the matter rested for three days. The Company had more than once expressed a wish that the children of the English soldiers by their Portuguese wives should be brought up in what they called the Protestant religion. It was one thing to make regulations of that kind for the civil and military servants of the Company; but it was another thing to make them for the free merchants of the settlement. The matter required consideration. There can be no doubt that the opinions of the free merchants were consulted during the three days before the final resolution was arrived at; and that it was found that the projected resolution was in accordance with the general sentiment. On the third day[1] the two Chaplains, Portman and Elliott, were sent for by the Council; and after some discussion it was resolved and ordered:—

'That upon the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic, both the parties to be married shall solemnly promise before one of the Chaplains of the place, by themselves or some for them, before the banns shall be published, and also in the chapel or Church by themselves in person, upon the day of marriage and before the parties shall be married, that all the children by them begotten and borne shall be brought up in the Protestant religion; and herein due care shall always be taken by the overseers of the orphans and the poor.'[2]

[1] Consultations, 25 March 1680.

[2] This resolution was passed about six months before the institution of Churchwardens.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Another matter of ecclesiastical importance carried out by Streynsham Master was the re-issue of the Company's 1667 rules of conduct for all the European inhabitants of their factories. He put the rules in force in the various subordinate factories on the Coast and in the Bay during his tour of 1676, and enforced them on his second tour of 1679. They were to be read out twice a year in Church or Chapel. He also promulgated definite rules for the military establishment, which were to be read out at the head of the garrison once a month.[1]

But the most important of all his acts, with which we are concerned at present, was the building of St. Mary's Church within the walls of the Fort. Here, again, as far as one can judge from the records, Streynsham Master and his Council—consisting of Joseph Hynmers, John Bridger, Timothy Wilkes, and John Nicks—proceeded on their own initiative, and decided on the building of it, the plan of it, and arranged in the Settlement for the cost of it, without consulting the Company or asking their assistance. It was this spirit of independence, shown on so many occasions, that was such an offence to the Directors in London, and especially to Josiah Child the masterful Governor of the Company. Streynsham Master did not disobey orders; he acted without them; and when he wrote his official letters, he wrote more as an equal than as a subordinate. Child resented this; he looked upon it as presumption; he pictured Master to himself as puffed up with pride; and when he wrote to his successor he referred to Streynsham Master as too big for his position. By the end of 1680 Child had decided, and the Directors had agreed with him—for he led the Directors just as Master led his Council—that a change of Agents was necessary; he accused him of pursuing private trade; and so on 3rd July 1681 he was superseded by Mr. William Gyfford.

The year before his supersession he completed the Church, and it remains a lasting monument of his administration. The work of excavating was begun on Lady Day 1678. When the Church was finished it was consecrated to God's service, and named the Church of St. Mary in honour of the

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, Appendix, No. iv.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.
From the West Gallery, showing the Roof.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Blessed Virgin on whose Annunciation Day the work had been commenced. There is nothing in the records to show who the designer was; but it is possible to give more than a shrewd guess; for Edward Fowle, the Master Gunner, was present in the Fort at the time, building the northern curtain of the Fort; and it is known how capable a builder and designer he was, and how he was afterwards chosen for this reason to design and build the Fort at Bencoolen.[1] Most probably the credit of designing and building the Church belongs to him; and as it is both well proportioned and strongly built the credit is considerable. The building consisted of a nave and two aisles; the nave extended about 12 feet further eastward than the aisles, the extension forming the sanctuary. West of the nave was the tower and spire. The outside walls of the aisles are 4 feet thick; the inner walls separating the nave from the aisles are 3 feet thick; over the nave and aisles are built three semicircular masses of brickwork, 2 feet thick, forming bomb-proof roofs of solid masonry. The builders had to think of possible contingencies such as cyclones and sieges, and built accordingly. No wood was used except for the doors and windows. Some slight additions were made during the 19th century; a vestry was built at the east end of each of the aisles, with flat masonry roofs supported by wooden beams; and the sanctuary was extended about 12 feet eastward for the formation of a choir; otherwise the building remains as it originally was, and is a monument of good workmanship. The inside length of the nave was originally 86 feet, and the inside breadth was 56 feet. At the west end of the nave was a spacious gallery, resting on carved teakwood pillars, and protected by a carved teakwood balustrade of curious and excellent workmanship. The gallery was presumably intended for the organ and the musicians; but it was not till 1687 that an organ was procured. The period when it was built was the period of the square box pew. By the time the ground space had been divided between the officials of the Company, the free merchants of importance, the officers of the garrison and the officers of the ships in harbour, there was not much left for

[1] *History of Fort St. George*, p. 49.

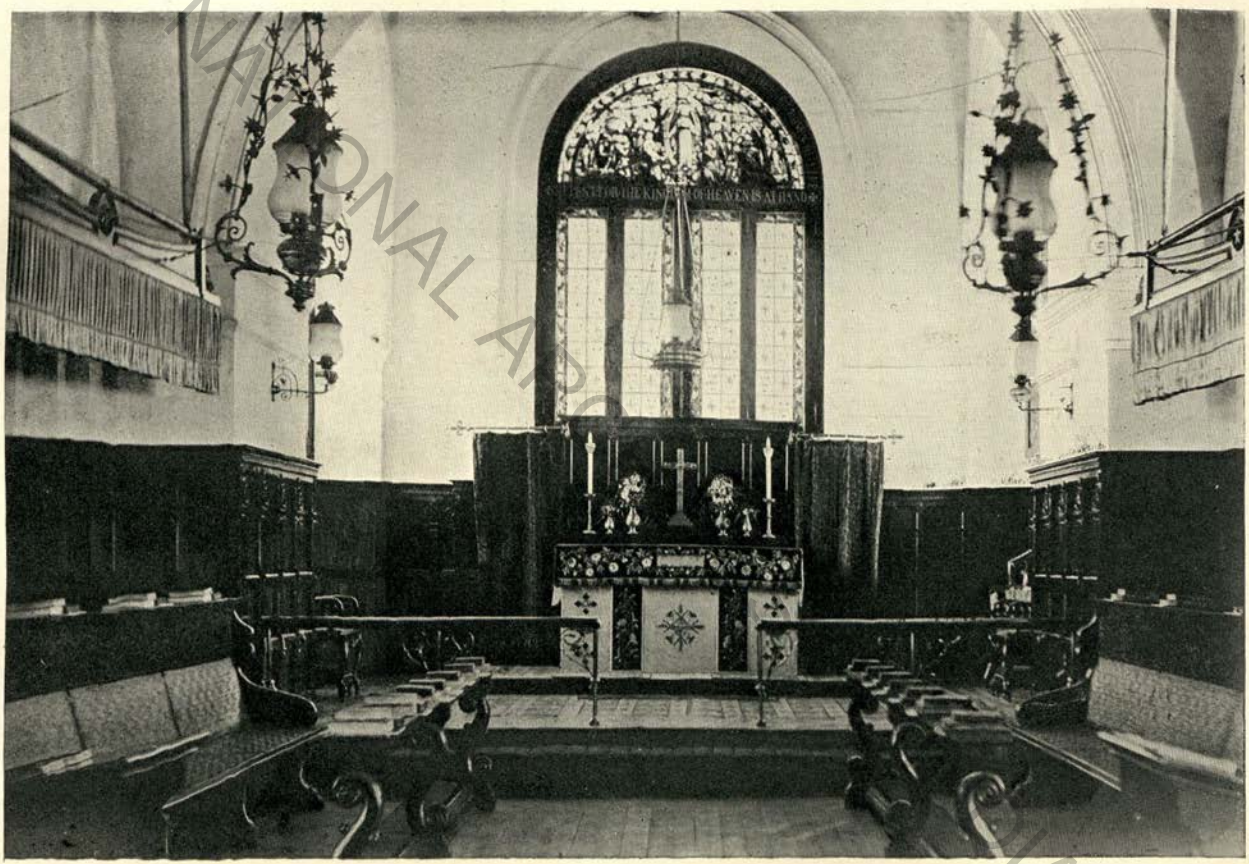
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the soldiers and the general inhabitants of the Fort. It is impossible to say how many persons the Church, under the old circumstances, was capable of seating. Under the modern conditions of open parallel sittings, the building can accommodate about 500 persons.[1]

In 1679 application was made to the Lord Bishop of London for the consecration of the Church. There is no record of this in the Consultation Books, nor in the letters home from Fort St. George to the Company, nor in the despatches from the Company to the Council. The inference is that application was made direct to the Bishop; and if this inference is correct, it was a highly characteristic action on the part of Mr. Streynsham Master. The application placed the Bishop of London in a difficulty. All the world outside England was for ecclesiastical purposes in his Diocese; Fort St. George was in a distant corner of that outside world; and so his jurisdiction extended to Fort St. George. But who was Richard Portman? It was easily discoverable that he was a Master of Arts of Oxford University, and that he was a rightly ordained Priest; but he was not licensed to officiate in the Diocese of London; and consequently was not of standing to perform any ecclesiastical function in the Diocese. First of all, then, he must be given authority to act; he must be licensed; and this involved the subscription of three oaths which all licensed priests have to take before their licence is delivered to them. Accordingly the Bishop of London issued a Commission to Streynsham Master to administer the oaths to the Chaplain. He then issued a Commission to Richard Portman to consecrate the Church, and licensed him to officiate in it. The instrument of consecration was then prepared; and all the papers, accompanied by minute instructions how to proceed at every step, were forwarded to Streynsham Master. The documents arrived in the month of October 1680 with the ships of that season. On the 28th of the same month—St. Simon and St. Jude's Day—the English inhabitants of the settlement assembled in the Church; the Governor and the Members of Council proceeded

[1] At the Queen's Jubilee service in 1897 seats were found for 525 adult persons, of whom about 450 were officers and men of the garrison.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



THE SANCTUARY OF ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

thither in state with their official roundels carried over them; Richard Portman took the oaths, received his commission to consecrate and his licence to officiate, and consecrated the Church. The Bishop of London's commission to Mr. Streynsham Master cannot be found; the other documents were as follows;—

'A.[1] *Instructions for speeding the Commission.*

'1. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy are to be administered to Mr. Portman who must take them kneeling, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangel.

'2. He must subscribe the three articles (first writing the day of the month and the year of his subscription) in these words, viz.

'Ego Richardus Portman, Clericus, jam admittendus ad inserviendum curam animarum apud Madraspatam in partibus Indiæ Orientalis, tribus his suprascriptis Articulis et singulis in eisdem contentis, lubens et ex animo subscribo.

'To this he must subscribe his name.

'3. He must subscribe the declaration (having first written the day of the month and the year over his subscription) in these words, viz.

'Renuntiavi pacto sive fœderi solemni[2] juxta statutum in ea parte editum.

'And to this also he must subscribe his name.

'4. This done his license must be given to him; and the Commissioner must certify all this to the Bishop, which he may do by inserting the day of the month and the year in the blank I[3] left in the form of the certificate herewith also sent, and subscribing his name, and setting his seal thereto.'

'B.[4] *The Three Articles.*

'1. That the King's Majestie under God hath and ought to have the Soveraignty, and Rule over all manner of Persons borne within His Realms, Dominions and Countrys, of what

[1] *St. Mary's Church Records.*
[2] The Solemn League and Covenant.
[3] The Vicar General and Official Principal.
[4] *St. Mary's Church Records.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

state, either Ecclesiasticall or Temporal, soever they bee; and that noe forrain Power, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spirituall, within His Majestie's said Realms, Dominions and Countrys.

'2. That the Book of Common Prayer and of ordeyning Bishops Priests and Deacons, conteyneth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that the same may lawfully be used, and that he himselfe will use the forme prescribed in the said Booke in Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

'3. That he alloweth the Booke of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces and the whole Clergy in ye Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, and sett forth by lawfull authority, And that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein conteined, being in number 39, besides the ratification, to be agreable to the word of God.

'Vicesimo Octavo die Octobris Anno Dom. Milesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo, Ego Richardus Portman, Clericus, etc. as in A.

(Signed) 'Richard Portman.'

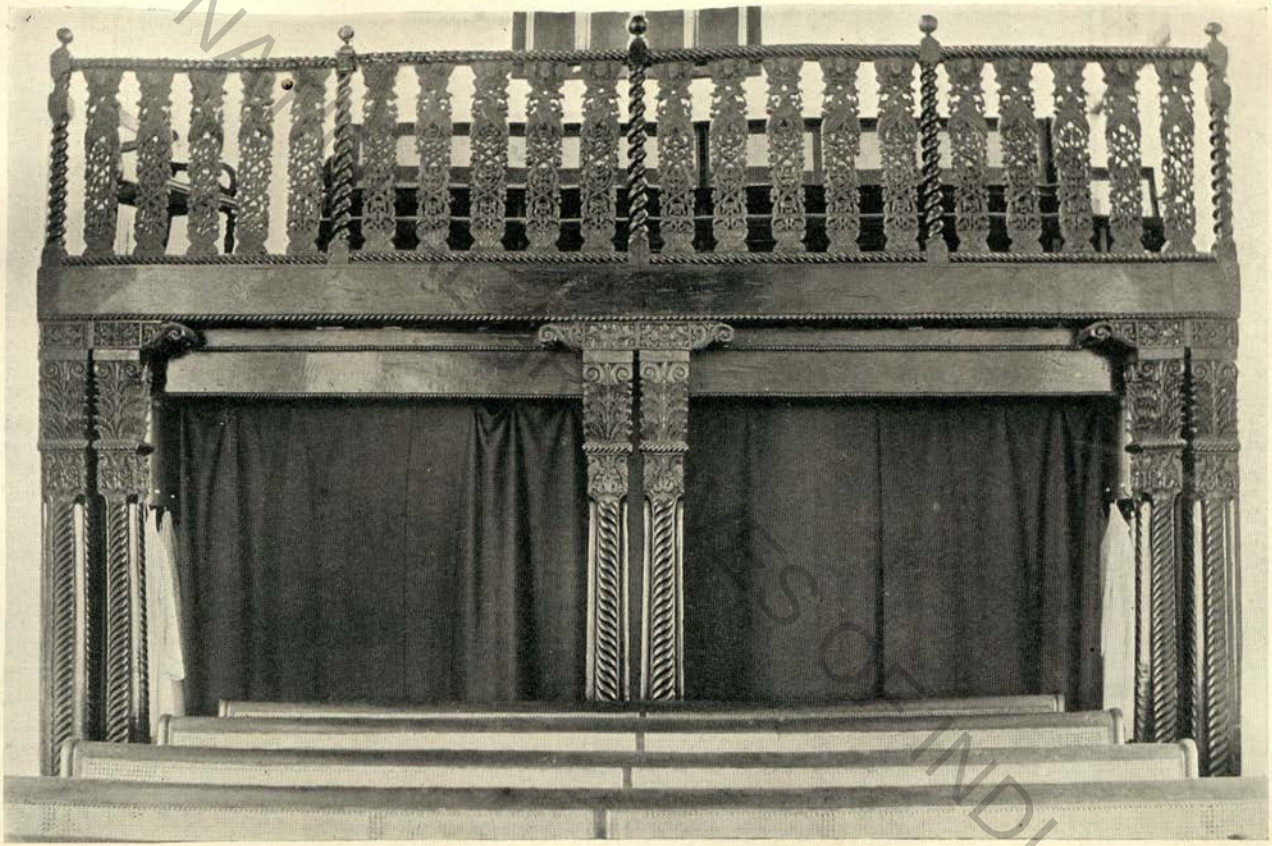
'C.[1] *Certificate of Streynsham Master.*

'Reverendo in Christo patri et domino Domino Henrico, permissione divina London' Episcopo, vestrove Vicario in spiritualibus Generali et Officiali principali legitime constituto ejusve Surrogato aut alii judici in hac parte competenti cuicunque, vester humilis et devotus Streynshamus Master, Armiger, Agens pro Honorabili Societate sive Communitate Mercatorum Londinensium, apud Indos Orientales missus, et Gubernator Castri Sancti Georgii, Commissarius vester in hac parte, legitime authorizatus, omnimodam reverentiam et obedientiam tanto Reverendo patri debitas et condignas Literas vestras Commissionales (præsentibus annexas) nuper cum eâ (qua decuit) Reverentiâ humiliter recepimus exequend.[2]:—

'Cujus vigore pariter et authoritate Richardo Portman, Clerico (vicesimo octavo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo coram nobis personaliter comparen'[3]) Juramenta Allegiantiæ et Supremitatis Regiæ

[1] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.
[2] 'Exsequendas.'
[3] Equivalent to 'apparenti.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



THE GALLERY IN ST. MARY'S, FORT ST. GEORGE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Majestatis detulimus, Idemque Richardus Portman eodem die in præsentiâ nostrâ tribus articulis, dictis Literis vestris Commissionalibus annexis, manu suâ propriâ subscripsit, ac pacto sive federi solemni renuntiavit;[1] et sic Literas vestras Commissionales quantum in Nobis et diligenter executi fuimus. In cujus rei Testimonium manum et sigillum nostrum ad arma præsentibus apposuimus. Dat. vicesimo Octavo die mensis Decembris Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Octogesimo.

(Signed) 'STREYNSHAM MASTER.'

After taking the oaths and making the required declaration Richard Portman received his licence to officiate in the Church, which by Canon 36 was indispensably necessary. In the same document he was commissioned to consecrate the Church. The Commission and licence ran as follows:—

'D.[2] *Commissio ad consecrandam Ecclesiam apud Madraspatam in Indiis Orientalibus.*

'Henricus, permissione divinâ London' Episcopus, Dilecto nobis in Christo Richardo Portman de Madraspatam in partibus Indiæ Orientalis, clerico, Salutem et Gratiam: Cum nos ex fide digna relatione recepimus Mercatores sive Factores Anglicanos ad Honorabilem Societatem sive Communitatem Mercatorum Indiæ Orientalis spectan' et pertinen' et apud Madraspatam prædict' et in locis ibidem circumvicinis sive circumjacentibus commorantes, pia et religiosa devotione ductos quo melius Deo inserviant, Ecclesiam in Dei Honorem et in usum eorum religiosum sumptibus suis propriis noviter erigi, ædificari, et construi fecisse.

'Tibi,—de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate, Literarum scientia, sana Doctrina et Diligentia plurimum confidimus,—committimus et mandamus quatenus Tu, vice loco et nomine nostris, dictam Ecclesiam omniaque et singula utensilia et necessaria ad eandem spectan' necnon cemeterium (si quod

[1] The Solemn League and Covenant pledged subscribers to this among other things:—'That we shall in like manner without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy,—that is, Church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarch,—superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness,' etc.

[2] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sit) ab omni usu communi et profano separes ; et soli divino cultui, et divinorum celebrationem quantum interest, et de jure possis, addicas.

'[Tibi committimus et mandamus] officiumque curati in Ecclesiâ prædictâ in precibus communibus aliisque ministeriis Ecclesiasticis ad officium presbyteri pertinen' juxta formam descriptam in Libro publicarum precum authoritate parliamen' hujus incliti Regni Angliæ in ea parte edit' et stabilit' et canones et constitutiones in ea parte legitime stabilit' et publicat' et non aliter neque alio modo.

'Tibi etiam—[1] præstito primitus per Te (vigore Commissionis geren' dat' cum præsentibus a nobis in ea parte decret') [1] juramento de Agnoscendo Regiam supremam potestatem in causis Ecclesiasticis et Temporalibus ac de Renunciando Refutando et Recusando omni et omnimodæ jurisdictioni potestati Authoritati et Superioritati foraneis juxta vim formam et effectum Statuti Parliamenti dicti Regni Angliae edit' et provis' [2]—subscriptisque per Te tribus illis articulis descriptis in tricessimo sexto capitulo Libri Constitutionum sive canonum Ecclesiasticorum anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Quarto Regiâ Authoritate edit' et promulgat' [3]—necnon renunciato per Te pacto sive fœdere Solemni juxta statutum in ea parte editum—Licentiam et Facultatem nostras concedimus et impertimur.

'In cujus rei Testimonium sigillum nostrum Episcopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum in domo sive palatio nostro Londinen' vicessimo die mensis Decembris Anno Dom' Millimo Sexcentesimo Septuagesimo Nono, et Nostræ translationis Anno Quinto.'

The service of dedication and consecration was then proceeded with. Streynsham Master in his own name and in the name of the principal people in the place—including the Chaplains, the Company's officials and the free merchants—presented a petition to Mr. Richard Portman as the Commissary of the Bishop of London, in which they dedicated the Church—asking him to accept 'this our freewill offering'—and prayed him to consecrate it, i.e. to set it apart from all profane and common use.

[1] 'By virtue of a Commission of the same date (gerentis datum) as these presents granted (decretæ) by us for that purpose.'

[2] 'Editi et provisi (Statuti).'

[3] 'Editi et promulgati (Libri).'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'E.[1] *The Petition.*

'Sir, Wee are come hither to the dedication of this Building for a Church, and I am ordered in the name of the Right Worshipfull Streynsham Master, Esquire, Agent and Governor of this Town and Garrison, and in the name of the other gentlemen here underwritten, and all the other contributors, whether present or absent, to represent unto you, That whereas this fort Saint George and Town of Madraspatam, alias Chinnapatnam, upon the Coast of Chormandell in the East Indies hath been near forty years under the Government of the English Nation, and Wee have hitherto had no Church for the public worship of God, Wee have now erected one at our own cost and charge with an intent and purpose that it may be dedicated[2] to the publick worship of Allmighty God, and that His Holy and Blessed name might there be honoured and called upon by all Christian Protestant people that are at present in or shall come hereafter unto this place, I therefore, in the name of the said Streynsham Master, Esquire, and in the names of all the other contributors, whether present or absent, doe promise hereafter to refuse and renounce to put this Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever, and desire it may be dedicated wholly and only to Religious uses for the Glory of God and the salvation of our souls, in which respect we doe humbly beseech God to accept this our sincere intent and purpose, and doe unanimously desire you as God's Minister and by virtue of that power which you have now upon this occasion received from the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, to accept this our free will offering, and to decree this Church to be severed from all common and profane uses and so to sever it, as also by the Word of God and prayer and other spirituall and religious duties to dedicate it to the sacred name of God and to His Service and Worship only; promising that Wee will ever hold it as an holy place, even as God's house, and use it accordingly, and that Wee and our successors in this place will from time to time and ever hereafter as need shall be, so far as in us lies, see it conveniently repaired and decently furnished in such sort as a Church ought to be. And Wee doe further promise for ourselves and Our successors in this place to use our utmost endeavours to procure alwayes from

[1] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.
[2] Devoted, given up to.

NATIONAL ARCHIVE OF INDIA

time to time a sufficient Clerk or Clerks, being in the Order of Priesthood, licensed and authorized according to the Lawes of England, to the end that he or they may take upon them the cure of the said Church, and duely say Divine Service in the same att time appointed, and performe all other such offices and Dutyes as by the Cannons of our Church and the Lawes of the Kingdome of England every Minister is bound to doe, provided notwithstanding that for the future noe corps may be interred within the said Church or in the Churchyard adjoining thereunto.

'Streynsham Master.
'John Bridger.
'Timothy Wilkes.
'Richard Portman.
'Richard Elliot.
'Jno. Nicks.
'Elihu Yale.
'Vincent Sayon.
'James Bett.'
'Ralph Ord.
'John Wilcox.
'Richard Browne.
'James Wheeler.
'Timothy Harris.
'William Jearsey.
'John Davies.
'Thomas Lucas.'

Of the above persons William Jearsey and Thomas Lucas were free merchants,[1] James Bett was the Commandant of the garrison, and the rest were merchants of various grades in the service of the Company.

The expression 'which you have now upon this occasion received from' etc. seems to show that the administration of the oaths, the delivery of the Licence and Commission to consecrate, and the presentation of the Petition took place in the Church on the occasion—probably the morning—when the people were gathered together for the Consecration service.

The following is a copy of the decree or instrument of Consecration.

'F.[2] *Consecratio Ecclesiæ apud Madraspatam in Indiis Orientalibus.*

'In Nomine Domini, Amen. Cum egregius vir Streynshamus Master, Armiger, Agens pro honorabili Societate sive Communitate Mercatorum Londinensium apud Indos Orientales, et Gubernator hujus Castri Sancti Georgii Oppidique Madraspatam, et multi alii Mercatores sive Factores Anglicani

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, Appendix vii.
[2] From the Registry of the Bishop of London.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ad eandem Communitatem pertinentes, et apud Madraspatam prædictam et in locis adjacentibus Commorantes, pia et religiosa devotione ducti, quo melius Deo inserviant, Ecclesiam in Dei honorem et in usum eorum (continentem inter muros ejusdem in Longitudine ab Oriente ad Occidentem Octoginta et sex pedes aut circiter, in Latitudine vero ab Aquilone ad Austrum quinquaginta et sex pedes) sumptibus suis propriis jam ædificaverint; eandemque Ecclesiam Ebenis vacerris [1] a Cancello distinxerint; sacrâ mensâ decenter instructâ, Baptisterio, pulpito, sedibus convenientibus imo, elegantissimis aliisque necessariis ad Divinum Cultum sufficienter et decenter ornaverint; mihique unâ voce supplicaverint ut dictam Ecclesiam ab usibus prophanis et communibus separarem, et in usus sacros et Divinos addicerem, secundum Facultatem a Reverendo in Christo patre Domino Henrico permissione Divinâ Londinen' Episcopo, in vice Loco et nomine suo, mihi datam; Ego Richardus Portman, presbyter, et Sacellanus pro Honorabili Societate prædictâ, nuper ex Aulâ Sanctæ Mariæ apud Oxonienses Artium Magister, ad pium et religiosum eorum Desiderium, eandem Ecclesiam ab omni communi et profano usu in perpetuum separo; et soli Divino Cultui ac Divinorum celebrationi in perpetuum Addico, Dico, Dedicoque; vizt. precum publicarum Religiose recitandarum, verbique Dei sincere proponendi et prædicandi, Sacramentorum Eucharistiæ et Baptismatis in eadem ministrandorum, Matrimonii Solemnizandi, et sic de cæteris quæ in aliis Ecclesiis licite fieri possunt et solent; excepto quod Mortui non sunt hic sepeliendi; ac insuper prædictam Ecclesiam nunc et in futurum Addicimus et Dedicamus per nomen Sanctæ Mariæ; et sic Dedicatam fuisse et esse et in futuris perpetuis temporibus remanere debere palam et publice pronuncio, Decerno et declaro; et per Nomen Sanctæ Mariæ Nomino et appello, et sic perpetuis futuris temporibus nominandam et appellandam fore Decerno.'

At the conclusion of the solemn service salutes were fired in honour of the occasion by the garrison infantry as well as by the garrison gunners. A Council meeting was subsequently held, and the event of the morning was recorded in the Council's Consultation Book. It runs as follows:—

'Thursday, 28th October 1680. The new Church was dedicated by virtue of commissions directed to the Govern-

[1] 'By means of ebony rails.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment, and to Mr. Richard Portman the Minister, from his Lordship the Bishop of London. The solemnity was performed in very good order, and concluded with vollies of small shot fired by the whole garrison drawn out, and the cannon round the Fort. The Church named St. Mary's as at first intended, and from this time forward all public service to be there performed.

'It is observable that at the dedication of a new Church by the French Padres and Portuguese in 1675, Sir William Langhorne, then Agent, had fired guns from the Fort; and yet at this time neither Padre nor Portuguese appeared at the dedication of our Church, nor so much as gave the Governor a visit afterwards to wish him joy of it.'

It is to be observed that the word made use of in the Council Minute Book with respect to the ceremony which had just taken place is 'dedication.' The building was certainly dedicated: that is, given up by its builders and owners for sacred purposes, so that they had no longer any private property in it, nor private rights connected with it, even though they had expended their own money over the building of it. But more than this was done. The building was also consecrated, solemnly set apart from all common and secular use, by the authority and by the act of the Bishop of London. 'Qui facit per alium facit per se.' It must not be thought that the consecration of St. Mary's was not a real consecration because it was not performed by a Bishop in person. Consecration is the function of a Priest. As a rule he receives authority to consecrate the elements of the Lord's Supper only. But he might receive authority to consecrate other things also. In this case Richard Portman received authority to consecrate St. Mary's Church.

The building of the Church at Fort St. George fired the Company's servants at Bombay to emulate the good example; and they set about the work. The Company were not unwilling to help; indeed they exercised their influence in favour of the scheme by helping the local authorities to collect money for the purpose. This resolution was one of the results of their goodwill[1]:—

[1] *Court Minutes*, 28 Jan. 1684–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'Resolved that such gentlewomen as shall be permitted to go for India be obliged to pay £10 apeece on the day of their respective marriages towards the finishing of the Church now building at Bombay.'

Twenty years later Benjamin Adams, the Bengal Chaplain, set on foot a scheme for building a Church at Calcutta, at that time raised to the dignity of a Presidency. Through the efforts of Dean Prideaux and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Company, which had a monopoly of trade to the East Indies and profited so much from it, was forced by its charter of 1698 to do more than it had hitherto done for its Christian and heathen subordinates and subjects. And so it is not surprising to find that the Company gave more assistance in the building of the Church at Calcutta than they had previously given[1] for similar purposes. They gave the site, they gave Rs. 2000; and they gave a bell. Until the end of the 18th century St. Mary's, Fort St. George, was the only Church in India which was built without the Company's assistance.

The Church at Bombay was not built in the year 1684–5 when the Company passed the above resolution. There were local quarrels, and the matter was delayed. Hamilton says[2] that £5000 was collected for the purpose; 'but Sir John Child, having been sent over as Governor, converted the money to his own use, and nothing more was ever heard of it.' Hamilton was an interloper; he tells so many stories of the Company's servants which are known not to be true, that it is highly probable that this story is not true. Anyhow the Church at Bombay was not built till twenty years later.

There were many Roman Catholic Churches in different parts of India before St. Mary's was built; and although Valentyn does not give the date of the foundation of the Dutch Churches in his history, there can be little doubt that the Dutch had Churches at their more important settlements before the year 1680. St. Mary's may, however, boast of being the first building connected with the National Church of England in the country.

[1] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 51–9.
[2] Moore's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. p. 669.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER V

FROM THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH TO THE END OF THE CENTURY

NOTWITHSTANDING the prosperity and popularity of his reign Streynsham Master, who was quite misunderstood at home, was superseded in 1681. Before giving over charge to his successor he brought to the notice of the Company the good and faithful service of one of their servants at Metchlepatam, lately deceased. The result was that the Company voted the cost of a handsome monument to his memory, recording his virtues. It was the first of a long series of similar tributes, some of which adorn St. Paul's Cathedral London, some the walls of Westminster Abbey, and some the Churches of their settlements in the East. The record of faithful service is as follows[1];—

'Mr. Maurice Wynn of Metchlepatam being dead, so that we cannot reward his fidelity to himself, we are willing to be at some charge to preserve the memory of his merit, and our own gratitude; and do therefore order you to cause a considerable tomb to be erected over his body. On the building and graving whereof you may disburse to the value of 200 pagodas, and cause the following epitaph to be engraven upon it in large capital letters in four languages, viz. English, Portuguese, Persian and Gentue:—

'"The Honourable East India Company of England for a perpetual remembrance of the fidelity and care of their good servant Maurice Wynn, deceased, in preventing English Interlopers at Metchlepatam, have caused this monument to be erected under which his body lies interred; he died Chief of this Factory the —— day of —— Anno Domini 1680."'

[1] Despatch, 10 March 1681-2.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

On the recommendation of Master the Bay Agency was made independent of Fort St. George. In the year 1679 he made a tour of inspection of the subordinate Factories. He was accompanied by the newly arrived Chaplain, Richard Elliot. The joint influence of the Governor and Chaplain effected some changes for good in the every day life of the Hugli Factors. The Company's Rules 'for the Christian and sober Comportment of all our Factors and Servants,' dated 1667, were put in force; and the fines for the breaches of the various Rules were ordered to be sent annually to Fort St. George, to be credited to the Charity Fund for the relief of the Poor. Master submitted his report to the Directors on the condition of the subordinate Factories in 1681, just before his supersession; and the Directors acted upon his suggestions. Hedges became the first independent Agent of the Bay. And the fines under the Company's Rules were applied to the relief of the local poor instead of being sent to Fort St. George.

Streynsham Master returned home in 1682, a year after Richard Portman. At the end of 1682 one of the Bay Chaplains, Mr. Lesley, was recalled by the Directors, having been evil reported of for intemperance and gaming.[1] It is not very easy to estimate the value of these reports, when some are known to have been false. Anyhow at the beginning of 1683 there were only two Chaplains on the Coast and Bay; Richard Elliot at Fort St. George and John Evans at Hugli; and no other appointments were made till 1691.

The Reverend H. B. Hyde has given an exhaustive life of John Evans in the 'Parochial Annals of Bengal'; and he defends his character against the aspersions that were freely cast upon it by some of his contemporaries. Evans went to Hugli in 1678 and remained there till December 1686, when the Factory was destroyed by the troops of the Nawab of Bengal. He accompanied Job Charnock, the Agent, and the remnant of the settlement in their flight to Chutternuttee; thence to the malarious swamp at Hidgelee; and thence to Balasore, where the survivors—consisting of 28 souls—were rescued by a Company's ship, and taken to Fort St. George. In this perilous retreat he was accompanied by his wife; but

[1] Despatch to Hugly, 26 May 1682.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

it is probable she did not survive it. He arrived at Fort St. George in March 1689 and remained there for four years. He assisted the Chaplain in his work until August 1692 when the Company dispensed with his services. He remained at the Fort in a private capacity till June 1693, when, against the orders of the Fort St. George Council,[1] he returned to Chutternuttee. In the following February he returned to England.

He suffered personally in the service of the Company; but the Company showed him no consideration for what he had gone through in their service. He was guilty of private trading to Europe; which was in the eyes of Josiah Child and the majority of the other Directors an unpardonable offence.

There was nothing dishonourable nor dishonest in what he did; which can be seen by the fact that he did not lose the respect of the merchants among whom he ministered[2]; they allowed him to join in their ventures in country goods from port to port, and in their exports to England of goods not required by the Company. He lent his money to the venturers or joined in their venture just as one might lend money to a Railway Company or buy its shares; and he took the same risk as they did from the King's enemies, pirates, fire, shipwreck etc. If he was successful, it was for the reason that though some men are not fortunate in their ventures, some are. It is too late in the day to try and get up indignation against John Evans because of his trading ventures.[3] He was denounced by the Company and dismissed, like many other honourable men at the period; but there was nothing morally wrong in his action. Some of the Directors protested against the harsh treatment dealt out to some of their best servants on this account; and joined the new Company of venturers rather than pursue it. The names of Papillon and Master are pre-eminent in this connection.

There is another subject intimately connected with morals which may not be omitted in a history of this kind; more

[1] Fort St. George Consultations, 13 June 1693.
[2] Fort St. George Consultations, 28 March 1688.
[3] Sir William Hunter, Talboys Wheeler, and Dr. C. R. Wilson are unanimous in the adverse character of the judgement they have formed against him.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

especially since so many of the early Chaplains seem to have suffered from it. From a very early period it pleased the Directors to receive favourably reports about their servants in responsible positions from those subordinate to them. In the middle of the 17th century they are found receiving and considering petitions and reports from native merchants and subordinates against their own Agents. The knowledge that this policy was pursued undermined the confidence between employer and employed, and was a distinct injustice to the latter. It was not until Sir William Langhorne, an old servant of the Company, came upon the Directorate, that the Company began to discourage espionage and refuse to listen to tales against their servants in the East behind their backs.

Sir William Hunter has drawn attention[1] to a movement in favour of the Evangelisation of India which took place at this period. The Honourable Robert Boyle, the philosopher, in 1677 reopened the question originated by Baxter in 1660, by commending to the East India Company (of which he himself was a Director) a plan for the propagation of the Gospel in the East Indies. He had previously discussed his plan with Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and was able to report that the Bishop would undertake to train men in the knowledge of Arabic for the work, if the Company would send scholars to Oxford to be trained, and would bear the cost of the training. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was in close sympathy with Boyle and Fell.

The following letter was found by Hunter among the Indian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. It is from Bishop Fell of Oxford to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, and is dated the 21 June 1681 :—

'May it please your Grace,

'I gave you the trouble of a letter by the last post, and should not have been so unfortunate, but that an unexpected occasion has happened, which may prove of concernment to the public, and which ought to proceed with your Grace's privity and guidance. That your Grace may have a perfect knowledge of the affair, I shall present you with a narrative of every step that has been made in it. The

[1] Hunter's *India of the Queen*, pp. 232 (ed. 1903) and 242 *note*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

evening before I left London, I went to take my leave of Mr. Boyle, with whom I had long ago contracted an acquaintance when he dwelt in this place (Oxford).

'It so happened that we fell into discourse of the East India Company, and I enlarged upon the shame that lay upon us, who had so great opportunities by our commerce in the East, that we had attempted nothing towards the conversion of the Natives, when not only the papists, but even the Hollanders had laboured herein. While I was upon this argument Dr. Burnet came in and heard the remainder of it. The effect of the discourse at that time was, that Mr. Boyle immediately assigned £100 which lay in Mr. Robert Clayton's hands, towards the encouragement of such as should learn the Malaian language, and fit themselves for the service of God in the East. Since then Dr. Burnet having an occasion of speaking with Sir Josiah Child, Governor of the East India Company, reported to him what had passed at Mr. Boyle's, which he seemed affected with. Whereupon Dr. Burnet about ten days since wrote to me and gave me notice of what had passed, adding that he verily believed that if I would write to Sir Josiah Child, he would be induced to do somewhat that would be considerable.

'I thought with myself that the loss of a letter was not to be put in balance with the possibility of a real advantage, especially one to the public; and accordingly I wrote, and by the last post am informed by Dr. Burnet that on Friday last a Committee was called and he directed to attend. Where being called in he was told that the proposition which I had made was unanimously entertained by the Company; that they had appointed a sub-committee to form a design, and raise a fund, which the Governor hoped would rise to £5000, wherewith they would buy actions which would render 10 or 20 per cent. With these sums they would maintain in the University young scholars who should be instructed in the principles of religion and the Malaian language. There are other particulars concerning the translation of the Gospel and Psalms and Catechism and printing them; with grammars, vocabularies, and other subsidiary books, of which Dr. Burnet will be able to give your Grace a more distinct account. How far this very unexpected affair may proceed, and how it is to be managed and advanced your Grace will best judge. The whole thing being undesigned and providential will, I hope, not look like meddling and business in the concerns of others.

(Signed) 'Jo. Oxon.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Company agreed to take charge of the fund, and to expend it under the advice of Sancroft, Fell and Burnet, without any gain to themselves.[1] They also subscribed sums of money for the maintenance of the young men; and agreed to accept[2] such nominations as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Oxford should agree upon. And they bound themselves 'during the continuance of the present joint stock, and our having an interest or share of adventure therein,' to pay for the education and instruction of young scholars in both or either of the Universities in the Eastern languages, 'and for such other pious uses of the same kind as the Court of Committees shall from time to time think fit.'[3]

It is worthy of record that amongst the original subscribers on the Directorate were Sir Josiah Child and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke; and that by the end of 1682 they had in hand enough money to produce £161 per annum.

So this pious design for the propagating of the Christian Religion in the East Indies was set on foot. The projectors had in their minds certain definite ideas as to how it could be done:—

1. They had Boyle's translation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles into Malay.

2. They had Pocock's translation of Grotius' Truth of the Christian Religion into Arabic.

3. There was the teaching afforded by the Professorship of Arabic, established at Oxford by Archbishop Laud in 1637.

4. There was Bishop Fell's offer to superintend the training of the young men in Arabic.

5. They had the liberal financial assistance of various members of the East India Company.

The essence of the plan was to make use of the Company's Chaplains as Missionaries, having previously given them a special training for the purpose. The scheme failed for various reasons. Bishop Fell died in 1686. The Company's Charter lapsed in 1693, and was renewed for only five years. It was found out before long that neither Arabic nor Malaian

[1] *Court Minutes*, 6 July 1681. [2] *Court Minutes*, 3 May 1682.
[3] *Court Minutes*, 3 May 1682.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

would be of any use for the purpose of evangelising India. Some of the subscribed funds were expended over printing and distributing Boyle's Malay version of the Gospels in the Company's settlements; but it is believed—and the belief is strengthened by a reference to the funds in a letter (hereafter printed) from the Chaplain at Poplar to the Directors—that the bulk of the money was given back to the subscribers.

For some time before the Church was built the Company had been in the habit of sending out to Fort St. George liberal supplies of religious books. Mr. Ralph Ord the Schoolmaster took out a supply with him in 1678. A further liberal supply was granted a year later,[1] consisting of a large Bible, a large Common Prayer Book, and a Book of Homilies; these were evidently for Church use. There were besides

100 Bibles.
200 Prayer Books.
300 Whole Duty of Man.
100 Psalters
100 Testaments } 'Of the same sort as Mr. Ord carried
100 Primmers } with him.'

Later on, when the Directors understood that Portuguese books were more required than books in Arabic and Malay, liberal gifts of Portuguese books were made; and the Chaplains were chosen with a view to their being able to make themselves useful in the Settlements among the many who spoke Portuguese there. The Missionary idea was not given up; it was modified and made practical by a further experience of the facts of the case.

The year 1687 is memorable in the history of St. Mary's Church for the reason that in that year was purchased its first organ. Captain Weltden, who commanded the Company's Ship Curtana, brought out a pipe organ with him, and offered it to the Council for 70 pagodas, which it is stated was below the prime cost. It is not stated in the Records why he brought it, nor why he sold it under prime cost; but we read in the Consultation Book that on the 2nd June 1687 the

[1] *Court Minutes*, 15 Aug. 1679.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Council accepted his offer, and ordered the instrument to be bought and paid for. No doubt this is the instrument referred to by Lockyer in his Trade in India. This organ lasted till 1718. In that year the Vestry decided to order a new one together with an organist from home. There is no reference to this in the Public Consultations, and so it is to be inferred that the whole cost was borne by the Vestry and not by the Company. There is a record of the instrument and the organist being sent out.[1] This must have been the instrument which was carried away by the French to Pondicherry before they restored the Fort to the English merchants in 1749.

In the year 1687 it was decided to lodge the soldiers inside the walls of the town. For over forty years they had been accommodated outside the north wall. The Conquest of the Deccan and of the more important of the Southern Hindu Kingdoms by the Mahommedan ruler of northern India made it necessary to strengthen the outer defences of the Fort, and to accommodate the soldiers inside the walls in preparation for a possible siege. The barrack was built 'over against our Fort Gate (where formerly were the stables and other old buildings which the great storm blew down)' that the soldiers 'may be all within our walls to be ready upon occasion'; at each end there was 'a prison for soldiers that offend'; and the building was ordered to be 'tarrast' at the top.[2] This new barrack was west of the west wall of the inner Fort, south of the River Gate, and along the west wall of the outer fort.

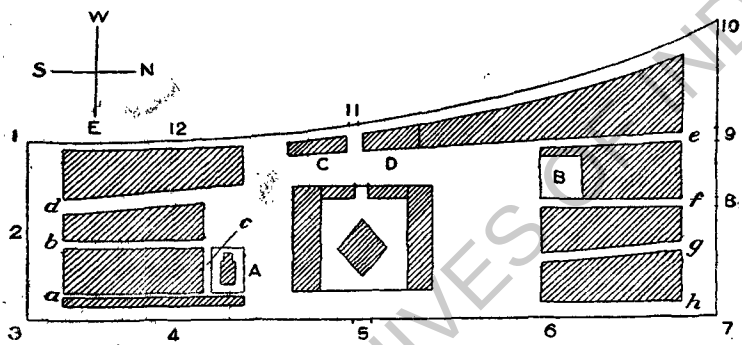
Owing to difficulties with the new Mahommedan conquerors some of the subordinate factories on the coast had to be closed; the Factors and merchants belonging to them were brought to Fort St. George. This made a considerable increase to the population. In a time of danger it was necessary that all these new comers as well as the soldiers should know the names of all the points, streets, gates, batteries and curtains; so that there should be no confusion if circumstances obliged them to man the walls. The Council therefore placarded the

[1] *Court Minutes*, 22 Oct. 1718.
[2] Consultations, 16 June 1687 (terraced).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

gates with the necessary information.[1] The four points of the inner fort were to be known as the English point, Scotch, French and Irish; but it is not stated in the Consultation Book which was which.

As to the outer works and streets the following plan shows how they were named at this period.



1687. *Not drawn exactly to scale.* *F. P.*

1. Charles Point.
2. James Bulwark.
3. St. Thomas Point.
4. Dover Battery.
5. Sea Gate.
6. Plymouth Battery.
7. York Point.
8. Middle Gate.
9. Choultry Gate.
10. Gloucester Point.
11. River Gate.
12. River Battery.

a. St. Thomas' Street (21 houses).
b. James Street (20 houses).
c. Church Street (5 houses).
d. Charles Street (9 houses).
e. Choultry Street (9 houses).
f. Middle Street (13 houses).
g. Gloucester Street (4 houses).
h. York Street (14 houses).

A. St. Mary's Church (English).
B. St. Andrew's Church (R.C.)
C. The new barrack.
D. The Hospital in 1692.

Besides these eight principal streets there were four alleys or lanes between the houses and the north and south walls which had the names of the streets they were nearest to.

Choultry Alley (between *e* and *f*).
York Lane (between and *h*).
St. Thomas' Lane (between *a* and *b*).
James Alley (between *b* and the west wall).

The arrival of a number of the Company's servants from the factories which had been closed made it necessary to arrange for some accommodation for them. The following extract from the Consultation Book shows what was done[2]:—

[1] Consultations, 7 Feb. 1687–8.

[2] Consultations, 22 March 1687–8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The withdrawing several of our factories having brought many of the Rt. Hon. Company's servants hither, for whom having no accommodation in the Fort,' etc. . . . 'And there being a very commodious house built by the contribution of the Town inhabitants for an Hospitall, to entertain sick soldiers and seamen; which lying so near the Rt. Hon. Company's sorting godown and the Church and in the middle of the City that 'tis very offensive and inconveniently situated for that use; and its tarrass joining the godown; and the great concourse of company that frequent the hospitall renders the Rt. Hon. Company's goods in danger of being stolen which sometimes must unavoidably lie open in the godown yard; and the goods often lost thence has been suspected to go that way, which cannot be better prevented for the future but by adding the Hospitall to the godown, which the many lower rooms therein will be of great conveniency and service for china and other sorts of fine goods, and the upper rooms for lodging chambers for Factors and Writers; upon which consideration and of its being so many several ways convenient and safe for the Rt. Hon. Company's service; 'tis agreed and ordered that it be bought of the Parish for their account, and that a new hospital be built with the money at a more convenient place near the river side. And Mr. Higginson, Mr. Fraser, Capt. Bett and the Churchwardens do make a due survey and value of the said hospitall building; and that it be paid for accordingly; and that the Churchwardens etci do begin with all expedition the new hospitall by the river.'

This extract shows the origin of the hospital; like the Church it was erected by the inhabitants, without assistance from the Company, for their own use; and like the Church it was vested—as far as the local Government could vest it—in the Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish. It was situated in James Street. It was known at this period as the new hospital, and is entered as such in the rent roll of houses in 1688,[1] which seems to show that there was another building for the purpose in earlier times.

As the building belonged to the parishioners it could not be sold nor altered without their consent. To obtain this a Vestry meeting was called, and the necessary permission obtained; and the committee appointed by the Council was

[1] Consultations, 2 Aug. 1688, and Wheeler, p. 138.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

authorised to survey and value the building. This committee reported to the Council the result of the survey within three weeks of their appointment. This is the extract from the Consultation Book [1]:—

'We the subscribers being appointed by order of the President and Council and of a Vestry of the Parish to surveigh and value the hospitall, do make our report as follows, viz. That the hospitall is very well and strong built and requires little repair. And in consideration of the great dearness of all materials for building, more then att the time of building the hospitall (which is like to continue) wee are of opinion that the hospitall may be now worth as much as the prime cost, which by the Church books we find to amount to Pags. 838.

(Signed) 'Nath. Higginson.
'William Fraser.
'Richard Elliott.
'Henry Mose.
'James Bett.
'Charles Metcalfe.
'Peter Large.

'13 April 1688.'

Of the above, Higginson, Fraser and Mose were merchants in the Company's service, Metcalfe and Large were free merchants, Bett was Commandant of the garrison, and Elliott the Chaplain.

The Council accepted the valuation and ordered the amount to be paid to the Churchwardens for the use of the parish. They also ordered the hospital to be cleaned and fitted for the Company's servants needing lodgings. The deed of sale was prepared and signed and entered in the Consultation Book within a week of the acceptance of the report. It was as follows [2]:—

'Whereas the parishioners of St. Mary's Fort St. George in Vestry assembled did unanimously agree to and with the Hon. Mr. Elihu Yale, President and Governor of the said Fort, and Council, for the selling of the old hospital to the Rt. Hon. the East India Company, Now know ye that we the

[1] Consultations, 14 April 1688. [2] Do. 19 April 1688.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Minister and Churchwardens of the Parish aforesaid for the time being, to and with the consent of the said Parishioners have bargained and sold unto the Hon. President and Council for the use and behoof aforesaid, all and every part of the said Hospital (the utensils thereunto belonging excepted) with the yard and all the outhouses and conveniences thereunto belonging, for and in consideration of the sum of Pags. 837 Fanams 27, which money we confess by these presents to have received. Witness our hands this 19th day of April 1688.

'Richard Elliott.
'Henry Mose.
'Charles Metcalfe.'

The hospital was considered to be partly a charitable institution as late as 1698. The furniture, the clothing of the patients, and the hospital necessaries were renewed partly at the cost of the Company and partly at the cost of the Churchwardens, as this extract from the Consultation Books shows[1]:—

'The Paymaster produced a list of sick men's clothes . . . wanting in the Hospitall; He is ordered to provide clothes and cotts to the amount of forty pagodas, whereof one third to be paid by the Churchwardens as usual.'

But as the prosperity of the settlement increased the population increased too, and the charge of the hospital became too great a strain upon the resources of the Church Stock. Besides the renewal of necessaries the Vestry had regularly given Pags. 50 a year towards its general upkeep. At the close of 1698 the Ministers and Churchwardens petitioned the President and Council to be relieved of the charge. There can be no doubt that the feeling was general in the settlement that the Company should provide medical care for its soldiers and sailors, and not leave them to the charity of its ill paid servants. The result of this petition was three resolutions[2]:—

1. That for the future the Ministers and Churchwardens were discharged from contributing to the hospital, with the

[1] Consultations, 6 July 1696. [2] Do. 8 Dec. 1698.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

exception of paying for such sick persons as they sent thither; and that the Chirurgeon or Steward of the hospital should henceforth render a monthly account to the Paymaster of the charges.

2. That that part of the petition claiming consideration for building the hospital be referred to the Rt. Hon. Company.

3. That an account in writing be demanded of Elihu Yale Esquire of the building of the new hospital, and that Mr. Fraser go to him for the same.

The meaning of the third resolution has to be explained. Mr. Fraser waited upon Yale, who was living as a free merchant in the Fort, and reported the result of the interview to the Council[1]:—Yale declared that the new hospital cost him nearly 1700 pagodas, and promised to give an account of the same in writing. The Council was at this time valuing the Company's buildings in the Fort; and the valuations were to be given in at the beginning of March.[2] They knew nothing of the value of the Hospital except that the Vestry had paid about 800 pagodas towards its erection. From its appearance, and their knowledge of the cost of building, they must have suspected that it had cost more than the Vestry had paid. The style of it was respectfully alluded to in a petition dated the 14th Feb. 1730–1 of the French Capuchins in the Fort, who wished to rebuild their own quarters[3]; they said, 'we design to do this after the model of Tuscany, answerable to that of your Hospital and Guard House.' At the time it was built Elihu Yale—the wealthy benevolent Yale—was the President and Governor. He appears to have received the building contribution of the Vestry; to have erected the building with the help of a contractor; to have paid the balance of the expense out of his own pocket; and to have said nothing about the extra expense to anyone.

The position of the hospital was on the north side of the river gate, the Guard room or Lodge house or barrack being on the south side.

The Council wrote home and reported what they had done, and asked the Company to repay the Minister and Church-

[1] Consultations, 12 Dec. 1698. [2] Do. 6 March 1698–9.
[3] Do. February 1730–1.

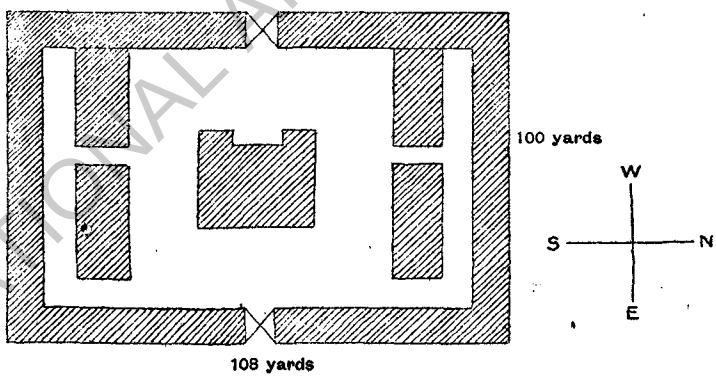
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

wardens the sum they had expended over the building in 1689. The Directors replied [1]:—

'We are willing for the reasons given to excuse the Church Stock from paying 50 pagodas per annum, formerly allowed, towards the charges of the hospital, and to bear all the charges thereof ourselves; but to reimburse the first cost of the building, in part or in whole, we cant find reasons cogent enough to persuade us thereunto. We are well informed there were public contributions and free will offerings given by our Commanders etc. for its first erection; and it is we think sufficient that we now bear the whole burden of its repairs, salary of Chirurgeon etc., and that the doors are open for all truly necessitous patients whether belonging to the garrison or town.'

It is to be noticed that the hospital in the Fort was originally designed for the use of the military, naval and civil population; and that when it was taken over by the local Government this joint use was continued. As an institution it remained in joint occupation of civil and military patients till 1898, when the new military hospital was built.

During this period very considerable alterations were made to the buildings and defences of the Fort. The Fort house,



The inner fort as rebuilt and rearranged in 1694. The bastions at the four corners are not shown, and the plan is not drawn exactly to scale. The centre house was the official residence of the Governor; it also contained the Council chamber, the hall, the library and the record room. The other buildings within the fort square contained the official residences of the Chaplain (until 1737) and a few of the senior merchants.

[1] Despatch, 21 Nov. 1699, 31.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

erected by Cogan and Day within the inner Fort, had to be rebuilt in 1694.[1] The new plan was for a house 110 feet square, to be built on the East side of the Fort, 18 feet from the go-down wall, and at equal distances from the north and south walls. The old Fort house, seen and pictured by Fryer, stood diagonally to the walls of the Fort itself. The new Fort house, seen and mentioned by Lockyer, stood parallel to the walls, but nearer to the east than the west wall. It is shown in the plan of Fort St. George dated 1733.[2] The outer walls had been periodically strengthened as danger threatened. The repair of the west wall in 1699 was peculiar; 'such as belongs to it' was to be repaired and rebuilt by the Government; and 'those parts that belong to them' by private persons.[3]

A significant change in the last decade of the 17th century was the alteration of the name James Street to Church Street,[4] and the calling old Church Street by the name of Church Lane. It appears as Church Street in the plan of 1733; but the official name was not as popular as the original name, and did not last. The old name is found in use again in the Vestry record books in 1768.

The intermarriage question occasionally came to the fore up to 1700 for the reason that the Council only partially settled it in 1680. On that occasion they arranged about the offspring of all who were married at the Fort; but they made no rule about the children of those who were married elsewhere and afterwards came to live either at the Fort or at Madraspatam. In 1683, Oct. 31, the Fort St. George Council passed a resolution that 'the children of seamen who intermarry with native women, and settle with their Commanders' permission in Madras, are to be brought up in the Protestant Religion.' Soon after this the Agent and Council recommended that the marriage of the English soldiers in the Fort with native women should be encouraged. It was not only a religious question, but also a social and political one. The Company agreed, and wrote as follows on the 8th April 1687:—

[1] Consultations, 30 April 1694.
[2] *History of Fort St. George*, p. 152.
[3] Consultations, 6 April 1699.
[4] Do. 24 April 1699.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George, formerly recommended by you, is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a Pagoda to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage upon the day the child is Christened, if you think this small encouragement will encrease the number of such marriages; but if you think it will not have any considerable effect that way, we had better keep our money, which we leave to your consideration, with the liberty to do therein as you shall think best.'

Whilst there are many entries [1] in the Consultation Books showing that this fee was paid to those who brought their children to be baptised at St. Mary's, even up to the time of the surrender of Fort St. George in 1746, yet the new Rules of 1680 and 1683 made it difficult sometimes for the men to obtain wives among the daughters of the Portuguese Roman Catholics. Rather than make the required promise some of the women would live with the men of their choice without marriage, and so retain control over their children's religion. The course they pursued created an unforeseen difficulty, which was in due course reported to the Directors. In their letter to the Agent and Council dated the 20th September 1682 they tried to brush aside the difficulty by this order:—

'Let no loose, ignorant, idle, expensive or debauched fellows continue in our service, of what condition or quality soever they are,' etc.

They repeated this admonition in 1684 and 1685, but with no result; and so in 1687 they suggested bribery in the case of the soldiers, and postponed the consideration of the other cases. The result of this consideration was a scheme for the conversion of the Portuguese, partly at the Company's expense, and partly at the expense of Elihu Yale the Governor. The following are extracts from the General Letter to Fort St. George, dated the 18th February 1690–1 (para. 47):—

'We would likewise desire our now President, Mr. Yale, whom God has blessed with so great an estate in our service

[1] Consultations, 17 Aug. 1696; this seems to have been the first claim of the gratuity by the soldiers; Pags. 14 were paid.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to set on foot another generous charitable work before he leaves India, that is, the building of a Church for the Protestant black people, and Portuguese, and the slaves which serve them, who have now no place to hear the word of God preached in a language they understand. . . . If they had God's word preached to them in the Portuguese language according to the Protestant Doctrine and Prayers of the Church of England, they would as readily frequent the Protestant Church as the Popish chapels. In order hereunto we shall get our Common Prayers and other offices of our Church translated into the Portuguese tongue, and send you some written copies thereof, after which when your Church is built etc. . . .

'Not only so, but we will send you what benevolence we can collect here for the ornament of the Church intended. In the mean time we are enquiring after some able Minister that can preach in the Portugal tongue; and also a Domine, as the Dutch call them, which in the style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our prayers in Portugueze. These two officers we hope to send you by our ships that depart next winter, which we fear will be the soonest we can despatch any of our great ships to you.'

A year later, on the 22nd January 1691–2 the Directors wrote as follows to Fort St. George:—

'We shall send you by the following ships two Ministers, who have applied themselves to the learning of the Portuguese language, and have made a considerable progress therein, we designing them to be Ministers for the Protestant Portuguese Church, which we have desired you to cause to be built by the bounty of such as shall be inclined to further so good a work; both the said Ministers are sober, able, learned men; Mr. Lewes[1] we design to be first Minister of the Portuguese Church; and in case of the coming away of your present Minister Mr. Elliott, Mr. Lewes is to succeed in his place, being first elected of these two.

'Until a Protestant Portuguese Church be built we would have prayers read in the Portuguese language, and preaching some one day in every week, at the English Church.

'Mr. Evans having betaken himself so entirely to merchandizing we are not willing to continue any further salary or allowance to him after the arrival of our two Ministers we are

[1] Spelled by himself, Lewis.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

now sending you, because the charge of maintaining four at that place will be too great.'

The two new Ministers Mr. George Lewis and Mr. Jethro Brideoake arrived at Fort St. George in August 1692. With respect to the latter the following letter is of great interest. It is extracted from Hyde's Syntagma by G. Sharpe.[1] It shows that Brideoake was recommended by Dr. Hyde himself. Dr. Hyde was President of Queen's College, Oxford. He was deeply interested in the study of Oriental languages and of comparative religions; and it seems likely that he recommended Brideoake in order to increase his own knowledge of both subjects. In the same volume there is a letter to Mr. Thomas Smith of Magdalen College Oxford, who was going apparently as Embassy Chaplain to Constantinople. Dr. Hyde writes to him :—

'It would be a good work if you did enquire into the religions of any other sorts of strange people, as you have occasion, and especially if you can get the authentic books of their religions, written in their own language; to any of which you may have the convenience of getting a translation made while you are at Constantinople.'

The letter shows that Sir Josiah Child led Brideoake to expect that he would be stationed at Fort St. George. It also shows the writer's sincerity in accepting the appointment. And it further shows that he was in some way connected at Oxford with the translation of the Church Liturgy into Portuguese.

'From the Reverend Master Jethro Brideoake M.A. to the Reverend Doctor Thomas Hyde S.T.P. at Oxford.

'Over Warton, Sept. 4, 1691.

'Sir,

'I designed before this time both to have waited upon and wrote to you; but unexpected and continued business hindered me in London from writing, and the same has befallen me since I returned into the country, which was the last week; but, in the beginning of the next, I design (God willing) to pay my respects to you. When I came to London I went to Wanstead to wait upon Sir Josiah Child, who (I suppose upon your account) received me very courteously;

[1] Vol. ii. page 474; ed. Ox. 1767.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and after a long entertainment of this discourse, told me he fixt upon me for Fort St. George; and so I took my leave of him; and thence went to find out Sir John Chardin, of whom I heard very often, but could not meet withal, till a week afterward, when I gave him your letter. And this I must say of Sir John, that whether it is French air that charms, or the sweetness of his conversation, or both, I cannot tell, yet I think I have hardly met with a more engaging person; one in whom (may we believe a face) appears nothing of design, but abundance of sincerity and true zeal to propagate that which I am sent about; and which (by God's blessing) I will make the sum of all endeavours. I know I undertake a great concern, and so shall consequently sequester myself from all engagements, that I may be wholly applied to that. I am told of those Chaplains who have got very great estates there, whither I am going; and particularly of one Evans who has been there but a short time, and is now coming home worth above £30,000. But be it so, it is not so much riches I shall look after, but really and faithfully to discharge my duty, that I may be able (God only knows how soon) to give an account to our great Master of that Ministry which I have undertaken, and in the accomplishment of which I shall always desire your prayers. Sir John promised me that he would write to you; I know not whether he has or no; but he desires to have the Common Prayer Book, as it is with us printed, translated into Portuguese, and when two or three sheets are printed off, to be sent to him to London, that he may have them perused. So that the sooner you get Abendano to do it, it will be the better; but of this and all those other instructions which you gave me I shall give you an account the next week. Pray my humble service to your Lady.

'I am, Reverend Sir,

'Your most Obedient Humble Servant

'JETHRO BRIDEOAKE.'[1]

George Lewis was stationed at Fort St. George according to the Directors' wish; but Mr. Brideoake was sent to Fort St. David. This was not what he expected; and, although it was a place yearly increasing in importance, so that the Fort was greatly strengthened in 1693, it is not surprising that he

[1] His name is spelled in various ways:—
Bridcoate, Fort St. David Pay List, 1693.
Bridcocks, Fort St. George Consultations, Dec. 1693.
Bridecoke, Bridcocke } Fort St. George Consultations, Feb. 1694–5.

obtained leave to return home, and that he actually left the place in February 1694–5.

On the 29 Feb. 1695–6 the Company expressed its disappointment at his return in these terms:—'We did by the Sampson send you two Ministers somewhat versed in the Portuguese language, vizt, Mr. Lewes and one Brideaux,[1] the latter of whom proved a very bad man,[2] and returned back on the same ship; but we hope Mr. Lewes has answered the good character we had of him, and applied himself to the reading of prayers in that language, and preaching one day a week in the English Church.'

The following letter has reference to the translation of the English Liturgy into Portuguese referred to in Brideoake's letter.

'From Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe, Gloucester Hall, Oxford

'To Sir Josiah Child.

'Honoured Sir

'Since my return to Oxford I have engaged the person of whom I wrote to you, to undertake the translation of our Liturgy into Portuguese, and he hath already begun it, and is resolved to make all convenient haste in completing it, in which I doubt neither his ability nor faithfulness. What my inspection may contribute to it shall not be wanting. Portuguese is his native language; English he understands very well. He speaks Latin, Hebrew and Lingua Franca, by the help of some of which (although I am not otherwise a great master of the Portuguese) I question not but I shall be able to make some judgement of his faithful performance. It is a worthy and truly Christian work, which God hath stirred up your spirit to promote among the poor Indians. I wish His blessing upon this and all other your generous and charitable undertakings; and I cannot but hope that these will diffuse a blessing through all your other great designs and concerns.

(Signed) 'BENJ. WOODROFFE.'[3]

Though Mr. Lewis had been sent out to officiate especially among the Protestant Black people—the Portuguese and the slaves—a doubt seems to have arisen in the mind of the Council at Fort St. George whether he ought to occupy an

[1] See note on previous page.

[2] There is nothing against him in the *Madras Records*; if there was any breach of faith it was on the part of Sir Josiah Child.

[3] *E.I. Co.'s Records, Home Series*, Misc. vol. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

inferior position to that held by Mr. Richard Elliott, and receive less pay. To this the Directors replied on the 6 March 1694–5, para. 16 :—

'Mr. Lewes the Minister is a good man, and all that are conscientious with you will like him better the longer you know him. We never intended him less than Mr. Elliott and the rest of our Chaplains.'

It was, however, the Directors' own arrangement that George Lewis had been receiving less than Mr. Richard Elliott. They had decreed him £30 gratuity instead of the usual £50. The Fort St. George Council interpreted their last letter as an acknowledgement of a mistake, and gave Lewis the extra £20—and probably also arrears for 1693 and 1694—and they wrote in their next letter [1] :—

'Mr. Elliott and Mr. Lewis our ministers agree very well, both between themselves and in being good and useful men. Mr. Lewis returns your Honours thanks for the £20 given him.'

In para. 30 of the same letter the Directors referred to the Portuguese Liturgy thus :—

'We have caused the liturgy of the Church of England with the Psalms of David to be translated into the Portuguese language for the use and benefit of the Portuguese inhabitants under our Government in India, which we printed at Oxford ; and herewith you will receive one hundred of them, which we hope our Lieutenant General [2] and Council will give such direction to Mr. Lewes that they may be made use of to answer of that general and extensive charity which first moved us to this undertaking at our single charge. That so the Gospel and the Protestant Religion may be made known to those poor and ignorant natives in their own language, to the honour of God, and the glory of our Church ; we had sent you more of them, but that our ships were got to Spithead before we received them in sheets from Oxford, but by the next shipping a greater number shall be sent you.'

Two years later [3] they advised the despatch of 300 more Portuguese liturgies, 'which you must take care so to employ as may best answer the end proposed.'

[1] Letter, 31 Jan. 1695–6. [2] Nathaniel Higginson, the Governor.
[3] Despatch, 16 April 1697.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The following extract from the Consultation Book [1] shows what use was made of the Portuguese books sent out. The intention of the promoters of the scheme and of the Directors was beyond praise, but the scheme itself was not fully considered before being carried out. The Portuguese lingua franca of the European settlements in India was a *patois* combination of several languages, of which Portuguese formed the foundation and the framework. It would have been just as easy to teach the Eurasians and natives (who spoke this *patois*) English, as to teach them Portuguese. George Lewis had studied Portuguese and soon became proficient in the *patois*. He was sent out especially to minister to the Portuguese Eurasians in their own tongue; therefore he continued to do so till he resigned the Service. But when he was gone the effort was not continued by his successors. They gave up their attention to education in English; and gradually the Portuguese *patois* has dropped out of use. This is the minute:—

'The Rt. Hon. Company in the 20th Para of their Letter dated the 20 Feb. 1695-6, ordering that the Portuguese Common Prayer Books be distributed for the use of the Portuguese inhabitants in such manner as will best tend to the Propagation of the Protestant Religion. It is ordered that the same be all delivered to Mr. Lewis, to be kept in the Church Library, and by him distributed to such of the Portuguese as desire and understand them; and because there are at present but few such, it is ordered that he lend one of them to any of the Rt. Hon. Company's servants or married inhabitants, especially such as have in their families Portuguese servants or slaves who speak the language. But there being but 72 books now sent (the rest being to follow) Mr. Lewis is to keep a list of the persons to whom they are lent, who are to subscribe their names in the list under a title obliging them to return the books when demanded, under the penalty of paying one pagoda each.'

During the Governorship of Mr. Elihu Yale a charter was obtained from King James II. (1687) for the establishment of a Mayor and Corporation for the better government and the better sanitary care both of Fort St. George and the town of

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1696-7.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Madras outside it.[1] Within a very short time the question of the Mayor's official position, and his order of precedence in the European community, had to be settled—and this not only outside St. Mary's Church, but inside it too. On the 4th January 1692-3 the following order is recorded in the Council Minute Book:—

'It is ordered that the Churchwardens do herewith cause a handsome seat to be made in the Church for the Mayor, next below the Clerk's desk in the said aisle, with a place for a Mace to lie on each side of him best to be seen. And that the Mayor's wife be placed next below him on the same side. And take care to seat those gentlewomen, that will be displaced by that means, where best it may be to their content, having due regard to their qualities.'

During the whole period of the Company's rule the allotment of seats in Church was the most delicate and difficult duty of the Churchwardens and Lay Trustees. The order of precedence in the House of God is no longer observed, nor desired, except in the case of the highest officials.

It was during this period (1688) whilst Elihu Yale was Governor that the Company entered into an agreement with some Armenian[2] merchants, by which they granted them a number of privileges in return for their assistance as merchants and dealers. Among others they allowed them a parcel of ground in the Black Town for the erection of a Church 'for the worship and service of God in their own way.' The Company also agreed to build at their own charge a convenient Church of timber, 'which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build of stone or other solid materials to their own liking.' This part of the contract was not immediately carried out; and the Armenians appear to have reported the omission to the Directors; for the Directors wrote to Fort St. George on the 29 Feb. 1691-2, and ordered the Council to find the Armenians a convenient place for the worship of God according to the rites of their own Church, 'which is our agreement with them.'

This was another practical proof of the Company's liberal

[1] *Wheeler*, pp. 104-110 (ed. 1882).
[2] *Madras in the Olden Time*, p. 118 (ed. 1882).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

minded toleration of the religion of foreigners. Probably it was the mental attitude of Englishmen in general at the time. They seem to have resented any variation from the national Faith in an Englishman or an Englishman's children; but as for foreigners they were different: they might do as they liked. And so the Company and its servants gave liberal help to the Portuguese Roman Catholics when they built and rebuilt their chapel; they gave liberal assistance to the Armenians when they built theirs; but at the same time they made a determined attempt to promote their own religion amongst those who they thought, rightly or wrongly, ought to hold it.

In 1695 a Portuguese inhabitant, Alvaro de Fonseca, applied to the local Government for permission to purchase a piece of ground for burial purposes in a private garden on the outskirts of the Black Town. The application was sent home to the Directors. Their reply[1] is worthy of notice, because it shows even at this early period an official disinclination for the establishment of freeholds. They said:—

'We are very unwilling to let any person have a freehold in Madras; however we are ready to comply with Mr. De Fonseca's request as far as possible; and therefore you may let him have a long lease of the said parcell of ground to be renewed when expired; which will answer his ends and preserve the tomb from being destroyed in time to come.'

Accordingly the local Government granted the ground on a lease of 15 years. Fonseca and those acting with him were not satisfied; for within two years he applied again.[2] The entry in the Consultation Book gives some further particulars, which seem to show that the ground was intended for Jewish burials:—

'Mr. Alvaro de Fonseca having formerly represented to us that the body of Mr. Bartholomew Rodriguez, Hebrew merchant deceased, is buried in a tomb lyeing within a garden of the said Bartholomew Rodriguez, about which tomb there is a bricke wall ($82 \times 37\frac{1}{2}$ feet) . . . . . which said garden is held of the Rt. Hon. Company by lease determining in January 1711, requested that the piece of ground

[1] Despatch, 1 July 1696, 28. [2] Consultations, 2 May 1698.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

inclosed in the said bricke wall may be sold for ever to the intent that the tomb might be preserved.'

The petition was not granted; but it was resolved that the piece of ground should be appropriated to the use of the tomb as long as the heirs of Bartholomew Rodriguez kept the wall in repair. The ground was not to be alienated, sold, nor mortgaged; and if dilapidations were not made good, it was to revert to the Company.

In 1690 Governor Yale purchased Fort St. David and a semicircle of territory round it from its native owner. It at once became a large and important factory. A Chaplain was stationed there in 1692; but he did not remain very long. After his departure it became necessary for one of the Fort St. George Chaplains either to visit the station periodically or to take up his abode there. The former plan was chosen. Owing to the loss of the Vestry books of this period the only evidence of such visits is to be found in the Consultation Books of the Council; and as the Council only took notice of such visits as had some connection with their business, only three are recorded between 1692 and 1700. In 1695[1] the opportunity of one of these visits by Richard Elliott was taken by the Council to send a large sum of money to the Deputy Governor of the new fort; and 12 armed peons were sent with him for safety. A similar visit was paid by Elliott at the close of the same year[2]; and his successor James Wendey paid a similar visit in 1699.[3] It can be hardly doubted that there were other visits between whiles, not connected with the business of the Council.

On the 16th Oct. 1696 Mr. Richard Elliott died. The Council recorded this Minute in their Consultation Book on the 30th October:—

'The Reverend Mr. Richard Elliott died and was interred on the 17th instant; he hath left his books to the Library and 250 pagodas to the Church. He hath been the instrument of great good in this place. Mr. Lewis hath not so firm a health that he can go through the necessary service of

[1] Consultations, 29 April 1695. [2] Do. 4 Dec. 1695.
[3] Do. 28 March 1699. This visit was ordered by the Council in accordance with a written request from Fort St. David.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Church, and the frequent instruction of children and slaves which he performs both on Sundays and week days.'

This minute was sent to the Directors, who made a reference to Elliott in their next General Letter [1]:—

'We are heartily sorry for the death of the worthy Mr. Elliott; but it behoves us always to submit to the Divine Will; we have elected another to assist Mr. Lewes at the usual salary etc. * —— * —— vizt: Mr. James Wendey, a person well recommended to us for his great virtue, sobriety and ministerial abilities.'

A stone with a Latin inscription marked his grave for over 100 years. William Urquhart saw it in 1809 and has preserved [2] the inscription for future ages; but the stone has long since disappeared.

'P.M.S. Ricardus Elliott, Theologus,
Collegii Regalis apud Cantabrigienses Socius Senior,
Et Ecclesiæ Divæ Mariæ in hac Madraspatam
Per Septem decem plus minus annos Pastor Fidelis.
Hanc vitam pro meliore commutavit
Decimo Septimo Octobris die 1696.
Mementote præpositorum vestrorum etc. . . . Heb. 13. 7.'

James Wendey's appointment was the last one made before the end of the century. It is worthy of notice that in January 1697–8 the Company resolved,—

'that for the future when any Chaplains shall be tendered to the Company's service they be directed to attend upon my Lord Bishop of London for his approbation.'

The wonder is that the rule was not made before. It was made now in deference to the public opinion stirred up by the letter of Dean Prideaux [2] on the ecclesiastical shortcomings of the old London merchants in India.

[1] Despatch, 26 Jan. 1696–7, para. 31.
[2] *Oriental Obituary*, ed. 1809, quoted by Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., in his *Monumental Inscriptions*.
[3] See next Chapter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VI

PERIOD OF CHANGES, 1693–1713

For some little time before 1693, the year in which the Company's charter had to be renewed, dissatisfaction with the Company's methods abroad had been growing. Streynsham Master, the dismissed Governor of Fort St. George, had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, some of whom were powerful both in Church and State. It cannot be supposed that these would know much about the Company and its doings; but at all events they knew Master, and recognised in him a high principled gentleman of the best type; and they naturally concluded that there must be something wrong with the Company which could dismiss such a man from their employ. There were also in England several of the Company's Chaplains who had cause to complain of disrespect and want of consideration on the part of the Company and its servants abroad. Interlopers like Hamilton, who had been made to feel the force of the Company's chartered power in the East, told stories of the profligacy and wickedness of the Company's servants abroad from motives of envy, hatred and malice. Sir Josiah Child, the masterful Governor of the Company, whose motives and intentions were all good in their way, made enemies at home and abroad by the uncompromising character of his principles and opinions. So that when the time for renewing the charter arrived there was a ready made opposition to the Company's claims for consideration.

The opposition was composed of men who were smarting under some real or imaginary injustice—men who were so determined that they themselves did an injustice to the Company. The Company was accused of subordinating every

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

interest to that of trade profit; they were accused of doing little or nothing for the spiritual and intellectual good of their servants; and their servants abroad were accused of every kind of enormity.

It was very little known then—and it is very little known now—how careful the old London merchants were of the moral and religious well-being of those they employed. At Poplar, the headquarters of their shipping, where their principal warehouses and stores were situated, they built a Chapel and an almshouse for their aged and disabled work-people; and they appointed a Chaplain and other officials for the instruction and benefit of those of all ages dependent upon them. What they did abroad has been related. Probably they might have done more; what they actually did must not be forgotten now, as it was forgotten or ignored by the opposition which assailed them between 1690 and 1698. Enquiry can do their memories no harm. Indeed it only brings out fact upon fact which establishes or adds to their lasting credit and honour. From time to time errors of judgement were committed; but as a rule their policy was wise, patriotic, and Christian; and their actions generous, charitable, and religious.

Unfortunately their opponents had some warrant for their opposition. In spite of all the Company had done that was creditable, the opponents were able to point to actions which were unjustifiable. In 1693 the charter was renewed for five years. Between this time and 1698 every effort was made on both sides. But the opponents proved the stronger—or, as has been perhaps truly said,[1] bribed more heavily—and obtained a charter for themselves at the end of that period.

The loss of all rights by the London Company was not felt either at Poplar or in the factories in India, for the reason that a period of several years was granted to them wherein to settle their concerns. Before that period came to an end they amalgamated with the new English Company under the title of the United Company. There was some ill-feeling between the servants of the two Companies before the amalgamation was decided upon; but as soon as it was settled and

[1] Sir William Hunter's *History*, vol. ii. pp. 316–320.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

accomplished trade and government went on as before, the only perceptible difference being that a still more enlightened liberality of sentiment adorned the new Board of Directors.

Among the manuscripts [1] preserved at the Lambeth Palace Library is a report on the state of the East India Factories by Dr. Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, written from Norwich and dated March 1695. In this report it is stated

1. That the English [2] East India Company are possessed of Fort St. George and the City of Madras adjoining thereto, in which are 100,000 families; also the city and island of Bombay, in which are 50,000 families; also the Fort of St. David, 'exceedingly well situated both for health and trade,' with 'a good castle for defense,' in which are 50,000 families. That these 200,000 families represent a population of 1,000,000 souls, who are subject to such laws for life and goods as the Company by virtue of their charter shall think fit to impose upon them.

2. That this population is composed of Portuguese, Jews, Mahommedans and Gentoos. That whilst the Jews, Gentoos and Mahommedans have their temples, there is not so much as a chapel for the true religion of Jesus Christ in any of the settlements except at Fort St. George, 'where lately a Church hath been built for the Factory by the care and piety of Mr. Master, then President, without any help or countenance from the Company in order thereto.' That in other places the room they eat in contains their congregation. 'Nor is there the least care taken by the Company to propagate the Gospel among the natives, although it be their secular interest as well as their spiritual.'

3. That the Dutch do maintain about 30 Ministers for the converting of these poor infidels in their dominions—to each of which they allow an assistant to help them in catechising etc.—by whose labours they have converted many hundred thousand to the Christian Faith. That they have lately erected a college or university in Ceylon. That they have in that place 'above 80,000 converted Indians

[1] MS. number 933, i. ii.

[2] This word is not used as the title of the Company, but for the purpose of comparing the Company with their foreign rivals, the Dutch.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

upon the Roll that are Communicants.' That they send Chaplains with their ships.

4. That the English East India Company are in these matters negligent, both at St. Helena, at their Factories and at sea.

Dean Prideaux made the following proposals :—

1. That at Madras, Bombay and Fort David [*sic*] there be a Church and school erected, * —— * —— *, where the inhabitants may be instructed in their own language.

2. That men of piety and prudence be found and encouraged to undertake the work under the protection of the English Government.

3. That a Seminary be erected in England for training such persons for the work.

4. That those to be thus trained be poor boys out of the Hospitals of London, whose fortunes can give them no temptation when trained to refuse the work; or

5. That those to be thus trained be brought from India.

6. That counsel be taken with those that have resided in the Factories already.

7. That the Rules regulating these matters for the Dutch East India Company be obtained from Holland.

8. That similar laws be enacted in England compelling the East India Company to do the same as the Dutch.

9. That good and wise men be chosen in London for directing and carrying on this design.

Dr. Humphrey Prideaux had learned Arabic from Dr. Fell, and inherited from him his desire to propagate the Gospel. When Dr. Fell died, Prideaux became one of the champions of the Missionary cause. He seems to have sent his Minute to others besides the Archbishop of Canterbury; for the Bishop of Chester wrote to him approving of his proposed method, and earnestly wishing for men of zeal to set about the work.[1] The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield pressed the scheme on the Company.[1] The Company left Prideaux' minute with the Archbishop of Canterbury to show to the King on the first favourable opportunity. They were not willing to go the whole length of the proposals; but the opponents, who were seeking to take the place of the old Company, were ready to

[1] Sir William Hunter's *India of the Queen*, p. 245, ed. 1903.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

promise anything which would assist them in their purpose. Both Companies were anxious to secure the good will of persons of such importance as those who were moving in the matter.

It may be objected against Dean Prideaux' report that statements 1 and 3 are exaggerations, and that number 4 is unjust and partly untrue. Doubtless these objections were made at the time. But there is equally no doubt that his report had a considerable influence on public opinion in England. The Directors were able to refer those who attacked their policy and practice to the condition attached to the appointment of Chaplains in 1692, a condition attached without any external influence being brought to bear on them. They could also represent that they had, without external pressure, caused the English Liturgy to be translated into Portuguese at Oxford and printed; and that they had despatched several hundreds of the new books to their Factories in 1694 and 1695. It was true that they had not erected any Chapels in their factories; but from the earliest times they had sanctioned the setting apart of a room in every factory for the performance of divine service, and had gone out of their way as a commercial Company to encourage amongst their servants abroad, both ashore and afloat, the regular observance of religious worship and duty; they had appointed schoolmasters to teach the European and Eurasian youth of the Fort settlement; but there was one charge which they could not reply to; they had done little towards the instruction of the natives under their rule in the doctrines of Christianity. They had done something; but they had made no such organized effort in the cause as seemed now to be demanded.

The 1698 Charter made provision for the Christian instruction of natives in the Company's service. It fell short of Robert Boyle's and Dr. Fell's design; but it was more or less in accordance with Dr. Prideaux'; and this obligation was actually binding upon the Company that traded under the 1698 charter till the alteration of the terms in 1813. The primary religious obligation was to maintain a Minister for every garrison and superior Factory in the East Indies; to provide and set apart a decent and convenient place for

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

divine service only in every such garrison and factory; and to take a Chaplain on board every ship sent on a voyage, which should be of the burthen of 500 tons or upwards, for such voyage. The charter stipulated that no such Minister should be sent until he should have been first approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London; and it added, 'all which said Ministers, so to be sent, shall be entertained from time to time with all due respect.'

The Charter proceeded as follows:—

'All such Ministers shall be obliged to learn within one year after their arrival the Portuguese language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant Religion.

'In case of the death of any of the said Ministers, residing in the East Indies, the place of such Minister so dying shall be supplied by one of the Chaplains out of the next ships, that shall arrive at or near the place where such Minister shall happen to die.

'We further will and direct that the Company shall provide Schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior Factories where they shall be found necessary.'

With these provisions of the charter before him the reader will be able to understand why Kaye called the conversion of the Gentoos a 'great Parliamentary idea, provided for in the 1698 charter.'[1]

The religious change in the 1698 charter was in theory a very great one; but it was not a very great change in reality; for the old Company had had almost throughout the 17th century a Minister at all its chief Factories, and one for each of its principal ships. The principal alteration was this, that henceforth it was to consider that it had a religious and moral as well as a political and commercial duty towards all —European and Native alike—who lived under its protection, and subjected themselves to its rules.

Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Company

[1] Kaye's *Administration of the E.I. Co.*, 1853, p. 626.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had selected its Chaplains itself. If the recommendation was good, and the trial sermon satisfactory, the appointment was made, without any reference—as far as is known—to the Bishop of London or to the Archbishop of Canterbury. With the increased importance of the appointments came an increased care in the method of selection, and the abolition of the trial sermon.

Amongst the manuscripts in the Lambeth Palace Library[1] is a paper dated 1710 which shows that a correspondence was taking place between Lambeth and Leadenhall Street at the time on this subject. The following were the principal suggestions:—that each Chaplain should receive £100 per annum, payable in India, to commence from the sailing of the ship, and to continue till his return to England, together with the same allowances of diet as the old Company granted, together with a payment at the rate of £60 a year for services on the voyage, if the ship were over 500 tons burthen, and if he acted as Chaplain to the ship on the voyage. The policy of the United Company was, however, practically the policy of the Old Company, which had an experience of 100 years to fall back upon; and the old rules of payment and service were retained.

When the Charter of 1698 was granted to the new English Company, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were asked by the Company to sanction a special prayer for use on board the Company's ships and in their various Factories abroad. The prayer and the imprimatur were as follows:—

'O Almighty and Most Merciful Lord God, Thou art the Sovereign Preserver of all that trust in Thee, and the Author of all spiritual and temporal blessings; Let Thy grace, we most humbly beseech Thee, be always present with Thy Servants the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. Compass them with Thy favour as with a shield; prosper them in all their public undertakings; and make them successful in all their undertakings both by Sea and Land. Grant that they may prove a common blessing by the means of honour wealth and power

[1] MSS. 941; 95.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to our native country. Give to us and all Thy servants whom Thy Providence has placed in these remote parts of the world grace to discharge our duties with piety towards Thee our God, loyalty towards our King, fidelity and diligence towards those by whom we are employed, kindness and love towards one another, and sincere charity towards all men. That we adorning the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may be won over thereby to love our most holy religion, and to glorify Thee our Father, which art in Heaven. All this we beg for the sake of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with Thee and the blessed Spirit be ascribed all honour, praise and dominion, now and for evermore. Amen.'

It was entitled 'A prayer for the Honourable and United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies to be used in their factories abroad.' The imprimatur ran thus:—

'We do conceive that this Prayer may be very proper to be used for the purpose expressed in the title of it.

'Tho. Cantuar.
'H. London.

'December 29th 1698.'

The New Company was just as particular about the observance of religious duty as the Old Company; and this is not to be wondered at when it is known that such men as Streynsham Master and Thomas Papillon occupied places on the Directorate. The above prayer was communicated to the Commanders of ships as well as to the Agents of Factories in the year 1700.

'We have sent a printed form of prayer, approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to be used daily aboard your ship.'

And two years later they wrote:—

'We strictly require you to keep up the worship of God on board your ship, . . . so that the Christian religion may not be scandalized among the Heathens' etc.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The new Company also appointed a Chaplain for its Factory at Metchlepatam, Mr. John Landon. When the two Companies combined, arrangements were made for the entertainment of the servants of both by the new United Company. One arrangement was that the Minister at Fort St. George, who belonged to the Old Company, should continue there; and that Mr. John Landon, who was in the service of the New Company, should remove to Fort St. David.[1] Eighteen months later the Council of Fort St. George reported to the Directors that Mr. Landon, the Minister, had arrived there, and would go to Fort St. David when well.[2] There had been no resident Chaplain at Fort St. David for 10 years. When the Merchants there heard at the beginning of 1704 that they were to have one, they wrote home and expressed their gratitude.[3] It was not till 1705 that Mr. Landon arrived at Fort St. David.[4] He remained there about two years, and then quitted the employ, and sailed from Madras for Batavia to arrange about a deceased brother's property. Mr. Landon's name is only once again found in the records. He left behind him at Fort St. David a number of books. On the 18 Jan. 1711–12 a catalogue of these was sent home to the Directors, and the belief expressed (para. 11) that the books belonged to the Company, and were purchased by the New Company for the use of their Minister. However this was not apparently the case; for the Company purchased the books, and they became the nucleus of the Fort St. David Library. In 1714 the Directors wrote out orders regarding their libraries:—

'We do likewise order that all our books in Fort St. David, as well those brought from Metchlepatam belonging to the New Company, as those we bought of Dr. Landen, be taken care of and preserved in the same manner.'[5]

In the Rent Roll of 1688 already referred to the parish is mentioned as the owner of three houses besides the hospital.

[1] Despatch to Fort St. George, March 1702, para. 39.
[2] Letter from Fort St. George, 5 Nov. 1703, para. 48.
[3] Letter from Fort St. David, 8 Feb. 1703–4, para. 13.
[4] Letter from Fort St. George, 1st Oct. 1705, para. 70.
[5] Despatch to Fort St. George, 12 Jan. 1714, para. 60. Mr. Landon took his D.C.L. degree at Oxford in 1709.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Two of these were in James Street, and one of them was next to the hospital itself. This one was not apparently intended as a dwelling house; it had no kitchens; it was probably connected with the hospital either as a dispensary, or a place for medical stores, or an office for the garrison chirurgeon, or for all three purposes together. When the hospital was sold to the Company and converted partly into a store and partly into a lodging for the junior merchants, the house next to it does not appear to have been included in the sale, but to have remained the property of the Vestry. It was of course difficult to put it to any domestic use without a kitchen and other necessary offices. The trustees therefore submitted the following petition in October 1701[1]:—

'The humble petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the parish of St. Mary's in Fort St. George, sheweth

'That the Church house both in the first building and in some additions made to it since hath stood the Church in a considerable sum of money, but is hardly tenantable for want of yard room for a kitchen, godowns, and other outhouses, necessary to render it a convenient dwelling.

'And it further sheweth that there is a piece of ground of the Rt. Hon. Company adjoining to the said house which might serve for the conveniencys afore mentioned, and is of little use to the Company, and stands separated from all other grounds and buildings of theirs by a very high wall with battlements, Wee therefore make it our humble request to your Honours &c. that you will be pleased to sell the said piece of ground to the Church, for which wee are willing to pay such a sum of money as the Chief Builders in the place (upon a survey taken of it) shall judge it to be worth, and we humbly conceive, that as your disposing of said ground will be of great advantage to the Church, so it will be no detriment to the Company; and your petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray.'

The petition, dated the 3rd October 1701, was considered and disposed of on the 11th in the following resolution:—

'Messieurs Wright and Nairstall having viewed the ground and buildings adjoining to the colledge,[2] which the Ministers and Churchwardens petitioned us to be sold them in

[1] Consultations, 11 Oct. 1701.

[2] See p. 132 of this Chapter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

order to make a house belonging to the Church tenantable, they report the value 75 pagodas, which is agreed to be sold them, and the Attorney Generall ordered to draw a conveyance accordingly.'

Mr. George Lewis was appointed to Fort St. George in 1692 and Mr. James Wendey in 1698. In 1706 they began to talk about returning home; so the Fort Council wrote on the 10 Feb. 1706–7 desiring 'a supply of ingenious and exemplary ministers.' A year later the Directors replied[1]:—'We shall think of your 29th paragraph about supplying Madras with Ministers.' But nothing was done till November 1708, when Mr. Robert Jones was selected from among four candidates.[2] He arrived at Fort St. George in July 1710; spent the following Christmastide at Fort St. David; and died at Fort St. George on the 12 Nov. 1711. The following extract from the Consultation Book records how it was he went to Fort St. David for Christmas; and it shows that the arrangement made for Church ministrations at that station was the usual one[3]:—

'They having wrote us from Fort St. David that it has been usual for us at the Festival times of the year to send them one of the ministers of this place, and Christmas being now approaching, they request that one may be sent. It is therefore agreed and ordered that Mr. Jones do proceed thither as soon as conveniently he can; and that the Paymaster do take care to fit him out for his journey accordingly.'

It is pleasant to notice the word 'usual' in the extract, and to be thus assured that the merchants of those days both desired and obtained the Church's sacraments at the Church's great festivals.

About a month before Mr. Jones' death the Council wrote home[4] that as Mr. George Lewis, the Minister, designed for England next year; they prayed to have a man of temper, moderate principles, and great sobriety; 'turbulent spirits will set all in a flame'; they continued, 'Mr. Lewis has

[1] Despatch, 7 April 1708, 104.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 24 Nov. 1708.
[3] Consultations, 4 Dec. 1710.
[4] Letter of 1st Oct. 1711, paras. 61 and 62.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

contributed to the prosperity of the place'; and they earnestly wished for such another. They added that Mr. Jones, the other Minister, was very sickly; and that they would be glad of a second Chaplain whom they could send to Fort St. David. A month later[1] they wrote announcing the death of Mr. Jones; that he had left little behind him; had paid what he owed the Company; and that Mr. Lewis intended home next year. In reply to this the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We are sorry to read the account of Mr. Robert Jones, deceased, our late Chaplain, . . . We should be glad if Mr. Lewis' occasions will give him leave to continue yet longer at Fort St. George; everybody that has been at Madras agrees with you in his great character.

'To supply one or both their places we have entertained Mr. William Stevenson and Mr. Charles Long, of whom we have a very good recommendation as to their learning, piety, and quiet tempers, each at the salary of £50 a year and £50 a year gratuity if they are found to deserve it. We hope they will fully answer your expectations. If either of them should not, but walk unworthy of their vocation, you are always clothed with power to remove the infection of their or any other's evil example; for it is to be understood they are entertained quamdiu se bene gesserint.

'Mr. Stephenson [*sic*] brings with him his family; the other is single. . . . If Mr. Lewis should stay, then Mr. Long is to be Chaplain at Fort St. David; or if he do not, and you can be supplied by one, let Mr. Long continue at Fort David, or at least often resort thither, . . .

'It is proper here to tell you that since the entire union of the two Companies, we act on the foot of the New Company's Charter, which directs that the Company shall constantly maintain in every of their garrisons and superior factories one Minister, and that all such Ministers as shall be sent to reside in India shall be obliged to learn' etc.—etc.—[3]

The Council of Fort St. George replied to this on the 16 Sept. 1713, para. 122, that Mr. Lewis, the Minister, would return to England by the next ships; that the two new Chaplains promised well, and that they would give them

[1] Letter of 22nd Dec. 1711, para. 89.
[2] Despatch, 2 Feb. 1712–13, para. 142–3–4.
[3] See p. 123 of this Chapter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

encouragement whilst they behaved well; that the service of Madras was too much for one, but that Mr. Long should visit St. David's once or twice a year; that they would obey the orders about Mr. Lewis' passage[1]; and would regard para. 144 about Ministers and Schoolmasters as the Charter directed.

On the 19 Jan. 1713–14 the Council again wrote home. In Paragraph 57 they mentioned that the Reverend Mr. Lewis was going home in the same ship that was taking the letter; and that the two Chaplains were still answering expectations. In Paragraph 97 they added that Mr. Lewis would give a particular account of all that passed at Fort St. David, when he and Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Warre (a Member of Council) went together to expostulate with Mr. Raworth the Deputy Governor. The whole story of Raworth's rebellion and mutiny has been reproduced from the Madras records by Wheeler.[2] It is only necessary to record here that both Lewis and Stevenson were made use of by the Governor as mediators,[3] and that their successful mediation was appreciated by the Directors, who wrote[4]:—

'We are well pleased with what you have done in putting an end to that unnatural mutiny and rebellion at Fort St. David, and preventing bloodshed as much as possible by trying by Mr. Warre, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Stevenson's persuasions to prevail on Mr. Raworth to desist from his violent proceedings.'

The departure of Mr. George Lewis at the end of twenty-two years' service marks the close of a chapter in the ecclesiastical history of Fort St. George. He was appointed in 1692 when the old Company possessed a stringent monopoly of Oriental trade, and treated all interlopers and opponents, by virtue of a clause in their charter, with great harshness and severity. He ministered at the Fort and preached peace through the four years (1698–1702) of bitter animosity caused by the creation of a New Company; and for twelve

[1] He was to have the best cabin and all respect.
[2] *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 327–335.
[3] Consultations, 15 Oct. and 1 Nov. 1713.
[4] Despatch, 27 Oct. 1714, para. 2.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

years after he greatly assisted to smooth over the difficulties and to soothe the strong personal feelings which that circumstance had caused in every Indian factory. The traveller Lockyer visited Fort St. George in 1703, and has left an account of the place as it was in George Lewis' time.[1] He says that the inner Fort or Citadel was in the middle of the English town, lying NNE and SSW (that is, parallel to the sea shore); that its eastern and western faces were 108 yards long, and its other faces were 100 yards long; that four large bastions made the corners of the citadel; and that on these and the curtains between were mounted 56 guns and a mortar; that there was a gate eastward, and another—the main guard gate—westward; and that both were guarded by soldiers. He describes the wall of the citadel and that which circumscribed the English town as composed of laterite. The outer wall possessed batteries, halfmoons, and flanking demi-bastions at proper distances, with 150 guns and 3 mortars.

The Fort was further protected by outworks—presumably lunettes to protect the gates—which had 32 more guns and 8 field pieces. He continues, 'the Black City, called Madras, and sometimes by the Moors Chennepatam, joins to the northward; and Maqua (muckwa) town, where the boatmen live, to the southward.' Having mentioned that the Black City was encompassed with a thick high brick wall, and fortified with points and bastions after the modern manner, he states that the prospect from the sea was most delightful, because of the great variety of fine public buildings, which he proceeds to describe. 'The Church,' he says, 'is a large pile of arched building, adorned with curious carved work, a stately altar, organs, a white copper candlestick, very large windows, which render it inferior to the Churches of London in nothing but bells, there being only one to mind sinners of devotion; though I've heard a contribution for a set was formerly remitted the Company.' Prayers were said twice a day. On Sundays religious worship was strictly observed, the bell beginning between 8 and 9. He then describes the Governor going to Church in state, between lines of soldiers, to the number of 200, drawn up between the Church and the

[1] Lockyer's *Account of Trade in India*, published 1711.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

gate of the inner fort; the ladies and gentlemen awaiting his arrival in the churchyard, and following him within the sacred edifice, whilst the organ pealed out its welcome to him. He adds that every Sunday the country Protestants were catechised; that there was a Library containing books valued at £438; and that a free school was held in a large room under the Library. He then describes the College, 'a fine name for the old Hospital'[1] where the young Writers live; the New House or Soldiers' Lodging, in front of the main guard, running parallel to the west wall, and having a strong battery on the side against the river; the Hospital, adjoining the New House and to the northward of it, having a piazza and a paved Court before it; and finally the Governor's lodging. Lockyer says in his preface that he resided at Fort St. George for 20 months; it may be assumed therefore that he correctly describes what he saw. Having travelled round the factories he gives this opinion:—'At this time Madrass surpassed all other settlements in grandeur, so the orders of this Council are more regarded and punctually executed, and each member has a respect proportionately greater than others shewn him.' He then describes the beauties of the Governor's new garden—the favourite diversions of the European inhabitants—and finally a European funeral.

'When a person of note dies, his funeral is solemnized with the greatest magnificence. The Governor, Council, and the gentlemen of the town attend, nor are the fair sex wanting in their duty to their deceased countrymen. The executors are liberal in all respects to express a just concern for their friend; whence the ceremony is performed with all that is necessary for the interment of a Christian. The Burying place is at the further end of the Black Town, adorned with many stately tombs in honour of the Defunct. Some with lofty spires carved with different fancies after the Indian manner; others in a lower sphere gravely express the merits of the person for whose sake they were erected; and all in general have the most curious workmanship in India bestowed on them.'

The Records preserved at the India Office are made living

[1] In James Street.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pictures when read side by side with books of this kind. They make it a comparatively simple matter to picture George Lewis and his occupations in Church, school, library and burial ground. The free school he established himself. It was only a small institution; but at all events it was a beginning; and in making the beginning Mr. Lewis was trying to carry out the purpose for which he was specially sent to India. The Directors wrote on this subject thus [1]:—

'We understand several of your soldiers turn papists, whether by persuasion of their Indian wives or landladies, or for what other reason does not so well appear, and we hear that almost all the Black people about Madras are either Gentues or Papists. We are apprehensive that notwithstanding you keep the Priests at Madras under a pretty good decorum, yet there is no reliance upon the Papist inhabitants in time of danger, and that we can never reckon upon the true strength of the place being at our disposal, unless the natives are educated in the Protestant Religion. We have also been informed that Mr. Lewis has attempted a scheme to breed them thus up. We shall be glad to hear of any good method to bring about so noble a design, and would have you think of it, and put it into a proper shape, and send it with your opinion thereupon as soon as you can after receipt hereof. We would not grudge to be at some charge to effect it.'

The school was carried on by Mr. Lewis as long as he remained in the Fort; and for a short time after he left it was carried on by his successor. But his successor thought an English school for the children of the English soldiers was more required than a Portuguese school; so he established an English school (St. Mary's), and left the Portuguese teaching to the Danish missionaries.

Besides being an adept in the Portuguese language of the Coast Mr. George Lewis was also proficient in Persian, the Court language of the Mahommedan powers. For this reason he was employed by the Government to translate the Persian letters and perwannas which were frequently arriving at this period from Golcondah and Arcot.[2] And when it was decided to send an embassy with letters and presents to Shah

[1] Despatch, 7 April 1708, para. 112.
[2] Consultations, 8 Jan. 1708–9.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Allum the king of Golcondah, George Lewis was chosen to accompany [1] one of the merchants because of his exact knowledge of the Persian language. This embassy must have been an imposing affair. It included 600 coolies—carriers, tent lascars, etc.—50 armed peons, 44 personal and domestic servants, and a Surgeon. A special sum of money was granted for providing the Commissioners with suitable rich costumes; but the records do not further explain how the Padre appeared before the King.

It is very plain from the Consultation Books that George Lewis joined the merchants in their trading ventures at the Eastern ports, and that he was very successful in his speculations. He seems to have kept aloof from the home trade according to his bond promise, and thus retained the good opinion of the Directors, who were determined to retain the home trade—for which they paid so highly—as a monopoly of their own.

In the year 1711 during his incumbency the merchants of Madras began to be slack in their attendance at the Church services. Governor Harrison and the Council considered the matter and resolved to summon them to their presence and to expostulate with them. The Merchants, Factors and Writers were accordingly called in and 'severely checked by the President for not giving their attendance at divine service; and told for the future that whosoever shall be absent on Sundays from morning and evening service shall not only be fined 9 fanams to the Poor, but lie under the displeasure of this Board, and be treated accordingly.' [2]

Both James Wendey, who went home in 1709, and George Lewis were interested in the missionary designs of the Danish clergymen at Tranquebar. The former was invited to join the committee of the London S.P.C.K. on his return home; the latter was the first of a number of corresponding members in Madras. James Wendey brought to the committee a ten years' experience of the conditions under which the work was to be undertaken, to the great advantage of the cause. George Lewis gave the sanction of his official position to the work itself; and was without doubt instrumental in over-

[1] Consultations, 24 Jan. 1708–9. [2] Do. 2 Aug. 1711.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

coming some local prejudice against it. The Society made use of him[1] and several subsequent Chaplains as mediums of communication between themselves and those they employed.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury invested the Reverend Richard Portman with authority to consecrate the Church in the Fort, he gave him authority also to consecrate the burial ground. This was in 1680. There is reason to believe, however, that this other act of consecration was never performed; and that the patch of ground to the north west of the Fort, which had been used as a burial ground since the occupation of the Fort by the English, was never solemnly set aside from all profane and common uses like the Church. It belonged to the Company, and for over 70 years was used by the Company for profit. They planted in it cocoa-nut palm trees, sold the produce annually, and credited the Company with the proceeds. Later on, when a staff of scavengers was engaged, and a number of buffaloes and carts purchased for the sanitary work of the Fort and town, they allowed the buffaloes and carts to be kept in the burial ground, for the reason of its convenient proximity. This went on until 1710, when the Ministers and Churchwardens gave in the following protest to the Council.

'The petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Mary's in Fort St. George

'Humbly representeth,

'That whereas the monuments of the dead, and the ground where they are interred are held by most people in some measure sacred, and not lightly applied to any common or profane use, yet it is our misfortune that the English burying place in Fort St. George (where so many of our relations friends and acquaintances lie buried) is not only not kept in that decent and due manner it ought to be, but every day profaned and applied to the most vile and indecent uses; for since the year 1701 when an old building that stood in the burying place (and in which the buffaloes used to be shut up) was taken down to build lodgings for the soldiers at the gate adjoining, the tombs have been made use of for stables for the buffaloes, which is not only a thing very indecent, but also a very great damage to those buildings by having so

[1] Consultations, 9 June 1712.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

many stakes drove into the pavement and into the walls to fasten the buffaloes to.

'Another occasion of our complaint on this subject is the cocoanut trees standing in the burying place; the profit arising from them we know is inconsiderable, but the nuisance accruing to the place thereby we are sure is very great; for the Toddy men have people employed there all the day, and almost all the night, in drawing and selling of Toddy, so that we are obliged on their account to keep the gates always open both by day and by night.

'And then about eight o'clock at night after work is done, it is such a resort of basket makers, scavengers, people that look after the buffaloes, and other Pariahs, to drink Toddy, that all the Punch houses in Madras have not half the noise in them. And by reason of the gates lying open beggars and other vagabonds (who know not where to go) make use of the tombs to lie in. And what unclean uses the neighbours thereabouts do make of that place we forbear to tell.

'We hope that what is here urged, together with the reflection it must cast on our Church and Nation to have so little regard to the depositories of our dead, when all other Nations who live among us have so great a regard for theirs, will prevail with your Honours to take this matter into your consideration, and to find out some method to redress these abuses.

'And your petitioners, etc.

'George Lewis,
'Robert Jones, } *Ministers.*
'Edward Barkham,
'Francis Cooke, } *Church Wardens.*'

To us of this generation the report is nothing less than shocking; it did not seem to be so to the Fort St. George Government in 1710. The Paymaster and the Gunner were ordered to look out for a convenient piece of ground on which to build a shed for the buffaloes and the scavengers' carts, and to report to the Council what could be done to meet the complaint.[1]

They reported as follows[2]:—

'We have been to look out for a commodious place to put the buffaloes and carts that are in charge of the scavengers,

[1] Consultations, 22 March 1709–10.
[2] Do. 30 March 1710.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that they may not be offensive or prejudicial to the tombs in the burial place where they now stand; and we find there is a brick wall adjoining to the west side of the choultry where a shed may be built very proper for that use.'

The shed was built; and 'God's acre' was cleared of the scavengers, and their carts and their buffaloes; but no effort was made to get rid of the toddy trees, the toddy drawers and the toddy drinkers. But in 1716 Governor Harrison brought before the Council the case of a Church House which had been pulled down to make room for the new Hospital on the western side[1] of the Fort. He said that he had promised Mr. George Lewis that some compensation should be made; he therefore urged it upon their consideration before he himself retired.[2] It was therefore 'agreed that the Ministers and Churchwardens be desired to consider of something that will be agreeable to them as an equivalent.' On the 29th Nov. 1716 Mr. John Legg, who was a Member of Council and a Churchwarden also, reported that the Church House in question was valued in the Company's books at 411 pagodas. 'The Ministers and Churchwardens,' he added, 'cannot find anything to demand of the Board as an equivalent which will suit their convenience except a few toddy trees that are left standing in the burial place; therefore they submit the rest to the Board.'

After consideration it was agreed[3]:—

'That the old toddy trees in the burial place, commonly called the Guava Garden, which are very much decayed, and bring in no more at present than 20 pagodas per annum be given and granted to the Church for ever; and that the sum of 300 pagodas be paid them out of cash in full of all demands for the house afore mentioned.'

When this was in due course reported to the Honourable Company, they wrote as follows[4]:—

'We remember some time ago the toddy trees at the Burial place was complained of, as it harboured and encouraged disorderly riots, and deserved to be suppressed.

[1] Inside the outer walls.
[2] Consultations, 23 July 1716.
[3] Do. 29 Nov. 1716.
[4] Despatch, 8 Jan. 1717–8, para. 56.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Let us know whether it be so, or to what uses the Church apply it; for they then were the complainers.'

It has been already noticed that the Burial ground was commonly called the Guava Garden; those of the Dutch had similar euphemistic names; it was as if the Europeans in India, among whom death came so often and so suddenly, rigorously put aside its memory and tried to blot out its very recollection by the use of another word for its home. The term Guava Garden was used by the natives to denominate the St. Mary's new Cemetery on the island long after the Europeans had ceased to use the term.

It is also noticeable that the Directors were not shocked at the report on the use to which the Burial ground was put any more than their servants at Fort St. George. They suspected the motives of those who were shocked—the Ministers and Churchwardens; they thought that their intention was to make a similar use of the ground and the trees, but to their own profit; and they asked for a report. The right feeling of respect for the resting places of the Christian dead was in those days with the minority. Public opinion on this point has been educated and has changed. Every care is now taken of such spots by the local Governments. In many places the European cemetery in India is one of the brightest spots in the station.[1]

One other change of importance must be noticed. When Dean Prideaux wrote his minute referred to above, he asked for this among other reforms, that the Chaplains should be treated with becoming respect. In the 17th century political and religious feelings ran sometimes deeply but sometimes in a shallow and noisy manner; and they were responsible for many ill formed judgments and ill natured expressions.

[1] Note.—In the old 'Guava Garden' were buried between 1680—(when the Registers begin)—and 1762—(when it ceased to be used as a burial ground)—no less than 3,900 bodies. Between 1640 and 1680 there were of course burials there, though they are not recorded. When the burial ground was built upon by the Government in the early nineties of the 19th century, the local history of Fort St. George was not so well known as it is now. The spot had not been used as a burial ground for 130 years. All but two of the monuments had been levelled, and the stones carried away. The very memory of its use had passed away. If the *History of Fort St. George* had been published ten years earlier, probably the ground would not have been built upon.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Simon Smithees was referred to by his political adversary Sambrooke in a letter to the Directors as 'that drunken Chaplain'; and the Directors neither asked for proof nor gave rebuke. Leslie was similarly reported against behind his back and recalled. Brideoake, the Oriental scholar, was called in the Court Minute Books a bad man without any justification. No words were too bad for John Evans, the Chaplain who was fortunate in his investments and ventures. Hook and Thompson were maligned and recalled. The injustice of these hard judgments was clear enough to the friends of the men themselves, amongst whom was Streynsham Master; and the injustice was made clear by them to Dean Prideaux before he championed their cause.[1] It needed only the official protest of the Archbishop of Canterbury to produce the necessary alteration of tone. Nothing could be more courteous and kindly than the tone adopted by the Directors towards the Chaplains from about 1720 to the end of their rule.

[1] Lambeth Palace Library MSS. 941; 95.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE APPOINTMENT OF WILLIAM STEVENSON TO THE SURRENDER OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1712–1746

On the 31st Oct. 1712 the Court of Directors considered the petition of the Rev. Charles Long, M.A. Student of Christ Church Oxford, to be appointed a Chaplain in their service abroad. The petition was backed by the recommendation of the Bishop of London and Sir Charles Hedges; but the consideration of it was postponed. On the 12th Nov. it was again read with four other petitions, namely Thomas Dillingham, M.A.; William Stevenson, Rector of Tasburgh Norfolk; Henry Gardiner, B.A., backed by Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple; and Samuel Briarcliffe, M.A. The Court had only two appointments to fill up; so they proceeded to ballot for two out of the five applicants. The greatest number of votes were given to William Stevenson; Charles Long came next; these two were accordingly appointed—Stevenson for Fort St. George; Long for Fort St. David if Lewis remained at Fort St. George, otherwise for Fort St. George as the colleague of Stevenson.

The appointment of William Stevenson marks an ecclesiastical epoch in the history of the Presidency. He was not a more able man than some of his predecessors, nor more distinguished as a scholar, nor more keenly alive to the importance of his work. Isaacson, Darley, Elliott and Brideoake were greater scholars; Elliott, James Wendey, and Lewis were more diligent parish workers; but Stevenson was more clear-headed and practical than any of them. He was able to see at once what was wanted parochially and in the mission field, and to explain his views very clearly to those at home. His practical character was at once recognised

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

by the Fort St. George Council. Shortly after his arrival he was despatched to Fort St. David to act as a mediator between the Council and the Deputy Governor who had rebelled against their authority. In this undertaking George Lewis, a personal friend of the Deputy Governor, had failed. The march of events made Stevenson successful.

His colleague, Charles Long, was an earlier applicant for an appointment; he was an Oxford man and a Fellow of his college; but by the vote of the Court he was the junior of Stevenson. One cannot help seeing in what subsequently happened a natural trace of jealousy and resentment at Stevenson being in this manner placed over his head. Even if this ballot had not taken place Stevenson would have been, as far as one can judge from his personal character and gifts, the leader in all matters ecclesiastical and practical. Stevenson upset the parliamentary provision for the Christian teaching of the Portuguese and native inhabitants of the Company's territories. Under the orders of the Company George Lewis opened schools for these and ministered amongst them; Stevenson closed the schools and modified the ministrations. He arrived after the Danish missionaries had commenced their work on the Coast; he saw in them an agency better fitted for the purpose than the short service Chaplains of the period, who were constantly coming and going. In this matter he led the Vestry and the local Government. He left the Portuguese and the natives to the ministrations of the missionaries; and in the place of this work he set up a Charity School for British Eurasians only. The Danish missionaries received all the support he was capable of giving them; so that they described him as a man 'truly unwearied in spreading Christianity among the nations.'[1] Stevenson is the hero of Anderson.[2] Stevenson was the trusted correspondent of the S.P.C.K., to whom they confided their money, their hopes, and their policy; and to whom in return he gave sound practical advice on the best way of carrying out their designs. At the beginning of the 18th century there was, owing to political causes, a drawing

[1] Niecamp's *History of the Danish Mission*, p. 109.
[2] Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, 1856, p. 95.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

together of the English Church and the Continental Protestants of Holland, Germany and Denmark. But this did not deceive Stevenson as to how far English priests and Lutheran ministers could work together in a common cause. His advice to the S.P.C.K. was not to mingle together in the mission field workers of different beliefs in such important matters as Christian doctrine and government.[1] So it was that the S.P.C.K. continued to employ Germans and Danes till they gave up the work in 1826, without making any very great effort to obtain missionaries among their own countrymen.[2] Stevenson's letter to the S.P.C.K. was greatly valued by the Society. It is printed in their first volume of Reports, and is quoted by Anderson. He was quite clear that the success or failure of the Society's venture in India depended at first upon the Fort St. George Chaplain. In this opinion he was probably correct. Stevenson did not hide from the Society his view of the great importance of pastoral work amongst Europeans abroad. He never led them to suppose that he regarded missionary work amongst the heathen as of more importance than his own. He could not write his views to his employers without an invitation to do so. But he could write his views to the Society which desired his advice and co-operation; and he did this probably in hope that they would be conveyed second hand to Leadenhall Street, and would in time bear fruit. This is what he wrote[3]:—

To Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary S.P.C.K.

'Sir, While the Hon. Society is employed in propagating the Christian religion among the Heathen, I know they are at the same time using their best endeavours to promote a true practical knowledge among those that already profess it; to which end, I believe, Sir, it would not conduce a little, that they solicit the Directors of the E. I. Company to send out Chaplains to their chief settlements in these parts, where they are wanted, I mean to Bombay, Fort St. David, and Bencoolen, in which places there are Romish Priests, and (as I hear) chapels too. And seeing Papists are reckoned a sort of

[1] His letter to the S.P.C.K. dated the 25 Aug. 1716.
[2] The required effort was chiefly financial.
[3] *Early S.P.C.K. Reports*, ed. 1718, Letter xx, dated Feb. 1714–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Christians, even though they be idolaters, our poor people are easily drawn over to their wicked superstition; for they who have the least value for religion will be prevailed on to join in any kind of worship rather than have none at all.

'But, Sir, I need not lay before you the necessity and great advantages of what I propose; nor can the Directors themselves (to some of whom I shall write by this ship) have anything to object against it; for Charity obliges me to believe that they will sooner grudge any expense than a Minister's salary.

'It is said that they cannot find persons sufficiently qualified who will undertake to serve as Chaplains in the Factories above named; but that is a difficulty which I hope the honourable Society will take care to remove. I know there are but too many of the clergy who reckon preferment in this part of the world only a gentle kind of banishment; and therefore choose rather to starve almost upon twenty or thirty pound a year, where they can do but little good, than to live handsomely on two hundred pounds, where they may do a great deal. But for my part, I do not repent of leaving about one hundred a year to come hither, although I had a family to bring with me.

. . . . . .

'If one does meet with more difficulties than are usual, these are abundantly rewarded by the kind reception he meets with, after his arrival here in India; where, so far as I could ever observe or learn, the English are more regular in their conduct, more kind to their Ministers, and more hospitable to strangers, than in any other settlements abroad, or any parish at home; so that it must be a clergyman's own fault, if he does not meet with all the favour, respect, and encouragement, he can reasonably desire.

'Sir, I have enlarged (perhaps too much) on these particulars; but I thought the knowledge of them might help you to remove the prejudices, that the young clergy generally have against going to the East Indies.

'To conclude, Sir, if the Company sh[d] happen to send more Chaplains abroad, I wish there may be none recommended to their choice, but those who, besides a sufficient stock of learning, (which our young Masters of Arts are not always provided with) and some knowledge of the world, have good characters as to their probity and temper. For though it be a very hard case that any of our Settlements sh[d] be

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

without a Minister, I think it is still better so, than to have a vicious one; seeing the want of instruction may in some measure be supplied by good books; but no preaching can counter-balance the bad influence of a Minister's ill example.'

One of his first duties on arrival at the Fort was to preach a funeral sermon on the death of the eminent surgeon and scientist Edward Bulkeley.[1] His kindly appreciation of a greatly respected servant of the Company probably assisted his own popularity and advanced his own interest at Fort St. George. By means of his letters to the S.P.C.K. he greatly advanced his reputation as a clear-headed ecclesiastic among the members of the Society, some of whom were in a position to further his interests, at home. He was too ambitious not to take advantage of his opportunity. So he returned home in 1718. During the five years he was in the Company's service he established the St. Mary's Charity School; he was instrumental in recommending to English Churchmen the Tranquebar mission, and gaining their support through the S.P.C.K.; and he exercised a decided influence for good among the English residents at Fort St. George.

In the year 1711 was built the Egmore Redoubt. At the time it was not in any way connected with the design of the St. Mary's Charity School. But the course of time has brought them into such close connection[2] that the building of the Redoubt may be mentioned here. The Council wrote home to the Directors in 1711[3] to explain what they were doing, and mentioned that up to that time the building had cost Pagodas 925. The extracts only of these letters have

[1] The sermon is in the British Museum Library. Edward Bulkeley was by his own wish buried in the Physic Garden which he planted 500 yards west of the Fort. The monument remains, but not the garden. The inscription concludes thus:—'ne mireris, viator, quod in horto ubi animum perpoliebat, corpus suum voluit reponi.'

[2] In 1789 the Redoubt was given up for use as a school; on the Redoubt itself was built a house for the Principal; on the east front of it was built later a substantial lodging for the boys of the Military Male Asylum. In 1872 the Male Asylum was amalgamated with the Lawrence Asylum and removed to Ootacamund. In the same year the two Civil Orphan Asylums (Male and Female) were amalgamated with the St. Mary's Charity School, and removed to the old Redoubt.

[3] Letters 5 Jan. 1710–11, para. 46, and 4 Sept. 1711, para. 92.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been preserved. The extract of the second letter runs thus:—

'Built a Guard House near Egmore village in a convenient place; the whole is a square with a ditch; the wall is 134 feet on each side, the depth 8 feet, the ditch 16 feet broad at the top and 10 feet at the bottom; the redoubt is faced with brick and cost Pags. 925; shall make in it a lodge for the soldiers and conveniences for recovering the sick.'

The further building of the soldiers' quarters and of what was apparently intended to be a convalescent hospital was entrusted to Mr. Fraser, a member of Council, who spent over these things more than Pags. 5500 in addition. The Council blamed Mr. Fraser, who gave the orders; but the Directors blamed the Council.[1] Apart from the cost it must be admitted that a convalescent hospital in the open country, away from the insanitary surroundings of the overcrowded Fort was a necessity. From the military point of view the Redoubt was equally a necessity. When the advantages of the Hospital-Redoubt are duly weighed, and the excellent use to which the buildings have been put since 1789 duly considered, the great initial cost will be forgiven and forgotten.

Although the Directors had excused the Ministers and Church wardens from the payment of Pags. 50 a year for the upkeep of the Hospital, they still considered the hospital to be a charitable institution which must be partly kept up by the donations of those who used it. In 1711 it was found necessary to enlarge and rebuild it.[2] The rebuilding cost Pags. 7000. The Company gave Pags. 1500, and the rest was obtained by donations and by a small tax on the profits of the coast trade. The Council wrote home in 1712 to this intent[3]:—

'The new Hospital is near finished; it will cost something more than was expected, being forced to rebuild the fortification wall to the river, timber being dearer than usual; the subscription—we wrote 1500 pagodas for the Company—is well advanced, but shall always be kept afoot; all profitable voyages to pay a sum certain; the building is plain, uniform,

[1] Despatch, 2 Feb. 1712–13, para. 109.
[2] Consultations, 8 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1711. [3] Letter, 14 Oct. 1712, para. 121.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

firm and useful and will hold 150 sick men; will cost about 7000 pagodas; shall credit the Company with all contributions in their general books.'

To this and other letters on the same subject the Company replied in 1714 thus [1]:—

'We have received the subscription for the said hospital, which you advise will be considerably increased in another year, and that you hope to get sufficient not only to reimburse our charge, but for a stock to maintain it and relieve the poor therein, which we take notice of here to preserve the remembrance of it.'

So long as the upkeep of the Hospital was dependent upon voluntary contributions, no doubt collections were made in the Church for its support, just as collections were made for the Poor and for the free school. There was no longer any closer connection than this between the Church and the Hospital; so it will not be necessary to mention it again.

In the course of the sixty years up to 1714 during which there was a resident Chaplain at Fort St. George, a valuable Library had gradually accumulated there. Lockyer spoke of it; and when his book was published the Directors were made aware of its value. They therefore wrote to make enquiry about it [2];—

'We understand that the Library in Fort St. George is worthy our notice, as consisting not only of a great number of books, but of a great many that are choice and valuable, John Dolben Esquire and Master Richard Elliot and others having made a present of their books (which were considerable) to the Library, besides other augmentations it hath lately received from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We therefore recommend the care of the Library to our President and Ministers,' etc.

'We order our Ministers to sort the said books into proper classes, and to take a catalogue of them to be kept in the Library, of which they shall deliver a Copy to our President and send a copy home to us; and we desire our President to order two of our servants together with our Ministers to

[1] Despatch, 27 Oct. 1714, para. 69.
[2] Do. 12 Jan. 1714–15, paras. 59 and 61.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

examine the books by the catalogue once a year, that is to say, some few days before the Vestry is held, and make their report at the Vestry. It would be proper also to put our Chop[1] on the said books,' etc.

To this the Council replied[2] that they would remind the Chaplains to observe the Company's orders about the Libraries; adding that that at St David's had been much abused, but that they would preserve the remainder. The catalogue was made and sent in the course of the year 1716, being signed by both the Ministers, Stevenson and Long. The Directors very severely criticised the way in which the work had been done, and recommended that it should be done again. Judging from the catalogue they observed that the Library 'appears to be a confused, irregular heap.'[3] The Council replied on the 17 Aug. 1717 that Stevenson and Long would send another catalogue of the Library. They also wrote on the 13 Jan. 1717–18 that they would refer the matter to Mr. Stevenson again. But no catalogue was sent. The Directors therefore wrote with some warmth on the subject[4]:—

'You tell us the 17th Aug. 1717 that the Ministers will send a catalogue of the Library, and in the letter of the 13th Jan. 1717–18 that you will refer that matter to Mr. Stevenson; though the whole is of no great concern, yet as it is a disobedience to our orders, we cant like it.

. . . . . .

'You make yourselves little by suffering such unjustifiable delays. Do they both think themselves too good to be at a little trouble when we desired it?'

At the beginning of 1718 William Stevenson obtained permission to resign and go home.[5] Charles Long was left to arrange the catalogue. Ill health not only prevented him from doing this, but also prevented him from performing his ministerial duties. The extract from the Consultation Book shows that the sickness was real and prolonged:—

[1] Our mark of ownership, our stamp. [2] Letter, 13 Sept. 1715, para. 103.
[3] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716–17, para. 58. [4] Despatch, 17 Oct. 1718, para. 49.
[5] Consultations, 13 January 1717–18, and Letter, 22 Feb. 1717–18, 17.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The Rev. Mr. Charles Long having been indisposed for several months so much that he has not been able to perform the duties of his office in Church, and not likely to recover his health and strength for a considerable time to come, we think it necessary during the continuance of his indisposition to keep up the public worship of God in the best manner we can. Ordered that Mr. John Turton read prayers in the Church twice every Sunday and that Mr. Thomas Dunster read a sermon out of Archbishop Tillotson's works every Sunday morning.'[1]

These gentlemen were to be paid at the rate of a Minister's allowance between them, £50 a year.[2]

In the following November[3] the President and Council sent a peremptory order to Mr. Long strictly enjoining him to regulate the Church Library in accordance with the wish of the Directors, and to prepare a catalogue of the books in that order in time to be sent by the January shipping. Long replied[4]:—

'I should have obeyed their commands before this time had I not been prevented by a long and severe fit of sickness. My ill state of health will not at present permit me to undertake the work therein prescribed; but as soon as I am perfectly recovered I shall place the books in the best order I can, and give you an exact catalogue as near to the form directed as possible.'

When the Council wrote home a fortnight later in reply to para. 58 of the Directors' 1717 despatch, they reported that Mr. Long on pretence of sickness had not drawn out a proper catalogue of the books as directed, though they had given him a fresh order lately.[5] The noticeable alteration of tone in writing of Long was due to the fact that he was suspected by the Directors of taking a part in the home trade. At the end of 1717 the Secret Committee at Leadenhall Street wrote out their suspicions to the Council, and ordered that all covenanted and free merchants, and especially Charles Long, 'to whom it is said consignments are made as a merchant,' should be warned to discover what they knew[6] of

[1] Consultations, 19 June 1718.
[2] Do. 30 June 1718.
[3] Do. 27 Nov. 1718.
[4] Do. 4 Dec. 1718.
[5] Letter, 18 Dec. 1718, 34.
[6] Consultations, 21 June 1718.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

it. Probably the warmth and indignation of the Directors' despatch of Oct. 1718 already quoted were due more to this suspicion than to the incident of the library catalogue.

The first nine months of 1719 passed without any effort being made by Mr. Long to reduce the books and the list to order. The Council then wrote that they had frequently ordered the Minister to do what the Directors required, but that it was not done, and (they believed) not intended, and that they could do no more.[1] Before this letter arrived in London the Directors wrote[2];—

'By your letter it seems as if you thought Mr. Long's urging sickness as the cause of his not drawing out the Library catalogue was but pretended; have not you the remedy in your own hands? Is he to have £50 a year gratuity unless you think he deserves it?'

A year later[3] the Directors referred to the arrangement made during Long's illness in 1718, with some resentment; they could not forgive the offence—of which they had some proof—of home trading.

'We find in the list of Covenant servants a standing salary of £50 a year to two of them for reading divine service, and at the same time £100 a year allowed to the Chaplain, which we neither understand nor like. In time of real sickness such assistance is necessary; but by what appears the Chaplain had health enough, though not inclination to perform his duty; and in that case you should not forget that we entertain them at £50 a year salary and £50 gratuity if they are found to deserve it. Wherefore it seems but equitable to us that if a Chaplain would not do his duty, and was not really disabled by sickness, he ought to pay those that did it for him.'

But a year before this letter was written the Governor and Council had taken the matter into their own hands and suspended Mr. Long. In the early part of 1718 before the departure of Stevenson, Mr. Long married Elizabeth Brown, whose widowed mother had married a free merchant; he thus allied himself with a family of free merchants. He joined

[1] Letter, 10 Oct. 1719, 56. [2] Despatch, 3 Feb. 1719–20, 93.
[3] Despatch, 24 Feb. 1720–1, 63.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with them in their free trade ventures to Europe, and thus excited the suspicion and anger of the Directors. Apart from the impossibility of befriending anyone whom the Directors condemned, there was a local disinclination to befriend Charles Long. His marriage may have had something to do with this[1]; or his general disposition towards the local authorities. Anyway within two years of the marriage a new Chaplain arrived at the Fort, and the Council immediately devised a plan to get rid of Long.

The new Chaplain was Thomas Wendey.[2] He had embarked at London on the Van Sittart, which was wrecked on the 15th April 1719 upon the Isle of Maio[3]; he then embarked on a Danish ship at St. Jago, and was taken as far as Sadras; thence he went overland to Fort St. George and reported himself on the 10th January 1719–20 having been nearly a year on the voyage. On the following day the Council met and ordered Mr. Charles Long to go either by sea or land, whichever he pleased, to Fort St. David. When the order was conveyed to him he replied that he was Minister of Fort St. George, and should not go. Being summoned to the Council he repeated his refusal. The Council then read paragraphs 142 and 143 of the Despatch dated February 1711–12 and para. 87 of the Despatch dated 8 Jan. 1717–18, which ordered that when there were two Chaplains one was to go frequently or permanently to Fort St. David; they agreed to suspend Mr. Long for disobedience; and they ordered the Churchwardens, Benyon and Turton, to obtain the keys of the Church and library from Mr. Long and to deliver them to Mr. Thomas Wendey. They then reported what they had done to the Directors, who replied[4]:—

'We approve of your suspending Mr. Charles Long as mentioned in your 12th and 13th paragraphs of your letter of the 16 Jan. 1719–20 for his disobedience to you, and we hereby order you to send him home.'

Two months later the Directors wrote again with reference to something they had heard about Mr. Long unofficially[5]:—

[1] Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 297–300.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 19 Nov. 1718.
[3] One of the Cape Verde group.
[4] Despatch, 24 Feb. 1720–1, 64.
[5] Do. 26 April 1721.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We understand Mr. Long hath exchanged his study for a Counting House and is turned Supracargo, which in all likelihood will bring a scandal upon his character, and give the natives and Roman Catholics a handle to depreciate the reputation of a Protestant Clergyman. Therefore let him stay no longer in India, but return to England, to keep the solemn promise made at his ordination.'

The new Chaplain lost no time in arranging the books and making a list of them. For this he was promptly rewarded by the Governor and Council with a palanquin allowance.[1] The reward, however, could not and did not hide the real cause of Long's dismissal, any more than the Company's assumed anxiety for the reputation of a clergyman; the real cause was that Mr. Long was mixed up with some commercial transaction with Europe, which was strictly forbidden.

When the Directors first sent out an order for the Chaplains to make a classified catalogue of the Library, and for two of their covenant servants to inspect it annually and report on its condition to the Vestry, they must have created some astonishment amongst the gentlemen of the Fort. It is true that the Directors did send out some of the books; but the bulk of them were the gift of residents in the settlement; so that it is likely enough the residents considered the library their own. It was not a matter of much importance whether the Company were the nominal owners of the Library, or the local Government, or the whole body of European residents in the station represented by the Vestry; for whoever owned it only owned it in trust for others; it would have been better to have left the library alone, and to have allowed the inhabitants of Fort St. George to catalogue it as they pleased.

An important question arose at the end of 1714. The widow of Mr. Edward Fleetwood, one of the Company's servants, died; she left the Council, the Ministers, and Churchwardens overseers of her will and guardians of her orphan children. The Council therefore wrote home to their honourable masters for direction[2]; they could not themselves refuse the trust; but they evidently felt that they ought not,

[1] Consultations, 30 April 1720. [2] Letter, 12 Feb. 1714–5, para. 58.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as the governing body of the settlement, to be made private use of in that way. The Directors replied as follows [1]:—

'In answer to Paragraph 58 touching Mrs. Fleetwood's making you the Council with the Minister and Churchwardens her executors, we say, so far as it is an act of charity to her poor orphans you have done well to give them your protection and assistance, and to appoint two of your number to act with the Minister and Churchwardens; but we shall never enjoin you further in any the like cases than to afford your advice and countenance; nor can we think it proper that our affairs should be in the least hindered, or suffer by such bequests as very likely they may, if they should be frequent, or the deceased's concerns proved intricate and the accounts voluminous. The Minister and Churchwardens at Fort St. George have acquired a great reputation by their prudent and just management of deceased's effects, and of the Poor's Stock. The place is much obliged to the Reverend Mr. Lewis on that account. Let it be your care from time to time to see that the present and all future Ministers and Churchwardens deserve by their good management the same good character.'

To this the Council replied [2] that they would not in the future be executors or trustees for the estates of deceased persons for the reasons mentioned in Paragraph 107; but that they would be ready to advise such as are trustees; they added that they gave every encouragement to the Ministers and Churchwardens; and expressed a decided opinion that few deserved Mr. Lewis' high character.

There can be no doubt that the Directors in the above Despatch gave encouragement and authority to the Minister and Churchwardens to accept the trusteeship of estates for charitable purposes. They were not a properly constituted body to hold property; but it was extremely convenient that they should be made use of as if they were. The work was imposed upon them by the Government, and was faithfully executed for nearly ninety years.

The year 1717 saw some alterations in the property of the Vestry held for Church and school purposes. They owned a house in James Street, and had purchased a small piece of

[1] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1715–6, para. 107. [2] Letter, 9 Oct. 1716, para. 91.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ground by it, on which to erect the necessary domestic offices to make it habitable. In this year the Council found it necessary to increase the size of their warehouses. They therefore purchased the three adjoining houses, together with the piece of ground sold to the Vestry in 1701, and largely increased their store accommodation. The Vestry then petitioned that Jearsey House, which had been purchased by the Company, instead of being pulled down and replaced by a newer and better house, should be handed over to them for their educational purposes. The Directors were referred to; the transfer was permitted; and the conveyance was duly signed[1]; but the Vestry had to repay to the Company 100 pagodas out of the compensation money which they received for the house pulled down to make room for the hospital.

In the same year the local Government had a new clock made for the cupola of the inner fort. When it was finished they were of opinion that the old Fort bell on which the clock struck was too small for the purpose. The Churchwardens thereupon offered the use of the Church bell on condition of having one of the same weight returned to them when it could be procured from England, or of having the value paid them.[2] Their offer was accepted; and the Church bell was moved to the Fort House.

Before the end of the year 1720 the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David expressed a desire that Mr. Wendey should go and reside with them a little while; and the Fort St. George Council agreed that he should be allowed to go as soon as the weather permitted.[3]

After hearing of Mr. Long's suspension the Directors did not wait very long before appointing a successor. They wrote[4]

'We have entertained[5] the Reverend Mr. William Leake to be one of our Chaplains at Fort St. George at the usual salary of £50 a year and £50 gratuity if he shall be found to deserve it; having thereby two Chaplains we direct that sometimes the one and sometimes the other do reside at Fort St. David; that so the Europeans there who are numerous,

[1] Consultations, 4 and 18 Nov. 1717. [2] Do. 16 Dec. 1717.
[3] Do. 3 Nov. 1720. [4] Despatch, 26 April 1721, para. 42.
[5] *Court Minutes*, 14 and 21 April 1721.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

including the military, may not want to be often put in mind of their duty to God, their neighbour and themselves.'

Mr. Leeke arrived at Fort St. George in the following December; and was sent to Fort St. David. The Council wrote home[1] reporting his arrival, and added that Mr. Jennings, the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, liked him.

The records of the period do not show that Mr. Wendey took any prominent part in the establishment of the Mission at Madras, of which hereafter; but they show him to have been very much occupied with the newly established Church Charity School in the Fort, with his duties as trustee of the estates of deceased inhabitants, as well as with his ordinary Ministerial duties. The Directors wrote out about the estate of Mr. Peter Pereira, which the Minister and Churchwardens were administering for the benefit of the widow, in 1720.[2] At the end of 1721 the Governor Francis Hastings died, leaving Wendey one of the executors of his will. He had to get in the estate, and settle the late Governor's very complicated affairs.[3] This he did within three months of the Governor's death, repaying to the Company's Cash Chest not only the sum due, but also interest on it up to the date of repayment.[4] The other executor was Mr. John Hastings, the Governor's brother in England, who was also residuary legatee. He applied to the Directors that Mr. Wendey might be assisted in his work. The Directors wrote[5] at once to their new Governor and Council, requiring their help, 'the rather because the late President had made over his whole estate to secure the Company's debt first.'

In 1721 the Directors wrote out objecting to Wendey's palankeen allowance, and ordered it to be discontinued. As a matter of fact it had been discontinued before the objection was made; and the Council wrote[6] in reply to that effect. Very probably the Council had been overwhelmed with applications from other officials for a like allowance; and had felt obliged either to rescind their order, or allow palankeens for every member of Council and senior merchant.

[1] Letter, 3 Feb. 1721–22, para. 113.
[2] Despatch, 30 March 1720.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, pp. 144–5.
[4] Letter, 22 Sept. 1722, 47.
[5] Despatch, 14 Feb. 1722–3, 95.
[6] Letter, 17 Jan. 1722–3, 74.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

As soon as the Ministers and Churchwardens were constituted the official trustees of the estates of the local orphans, they found it necessary to appoint attorneys in England to receive their remittances and to pay the school bills and other expenses of the orphans undergoing education. The first attorneys appointed were three former Chaplains, George Lewis, James Wendey, and Dr. John Landon. Many transactions are recorded in the Consultation Books at this period of the remission of money by the trustees at Madras to their agents in London. Charles Long paid in money on behalf of the Vestry for remission to them in Feb. 1721–2, which shows that he was not only still in Madras on that date, but also officially connected with the Vestry.[1] This official connection was probably arranged by the local authorities to last until the arrival of his successor.

The loss of the Vestry records during the French occupation of Fort St. George in 1746–9 makes it impossible to record anything more of Church affairs than what actually came before the Council. The Vestry had authority to deal with all matters connected with the Church, education, poor relief, guardianship of orphans and trust estates. The Council was so occupied with other and more important matters connected with commerce and politics, that they discouraged any reference to themselves on matters which the Vestry could manage without them. For instance, in 1715 William Stevenson represented to the Council,[2] in his own name, without the concurrence of his colleagues, Charles Long and the Churchwardens, several inconveniences which he was apprehensive might happen to the Church's stock by the Ministers and Churchwardens acting as executors to the estates of deceased persons. The Council treated his warning in a peculiar way. They said that this was a matter for the Vestry to decide; but to satisfy the scruples of Mr. Stevenson they would undertake that nothing should be done which was not approved by the Vestry. The reason of this attitude was this: the Governor and the members of Council were themselves members of the Vestry; and they attended the Vestry meetings more or less regularly; the resolutions and actions

[1] Consultations, 1 Feb. 1721–2. [2] Do. 25 Feb. 1714–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Vestry were therefore the resolutions and actions of the whole European Community including the Governor and Council.

So it happened that between 1715 and 1746 there were very few ecclesiastical matters before the Council. The visit of a Chaplain to Fort St. David was outside the jurisdiction of the Vestry; that involved the issuing of orders by the Governor to the Chaplain and the Paymaster; consequently we can discover from the Consultation Books when and how often such visits were made. William Leeke was ordered to Fort St. David against the approaching festival of Christmas in Dec. 1724.[1] Thomas Wendey petitioned to be allowed to resign the service in Nov. 1727.[2] The departure of Wendey and the death of Leeke are recorded; and consequent on these events 'it was agreed, in order for keeping up the worship of Almighty God, that Messieurs Randall Fowke and George Torriano do perform divine service in the Church, and that prayers be read twice on Sundays and a sermon in the morning and also prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays in the forenoon for which £50 a piece salary, being equivalent to what is allowed one Chaplain.'[3] The same public records show that this allowance was continued till Leeke's successor arrived in July 1729. When this successor died a year later, Messieurs Torriano and Bulkeley were appointed to read divine service with the same allowance as before[4]; the same records show that this allowance continued till the arrival of Robert Wynch in July 1731.

Besides these arrivals, departures, deaths and visits to out-stations there is nothing of ecclesiastical interest in the public records except in the list of inhabitants as entered in December 1726. Having written down the names of all the Company's servants, the other white inhabitants are divided into three classes, Protestants, Foreigners and Jews. Under the head of foreigners occur the names of Edward Bell and John Barker, the rest being Portuguese. The inference is that if a man were not a Protestant he was regarded in those days as a foreigner. It is also noticeable that the Englishwomen

[1] Consultations, 11 Dec. 1724.
[2] Do. 2 Nov. 1727.
[3] Do. 12 Feb. 1727–8.
[4] Do. 21 July 1730.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the settlement, married, widows or maidens, are all denominated Mistress.

Thomas Wendey left Fort St. George for home in Jan. 1727–8; William Leeke died the following month. The Council sent a letter overland reporting that they were without a Chaplain. The Directors therefore wrote[1]:—

'We have on the return of the Reverend Mr. Wendey, your late Chaplain, and by advice overland of the death of the Reverend Mr. Leake, entertained[2] the Reverend Mr. Thomas Consett and the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Smedley to be our Chaplains at Fort St. George at the usual salaries and gratuities if found deserving; they proceed to you on the Eyles; and as we have a very good character of both these gentlemen, so we dont doubt but they will give satisfaction in their ministerial office, and merit your countenance and favour in particular, to which we recommend them.'

Thomas Consett took with him (with the permission of the Directors) a wife, three children, and a maidservant; and he received a special gratuity of £50 to enable him to provide fresh provisions for them and himself on the voyage. On the arrival of the Chaplains at Madras, Consett the senior of the two remained at Fort St. George, whilst Smedley was sent to Fort St. David. Consett found his quarters in the inner fort inconveniently small for three adults and three children. Governor Macrae himself proposed their enlargement; but as this could not be done without building on the top of them, the kindly proposal could not be carried out. Consett put up with the inconvenience for over four months, and then appealed to the Council for other quarters less cramped and inconvenient. The difficulty was that all the houses except those in the inner fort were private property; it was not in the power of the Council to allot a house to the Chaplain without also paying the rent. This they could not do without permission of the Directors; and so it was left to Consett either to hire a house for himself or to stay where he was. The records do not say which course he pursued.[3]

[1] Despatch, 21 Feb. 1728–9, 65.

[2] *Court Minutes*, Dec. 1728 and Jan. 1728–9.

[3] The letter of Consett to the Council is printed in Wheeler's *Madras*, p. 489, ed. 1882. Wheeler states that the Chaplains were generally bachelors; this is a mistake; he also states that Consett's family had increased since his arrival; this is also a mistake.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Whilst this request was being considered the Directors heard of the death of William Leeke; the authorities at Fort St. George showed their appreciation of him by writing a regretful eulogy of him to their honourable masters; and to this the Directors replied [1]:—

'We are sorry for the loss of so good a man as you describe Mr. Leake to have been; we heard it time enough to supply you with two gentlemen very well recommended to us, as we advised you last year, and shall be glad to find they answer our expectations.'

Both these new Chaplains, Consett and Smedley, died in the course of the year 1730, Consett at Fort St. George and Smedley at Fort St. David. They are the first examples in the history of the East India Company of the mistake of appointing elderly men to take up work in the tropics without previous acclimatisation. Consett took his degree at Cambridge in 1698, thirty years before the date of his appointment. Smedley took his degree at Dublin in 1695. Both had held important cures at home; Smedley was Dean of Killala from 1718–24, and Dean of Clogher from 1724–7. The attraction to India must have been the prospect of better health or more wealth or both. At all events their services were accepted; they arrived on the Coromandel Coast in the middle of 1729; and both died within a year of arrival, Dean Smedley first.

At the beginning of the following year the Directors wrote [2]:—

'We are sorry for the death of Mr. Smedley, and have chosen Mr. Robert Wynch to succeed him, who takes his passage upon the George; he bears a very good character here, and we hope he will behave himself so in his station with you as to merit your countenance and favour upon all occasions, his salary and gratuity is to commence at the time of his arrival,' etc.

Shortly afterwards the news of Mr. Consett's death reached the Directors. They referred to it in their next General Letter to Fort St. George thus [3]:—

[1] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1729–30, 69. [2] Do. 12 Feb. 1730–1, para. 57.
[3] Do. 11 Feb. 1731–2, para. 78.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The death of Mr. Consett, your Chaplain, is very much regretted, as it deprived you some time of the regular preaching of the gospel; but we have supplied Mr. Smedley's place by sending to your assistance the Reverend Mr. Wynch last year, and on the Prince of Orange comes the Reverend Mr. Howard; and having so good characters of both those gentlemen, we don't doubt but their arrival will be agreeable to you.'

Robert Wynch was entertained in October 1730, and was given a gratuity of £50,[1] a larger sum than had been given to any Chaplain before him except Consett, who was favoured for a special reason. One of the Company's servants in the Bay at the beginning of the century was a George Wynch. Possibly Robert was the son of George, and was reaping the reward of his father's faithful service; but no evidence has been found of this, nor indeed of Robert's identity; for he was not a graduate of any British or Irish University. Eden Howard apparently received no gratuity.[2]

During a vacancy in the office of Chaplain the gentlemen appointed to conduct divine service were usually the Churchwardens. These also administered the various funds, took charge of the orphans and the library, relieved the poor, and made the annual returns from the register book of sacred offices for the information of the Directors. Sometimes they officiated at funerals; but as a rule they left this work for the Clerk.

Wynch arrived at the Fort in July 1731 and was in sole charge for a year. When Eden Howard arrived in August 1732 the Governor and Council ordered Wynch to Fort St. David.[3] Here he remained till the end of the year. At the beginning of 1735 Wynch returned to England on private business.[4] Having finished his business, he applied to the Directors to be allowed to return to Fort St. George; but stipulated that he should return to the place as he left it, that is, as Senior Chaplain. The Directors agreed and wrote thus[5]:—

'The Reverend Mr. Wynch having desired to return as

[1] *Court Minutes*, 15 Dec. 1730. [2] Do. 26 Jan. 1730–1.
[3] Consultations, 14 Aug. 1732, and Letter, 28 Aug. 1732, 79.
[4] Do. 23 Jan. 1734–5. [5] Despatch, 12 Dec. 1735, 23.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chief Chaplain, we have granted his request; but as he came to England on his own private affairs, his salary must not commence till he arrives at Fort St. George.'

The following month the Directors acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Howard's copy of the Register Books for 1734 in these terms [1]:—

'Mr. Howard the Chaplain sent the Church Register under a cover directed to the Secretary; but for the future it must be enclosed in your packet to us, and mentioned in the list; the Clergy must not be suffered to act independent of the State.'

Wynch and Howard were together at Fort St. George from July 1736 till November 1742. The only incident on record during this period is the application of Wynch for house allowance in lieu of the lodgings which were occupied by others. The application was granted [2] on the ground that all the lodgings in the Fort [3] were taken up by the covenanted servants, and that it had been usual for one of the Chaplains to be furnished with lodgings by the Company. Wynch was on very friendly terms with a member of Council named Francis Rous, a brother of Sir William Rous the head of the Suffolk family of that name. Rous died in 1738, and Wynch married the widow [4] in the following year. She died at Fort St. George in 1741.

In 1738 Wynch applied to the Directors to be allowed to proceed to the Bay as Chaplain. Fort St. George was still the most important settlement of the Company in the East; the request, therefore, strengthens the supposition that he had a family connection with Bengal, and that George Wynch of the Company's Bengal service was his father. The Directors permitted the transfer, but ordered that he should remain at Fort St. George till a vacancy occurred.[5] This did not take place till 1742. The Directors then wrote [6]:—

'We have appointed the Rev. Mr. James Field to be one of your Chaplains; but Mr. Wynch must have his option

[1] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1735–6, 79.
[2] Consultations, 21 Sept. 1737.
[3] That is, the inner fort.
[4] Mistress Margaret Rous.
[5] Despatch, Jan. 1738–9.
[6] *Court Minutes*, 9 and 11 Feb. 1742–3. Despatch, 2 March 1742–3, 6.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

whether he will be Chaplain at your place or Bengal; and in case he chooses the Bay, or Mr. Howard is come for England, Mr. Field must officiate at your place; but otherwise he is to be one of our Chaplains in Bengal.'

The newly appointed Chaplain and the Company's letter arrived in August 1743. Wynch at once applied to the Council to be allowed to avail himself of the Company's indulgence and to proceed to the Bay.[1] Permission was granted and he went. Eden Howard had already gone home.[2] And so James Field was left alone at Fort St. George. Robert Wynch died at Fort William in 1748.[3] He left no direct descendants; but Alexander Wynch, the Merchant Governor of Fort St. George, whose descendants have adorned various departments of the public service in the Presidency of Madras from the middle of the 18th century to the present day, was his nephew.

James Field officiated at Fort St. George a little more than two years, when he died.[4] On his death the Council accepted the offer of William Johnson and Samuel Affleck to conduct divine service on the usual terms.[5] Both were in the service of the Company; the former being Churchwarden and a Member of Council. This arrangement continued for nearly a year, until the Fort was delivered up to the French. But the inhabitants were not left entirely without a minister; it happened that H.M.S. Preston had brought out a Chaplain, the Reverend Richard Dixie, in 1745. For nearly 12 months he officiated as Chaplain of St. Mary's in addition to his work as a naval Chaplain. He was the first of a long series of naval Chaplains to work among the Company's servants; many of them exchanged into the Company's service.

Owing to the increase of the French garrison at Pondicherry, and the presence of a French fleet there and at Mauritius, an English fleet was sent to the eastern seas. It was under the command of Admiral Barnet; and it arrived at the end of 1744. The presence of the fleet in the Madras roads made it necessary either to enlarge the hospital, or to

[1] Consultations, 29 Aug. 1743. [2] Do. 15 Sept. 1742.
[3] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 97–8.
[4] Consultations, 2 Oct. 1745. [5] Do. 7 Oct. 1745.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

build another, or to take some other course. After much discussion the granary on the island was given up for the purpose of a naval hospital.[1] There were many sick among the sailors; Admiral Barnet himself died at Fort St. David on the 29th April 1746. He did not live to see Fort St. George surrendered.

The death of James Field made it necessary to appoint another or two more Chaplains. The Company had in their service a Chaplain named Francis Fordyce who had been appointed to St. Helena in 1735,[2] and at his own request had been transferred to Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, six years later. At the end of 1745 he petitioned to be sent to Fort St. George,[3] on the ground of his having been several years at Bencoolen. The Directors granted the petition, and appointed Richard Rider to be Chaplain at Fort Marlborough in his place.[4] A little later they appointed Rider to be joint Chaplain with Fordyce at Fort St. George[5]; and they wrote to the Council there informing them of the arrangements.[6] This letter was delayed on its voyage, owing to the difficulty of getting past the French cruisers. When it did arrive Fort St. George had been in the hands of the French some months, and the seat of the Company's government had been transferred to Fort St. David. Fordyce arrived in March 1747; and the Company's July letter at about the same time. When the Council replied to this they said[7] that they had entertained the Rev. Mr. Francis Fordyce from the 1st April, and would entertain the Rev. Mr. Richard Rider when he arrived.

The Directors were of course very vexed at the loss of Fort St. George; they excluded all members of the Madras Council from any share in the government of Fort St. David. They also regarded their engagements with their covenanted servants at Fort St. George as at an end. Having appointed Fordyce and Rider to Fort St. George, they thought it necessary to write to the Council at Fort St. David thus[8]:—

[1] Consultations, 1 and 4 Jan. 1744–5.
[2] *Court Minutes*, 30 Oct. and 12 Nov. 1735.
[3] Do. 19 Dec. 1745.
[4] Do. 24 May 1746.
[5] Do. 6 and 18 June 1746.
[6] Despatch, 9 July, 1746, 7.
[7] Letter, 2 May 1747, 89.
[8] Despatch, 24 July 1747, 17.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We have appointed the Rev. Mr. Francis Fordyce and the Rev. Mr. Richard Rider to be our Chaplains at Madras; they must on arrival be entertained as such at your place, upon the usual terms of salary and other allowances.'

Mr. Fordyce remained at Fort St. David till he was suspended in 1750. He will be mentioned in a future chapter. Richard Rider stayed little more than six months there. He went to Bencoolen at the request of the Bencoolen Agent at the end of 1747.[1] On the rendition of Fort St. George in 1749 he was appointed to be Chaplain there; but he died at Batavia before the order reached him.[2]

[1] Letter, 13 Feb. 1747–8, 64. [2] Letter, 22 Feb. 1748–9, 45.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMPANY AND THE SCHOOLS BEFORE 1746

THE interest of the Honourable Company in the education of the children of Fort St. George was no doubt primarily due to the trouble they feared from the preponderance of Roman Catholics among the inhabitants. As early as 1670 the Directors commenced to make enquiry about the education of the Fort children, and expressed themselves very strongly as to how they ought to be brought up. They did not, however, send a schoolmaster. Their letter arrived at Fort St. George at the end of 1671. Two years later there arrived from Batavia a Scotch preacher named Pringle, who had been shipped as a Chaplain by the Company and taken prisoner by the Dutch. Being willing to undertake the office of schoolmaster, the President and Council engaged his services, and wrote home to the Directors to sanction the appointment and fix the salary.

Pringle remained in the Fort a little more than a year and then returned home. One can easily imagine the kind of school he was called upon to teach. There were Portuguese Eurasians, British Eurasians, and the children of a few native subordinates for whom the Company considered themselves responsible; all making themselves understood to one another by means of a debased kind of Portuguese, which was the lingua franca of the Coast.

Four years after Pringle's return to England the Directors appointed Mr. Ralph Ord to be schoolmaster on the same salary—£50—as Pringle enjoyed. He arrived at Fort St. George in July 1678, and carried on the teaching work for four years. During this time he was permitted to undertake other work as well; so that in the Consultation Books of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the period his name is frequently met with. His chief occupation in 1680 and 1681 appears to have been the farming of the inland customs, which sometimes gave him a profit but sometimes did not. In August 1682 he asked to be relieved of the mastership. The Consultation Book records the incident thus [1]:—

'Mr. Ralph Ord having made it his request to the Agent &c to be dismissed from his imployment of Schoolmaster, inasmuch as he says he has a great family, lives out of town, and teaching the children is much prejudicial to his health, they have thought convenient to grant his request, and have entertained Mr. John Barker in that imploy, he being a man well qualified for it, and at the salary of 6 pagodas per mensem.'

John Barker was a freeman living in the Fort; in 1678 he was granted a liquor licence; he died in 1707, and it is recorded on his tombstone that he left behind him a widow. His widow died in 1719 aged 69. There is no reason to suppose that he was younger than she. When therefore he undertook the work of teaching he was between 30 and 40 years of age at least; and if a retired soldier he may have been more. His salary was just half that given to his predecessors.

A month later Ralph Ord sent in a petition to the Governor and Council asking to be entertained as a Factor. He mentioned his late request for dismissal from the school, 'really judging that the quality and number of the school bore no valuable consideration to the great charges the Hon. Compᵃny were at, which might be supplied for much less than the Hon. Company were pleased to allow him.' The Council found his request reasonable and modest,[2] and admitted him as a Factor pending the sanction of the Directors; they argued that as a Schoolmaster he 'had a very large salary, more than double what he has now'; that they could get a School teacher to do all that was necessary for half the amount they had paid him; that if they entertained Ord as a Factor, both the wages together would not amount to what

[1] Consultations, 1682 Aug. 21. Edited by A. T. Pringle.
[2] Do. 1682 Sept. 28. Ed. A. T. Pringle.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Ord had before, and the Company would have two servants instead of one; and finally that 'business in all places mightily increased, and able men were wanted.' This Council Consultation assists us to realise the kind of work the Schoolmaster had to do; the Council agreed with Ord that it did not require a specialist on £50 a year. And so John Barker began his new duties.

It is not possible to say, because of the imperfect character of the records at this period, how long this arrangement lasted; but it seems probable that it lasted till 1707, when Barker died. At first he occupied an independent position; but as the Vestry grew in importance, and the Charity Stock for the care and education of orphans increased, there is little doubt but that he became subject to the inspection of the Minister and Churchwardens, who found the bulk of the funds for the education of the children. After 1692 the Chaplains were given the special work of superintendence by the Directors, who insisted upon a knowledge of Portuguese and Tamil that they might properly perform the new duty. George Lewis was an enthusiastic educationist. Governor Pitt, who ruled from 1698 to 1709 asked him to give an opinion as to how the garrison might be brought to consist of all Protestants. He replied that the Company should erect two large Hospitals[1] or Nurseries, one for boys and one for girls, who should be educated and taught the Protestant religion.[2] This recommendation was sent to the Company, and their answer was that they would consider it. Lewis' idea was that these schools should be taught in Portuguese. He had both Prayer Books and Church catechisms in that language; he himself commenced the translation of portions of the Bible. Though his plan was not carried out by the Company, his work of translation was not a waste of time. He sent it in manuscript to Ziegenbalg and Grundler, the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar, and it proved a happy inducement to them to translate the whole Bible into that language.[3] And when afterwards the Danish Missionaries

[1] *I.e.* hostels or boarding houses.
[2] Letter from Lewis to the Secretary S.P.C.K., Feb. 1712–3.
[3] S.P.C.K. reports, published 1718, Letter xi.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

opened their Portuguese Schools at Tranquebar, Fort St. David and at Madras, it was this Bible which they put into the children's hands.

Mr. George Lewis' scheme did not, however, commend itself locally to the St. Mary's Vestry. There were three reasons against the establishment of such schools ; (1) George Lewis was about to retire, after 21 years' service; his successor would probably not know Portuguese as he did, and would not therefore be able to superintend such schools ; (2) the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had already been in correspondence with the Company on the subject, and had already materially assisted the Danish Missionaries with funds to establish such schools ; then why not leave that work to the S.P.C.K. Mission, being willing to undertake it? and (3) the Vestry considered that if they devoted their attention exclusively to British Eurasians and an English School for them, they would be doing as much as their funds would allow. Lewis went home and the Rev. William Stevenson succeeded him. On the 7th Oct. 1714 he wrote as follows to the Sec. S.P.C.K., London :—

'I know not what kind of charity School Mr. Lewis proposed to erect here ; you intimated that it is to be such as the Missionaries founded at Tranquebar ; but I must freely own I have little hopes of seeing such proposals made effectual, though nothing shall be wanting on my part to encourage so useful an undertaking.

'In the mean time I am using my best endeavours to get a charity school erected after the model of those in England, for the education of poor Protestant children who are maintained out of our Churches Stock; but being boarded with ignorant mean people, live in a straggling manner, and are far from reaping the lasting advantages of a regular education. It is such a school as this, I believe, Sir, that the Revd Mr. Lewis had in view; because he could not but be sensible how much it is wanted ; and it is what we ought in the first case to procure ; for although we are obliged to do good to all men as we have opportunity, we ought more especially to provide all things that are necessary both for the souls and bodies of those who are already of the Household of Faith.

'However, Sir, such a Charity School as this cannot in the least hinder the founding of another for Proselytes, that

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

may be gained over to our holy religion. For if the Fund we shall establish for the education of Europeans does more than answer the design of it, as it probably will, (there being seldom above twenty poor children in this place) the superplus could not be better bestowed than in the maintenance of such as shall hereafter be converted to the Christian Faith.'

Whilst this English school was being established, the Danish Missionaries were busy with their Portuguese Eurasian School at Tranquebar; and the Dutch Clergy at Palleacatta (Pulicat) and Nagapatnam (Negapatam) were equally busy with the establishment of Portuguese Schools at their stations.[1] The S.P.C.K. recommended to Mr. Grundler that he should send a selected Portuguese boy to the English school at Fort St. George to learn English with a view to his becoming useful to the Mission. This he did, writing thus to the S.P.C.K.; 'When I communicated this design to the worthy Mr. Stevenson, he answered in these terms, "I will freely take any boy you shall please to send out of your school into my house; I wonder you should talk of the charges; let them be what they will, take you no care, I will be responsible for them." Truly I am wonderfully obliged to that Reverend gentleman; he is very ready upon any occasion to assist me in the discharge of my function, and as a most faithful friend to support me with his counsel and good advice.'[1] The boy's name was Andrew. Later on Stevenson wrote; 'he is in good health, he diligently applies himself to the study of the English language, and gives content to us all.'[2]

The St. Mary's Charity School opened in December 1715 with 18 boys and 12 girls.[2] A Vestry meeting was held on the 28th October 1715; the scheme for its establishment, including the Rules for its management, were discussed and unanimously passed. The rules were entered in the Consultation Books of the Council, and have thus been preserved. The Vestry Books, in which they were also entered, disappeared during the occupation of the Fort by the French between 1746-9 and were never recovered. The rules were reproduced

[1] Letter from J. E. Grundler to the S.P.C.K., 28 Aug. 1715.
[2] Do. do. do. 16 Jan. 1715-6.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

by Wheeler;[1] but as no history of the Madras Diocese can be considered complete without them, no apology is necessary for reproducing them here.

Rules for the better establishing and management of the Charity School, erected by the unanimous consent of the Vestry of St. Mary's parish in Fort St. George, on the 28th October 1715.

1. That in some convenient place within the English Town, there be proper accommodation made at first for 30 poor Protestant children, diet and education gratis.

2. That the scholars be trained up to a practical sense of religion, and be particularly instructed in the doctrines of the Church of England as by law established; and therefore no person shall be capable of being master of the school unless he be qualified according to the Acts of Parliament.

3. That the children, whether boys or girls, shall be taken into the school house at 5 years of age or thereabouts; and be put out to service or apprenticeships when they are about 12 years old. And while they are entertained in the school, the boys shall be taught to read, write, cast accounts, or what they may be further capable of, and the girls shall be instructed in reading and the necessary parts of housewifery.

4. That no scholar shall be taken in, nor any matter of moment transacted without the previous consent of the Honourable Governor for the time being.

5. That besides the Ministers and Churchwardens, who shall always be overseers of the Charity School, there be three others chosen yearly by the Vestry for the better management and more careful inspection of the affairs of the School; and in order thereunto, that the said overseers (or at least four of them) meet every week at the Vestry, and keep minutes of what they agree upon (if it be of any moment) to be laid before the Governor for his approbation.

6. That one of the overseers annually chosen by the Vestry shall at the same time be nominated Treasurer to the School, and be obliged to keep exact regular accounts of the School Stock and expenses; to be laid before every Vestry, and before the other overseers, or any of the contributors, when they require it, at any of their weekly meetings or otherwise.

7. That when the cash belonging to the School Stock shall

[1] *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 341–2, ed. 1882.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

amount to the sum of 1000 pagodas, it shall be employed at sea, or let out at interest, by the Treasurer, with the advice of the rest of the overseers, and the consent of the Governor; and if the money cannot be thus employed, that it be lent to the Church at the usual interest.

8. That all Bonds, Deeds of Conveyance, and other writs for the use and benefit of the Charity School, shall be drawn and granted in the name of the Treasurer and other overseers for the time being.

9. That all Legacies, Gifts and Benefactions to the School, whether of money or other things, be duly entered by the Treasurer in a book to be kept for that purpose, which he shall sign at the foot of every page.

10. That no part of the School Stock shall on any pretence whatsoever be employed to any purpose, or in any manner, but what is agreeable to the original design and institution above expressed.

11. That in all difficult cases and disputes about any matter of consequence, the overseers shall make application to the Governor for calling a Vestry, wherein all such matters shall be determined by the majority of the contributors.

12. That the aforesaid articles shall be the standing rules and fundamental constitutions of the Charity School, according to which the Overseers shall always be obliged to act. And therefore that the said rules shall be registered in the beginning of a book, wherein the said Overseers shall enter all the subsequent orders and regulations which they may have occasion to make hereafter concerning the said school; provided that such subsequent orders shall be first approved by the Governor and Council for the time being.

The chief thing to be noticed about these rules is that the St. Mary's School was to be a Church of England School; that it was to be managed by a body of seven persons, consisting of the two Ministers, the two Churchwardens, and three Overseers elected by the Vestry; and that this body of managers could not act in matters of importance—such as investment, change of rule, and admission of children—without the previous consent of the Governor in Council.

In the following January William Stevenson wrote to Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., as follows[1]:—

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, Part iii. published 1718, Letter xxxii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'Having laid my former proposals before the Governor and Council, when they were at leisure to consider them, they readily approved of the design; and I must do the Governor [1] that justice as to own that he was particularly forward in promoting it.

'We have already upwards of 30 children, who are not only cloathed and taught, but likewise maintained by a monthly collection that is made in the Church. The boys live in one apartment under the charge of a master and usher, and the girls in a separate house under the care of a mistress and assistant. Inclosed you have a copy of the proposal that I first offered to the Governor, the fundamental rules and orders agreed upon in a Vestry, and an account how the children are to employ their time. When we opened the School about two months ago, we had a fund of about £350 sterling by two legacies bequeathed to this foundation; and we have had a generous contribution among the inhabitants since, which will increase the School Stock to £1000 sterling and upwards, of which the Governor gave £225, and others have contributed likewise very liberally; so that there will be nothing wanting to make the School flourish, but a good spot of ground within the Fort or English Town to build a spacious school house or Hospital.[2] The only convenient place is a large old house called Jearsey House, which belongs to the Company, and is ready to tumble down. We have purposed to purchase it; but the Governor hopes the Company will give it to the School, he having proposed this to them in the General Letter now sent home, wherein he has strenuously recommended our new foundation, and shewn them that they are likely to reap great and lasting advantages from it.

'If the Directors can be prevailed upon to give that house for building an Hospital, I do not doubt but within a very few years it will be in as flourishing a condition as any school in Europe, for it meets already with the greatest encouragement imaginable.'

The abstract of those paragraphs of the Letter which refer to the School is as follows [3]:—

'We have begun settling a Charity School for educating poor Protestant children, 30 of both sexes taken in, objects of charity, whose fathers or mothers were English; we have

[1] Edward Harrison. [2] Hostel or boarding house.
[3] Letter, 26 Jan. 1715–6, 31–36.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

followed the models of the London Schools; with a little of the Company's assistance we may advance yet further; the Rules and Orders are entered in the Consultation Book after the 9th January; we desire any additions thereto the Company may think proper.

'The fund begun on is a transfer from the Churches Stock of what was bequeathed for this purpose, also voluntary collections at the Church; with the like further helps we hope to defray the expense out of its [*i.e.* the fund's] improvement; the Churches Stock is sufficient for other uses; therefore the School will now be promoted, which has eased the Church of several children; the books of this Stock are regularly kept, and will be annually examined with the Churches [Stock] in October.

'We have hired a house for the School; we hope speedily to build a school and lodgings; if the Company would bestow Jearsey House, now too much decayed to be repaired, it is very conveniently placed for it; we pray to have some spelling books etc., and a bale of green serges for the children.

'We shall want an able Schoolmaster; we have entertained one John Mitchell, who came out a soldier on the Mary, but says he is in Orders and was Chaplain on the Falkland to Jamaica 1714, and has been in other men of war; but being bound for his brother who failed, chose to fly rather than lie in prison; [says he] will get some one to appear in his behalf; that Mr. Burchett, Secretary of the Admiralty, will give him a character; we pray the Company's directions about him; being assured he was a divine of the Church of England, we chose rather to make him a schoolmaster than bear arms; if any among the soldiers come who can write and cast accounts, they may be useful to the school and to the Company's affairs.

'Many advantages may be expected from this Charity School to the Company and to the place, as well by instructing ignorant youths as keeping them from the Popish Missionaries who spare no cost to seduce such, as the rendering them useful in trade and for serving as soldiers, which will save the cost of sending others from England.'

On the same date the Governor and Council wrote the following letter to the S.P.C.K., which having originated free schools for the poor in England, was greatly interested in the establishment of the first of such schools in India.[1]

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, Part iii. published 1718, Letter xxxiii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We have made a beginning this year in as handsome a manner as we could, to erect and establish a Charity School for the education of poor Protestant children, such as are born of mixed parents, and, for want of due care, have been very frequently seduced by the R.C. Missionaries in these parts, which by the grace of God, we hope to prevent in the future; and whenever you are pleased to signify to us which way we can be serviceable to the great and pious design you have in hand, we intreat you to believe, and persuade your worthy Society that we will very readily set about it.

(Signed) 'E. Harrison, Prest. 'Thomas Cooke.
'Tho. Frederick. 'John Legg.
'Wm. Jennings. 'Jos. Cooke.
'Rich. Horden. 'Randall Fowke.'

William Jennings had been a few years before highly spoken of by the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar as a kindly helper and benefactor.[1] The Society through its Secretary, Henry Newman, wrote and thanked him for his good will. His reply,[2] dated the 24th Jan. 1715–6, was to the effect that whilst he lived he would not be wanting in his endeavours to do all the good offices he was able to the Missionaries at Tranquebar. He then incidentally mentioned two other subjects:—

(i) that Mr. Stevenson had departed a day or two since to visit Fort St. David.

(ii) that a Charity School was last month set up for poor children; 'it is not yet in the method the Danes pursue at Tranquebar, there being only our soldiers' and other Europeans' poor children at present entertained, in number about 30 boys and girls.'

A year later the Directors replied to the letter of the Council as follows[3]:—

'As to the Charity School,—we are well pleased with the pious design and the generous contributions of the persons who did set it on foot. Mr. Newman, Secretary to the S.P.C.K., says he hath had a copy of the Rules and Orders laid down about it, the same with those entered in your

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, Part iii. published 1718, Letters ii. and xv.
[2] Do. do. Letter xxxiv.
[3] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716–7, paragraphs 53, 54.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Consultation Book. The Society have perused them, and can add nothing to them in general, but say, That those that drew them up can easily add any supplements which experience or convenience shall suggest to be necessary. There come by these ships several Primers, Spelling Books, Psalters, Catechisms and other religious books and small treatises, as also testaments for the use of the children, and some for the Schoolmaster, presented by that Society[1]; and in answer to your 33rd paragraph, we allow you to make use of a part of one of the Bales of green perpets sufficient to cloathe the said children.

'We have also considered the preceding paragraph relating to Jearsey House which you say must be pulled down, and that you modestly propose we should give the old materials and ground to erect thereon a school. We have been further told that the Church Stock, from which this Charity to the poor children is in part derived, did in some measure suffer by the pulling down of a house of theirs adjoining to the old Hospital, which could not be saved when the new Hospital was built, though it yielded them 40 or 50 pagodas a year; and that the granting Jearsey House would be esteemed as a compensation for that loss. On the whole matter, if these facts be really so, we consent that Jearsey House and ground be applied to this purpose[2]; or if that ground is wanted for any more necessary service of ours, then another piece of ground of ours, where you judge convenient.

'We have had no application made to us on behalf of Mr. John Mitchel, your present schoolmaster, appointed for that school; Mr. Newman hath promised to enquire about him, but hitherto hath given us no answer; he hath also been desired to speak to the Society, who will be glad if any proper person comes in their way, to recommend him to us.'

This letter arrived at Fort St. George at the beginning of August 1717. On the 17th of that month the Governor and Council wrote[3] to the Directors their gratitude for granting Jearsey House for the Charity School, adding that they had decided to build one on the Island, that they would sell Jearsey House and ground, and after deducting what the

[1] Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

[2] It was handed over to the Charity School Trustees. Consultations, 4 Nov. 1717, and 18 Nov. 1717; the trustees repaid 100 pags. of the compensation money for the house pulled down.

[3] Letter, 17 Aug. 1717, 48.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Church paid for their house pulled down for the Hospital, apply the rest to the Charity School use ; that the foundation was then laying ; that they were thankful for the liberty to cloathe the children in the Company's green perpetts ; that they had determined to cloathe them in blue ; and that the Trustees of the School had received the books sent by the S.P.C.K.

It will be remembered that the river on the west side of the Fort flowed for a short distance almost parallel to the sea shore. The position chosen for the St. Mary's Charity School was west of the Fort, outside it, and on the other side of the river. It was thus on the island and opposite to Jearsey House, where the children were temporarily provided for. A wooden bridge spanned the river at about the centre of the western face of the Fort. Here the school flourished from the time it was finished in 1719 till the building of stronger and more scientific defence works rendered it necessary to give up the site and move elsewhere. This occurred in 1746.

The building of the school took nearly two years. The Trustees were not cramped for room on the island as they would have been inside the walls of the Fort. There can be no doubt that they built liberally and largely, for the outlay was nearly 5000 pagodas; no record of the actual size and shape has come down to us ; there exists only the appreciative opinion of the Governor and Council about it. They wrote to the Directors in 1719,[1] 'The Charity School will soon be finished ; it is substantial and an ornament to the place.'

Before the reply of the Directors regarding compensation for a house pulled down to make room for the new hospital had reached Fort St. George, the Governor and Council had agreed upon the amount, and handed it over to the Treasurer of the Church Stock. This was on the 29th Nov. 1716. The Directors wrote and acquiesced in the award a year later[2] :—

'Your consultation of the 29th Nov. shews what recompence you gave the Church for their house pulled down when the Hospital was to be built ; it seems to us rather with the most' [the letter here is illegible ; some such words as these seem to be wanting,—'liberal good will towards the Church,'

[1] Letter, dated 29 July 1719, paragraph 33.
[2] Despatch, 8 Jan. 1717-8, paragraph 56.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

—or 'reprehensible disregard for economy,'—] 'but since you have done it we acquiesce.'

When the St. Mary's School was opened John Mitchel was appointed Schoolmaster, as we have seen. Within six months of his appointment he was prosecuted in the Mayor's Court by the Commandant of the Garrison [1] for deluding his daughter by a pretended marriage, in which he acted both as priest and husband. The charge was proved; and the Mayor referred the case to the Council for whatever punishment it might see fit to order. The Council considered the case, and resolved to punish him as a soldier in the Company's service; for though he had pretended to be in Holy Orders, and they had accepted his statement, and promoted him to the post of Schoolmaster, he had not proved himself to be so. They therefore called upon him to find sureties for his good behaviour till opportunity offered for his deportation to England; and if he failed to find the sureties he was to be kept in confinement.[2] In the next General Letter [3] they reported their proceedings to the Directors; the abstract of their long paragraph appears thus 'John Mitchel proves a very ill man.'

Some of the methods of raising money for the School have been mentioned. The Consultation Book of the 2nd Nov. 1719 shows another method; but this probably was an unusual one. The Choultry Dubash, or interpreter, was brought to trial before the Council for extorting exorbitant fees from poor people. It was a bad case. He was sentenced to stand in the pillory, to be dismissed the Service, and to be fined 500 pagodas, one half of which was to be paid to the Charity School.[4] A year later one of the younger merchants, Charles Davers, died. He was the fourth son of Sir Robert Davers, Baronet. By his will he left 200 pagodas to the Charity School, and desired that Mr. Main—presumably the schoolmaster who succeeded Mitchel—and the Charity boys might attend him to the place of burial, preceding the corpse and singing a hymn.[5]

In 1740, when the Hon. Mr. Richard Benyon was Governor,

[1] Captain William How.
[2] Consultations, 12 June 1716.
[3] Letter, 9 Oct. 1716, 102.
[4] Consultations, 2 Nov. 1719.
[5] Do. 22 Sept. 1720.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the civil and military authorities of Fort St. George were alarmed by the increase of the French naval and military establishments at Pondicherry, and began to consider if the Fort was strong enough to resist attack. The weakness was mostly on the west side. There was only a slight wall between the bridge in the centre and Caldera Point; and there was no wall between the same bridge and Charles Point. It was decided to build a wall with a parapet where there was none; and to take in a portion of the island so as to make the west wall of the White Town a continuation of the west wall of the Black Town.[1] The scheme was not carried out; the fortifications would have been made thereby so extensive, that it would have been impossible to secure them against a large force without a large force; but from the moment the suggestion was made the school buildings were in danger.

In 1745, the Hon. Mr. Nicholas Morse[2] being Governor, a plan of enlargement was settled, which involved the alteration of the course of the river, so that the school which was built on its west bank became situated on its east bank. Here it was in the way of the intended new walls, and was doomed to destruction. The following extracts from the Consultation Books of the Council show what was done:—

'10 March 1746. The works to the westward being brought on pretty near to the school,——which it's time to begin to pull down, it's agreed that Messrs Eyre, Harris, and Smith[3] prepare a calculate of what the bricks and timber work of the school may produce to assist the Board in judging what Compensation to make for it.

'2 May 1746. Messrs Eyre, Harris, and Smith——report——the survey of the school house and the adjacent buildings on the island; with an annexed estimate of the present value of the materials of the former amounting to Pags. 3867; without making any allowances for the loss of ironwork, and damage to the timbers in pulling it down; or for the chunam, clay, water, and labour used in putting them together when the school was erected; which being in some measure to be considered, together with the great advantage

[1] Letters, 5th and 30th Sept. 1740. [2] A descendant of Oliver Cromwell.
[3] Mr. Joseph Smith; he was the Garrison Gunner, *i.e.* commandant of artillery, who succeeded Major Knipe as Garrison Engineer. He was the father of General Joseph Smith. Letters, 5 Sept. 1744 and 15 Feb. 1744–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the brick materials lying so near to the works, we believe our Hon. Masters will not think we have made a bad bargain for them in allowing Pags. 4000 for the school, which it's now agreed to do, and which is near Pags. 1000 short of what it cost in those so much cheaper times when it was built.'

The trustees were obliged to accept the offer of the Government; they had no alternative; money was scarce; for the new fortifications were costing a great sum. The meanness of giving less than was due was the result of a low balance; but it might have been avoided by giving a portion of the just compensation at once, and leaving the rest to be paid at some future time.

The trustees had both boys and girls in the school. Their building on the island was specially arranged to accommodate both. They could not carry on their educational work inside the Fort except in two separate houses. Accordingly they bought one and hired another; and vacated the old building. They then asked the Council to accept a loan of Pags. 3000 at the temporary high rate of interest then existing, 'representing the extraordinary charge that the Charity School Stock is put to by their being obliged to buy one house in town and to hire another till a new school house can be built, which cannot be set about till the works now carrying on are compleated; together with the loss that Stock sustains by the difference between the compensation we have thought fit to make and what it [the school house] appears by their books to have cost.' The Council agreed to take the sum on the same terms as they had borrowed other monies for so long as they saw convenient.[1]

A month later the trustees sold the site of the school to the Government for Pags. 300.[2] Three months later the Fort and the walled town of Madraspatam were in the possession of the French.

We are in a position now to judge of the nature of the assistance given by the Company and the local Government in the establishment of the St. Mary's Charity School. The idea of a free mission school for the children of the Portuguese and

[1] Consultations, 7 May 1746. [2] Do. 9 June 1746.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

others originated, as we shall see, with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London. Their intention was to carry it on by the Danish missionaries whom they supported. Mr. George Lewis fell in with this idea and discussed it with Ziegenbalg in 1710. On the arrival of William Stevenson a fresh scheme was put before the Vestry and approved, which provided a separate school for the British Eurasians; this was to be more under the control of the local Government, the contributors, and the Vestry than a mission school could have been.

The Company gave a site for the school; but it had nothing to do with the building or the upkeep of it. They intervened to safeguard the funds and to see them properly administered; and when the surrender of the Fort to the French placed the funds in jeopardy, they stepped in and used their authority for gathering together the scattered fragments. They liked the school to be a charity school; and they preferred that the charity should be that of their servants rather than of themselves; but they threw the cloak of their protection over the institution, commended it to the special care of the Governor and Council, and became the surety of its funds.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER IX

THE COMPANY AND THE S.P.C.K. MISSION FROM 1710 TO 1750

THE attitude of the Honourable Company towards early missionary effort has been very much misunderstood and misrepresented. The Directors had shown signs of anxiety forty years before the Danish missionaries arrived in India to establish schools for the children of the Portuguese Eurasians and of the Tamil natives in their employ. The difficulty of establishing them was the difficulty of language. The Chaplains were as a rule short service men, without any inducement to stay longer than their covenant obliged them. Sometimes it suited their convenience or pleasure to remain. Isaacson, Elliott and Lewis spent the best portions of their lives in the service of the Company; but as a rule they did not remain longer than the short term—3, 5 or 7 years—of their agreement. During their stay they had plenty to occupy them amongst their English-speaking parishioners, without attempting to learn the two necessary languages to enable them to carry out the wish of the Directors with regard to Portuguese and Tamil schools.

The Company's servants at Fort St. George agreed with the Chaplains that the kind of work the Directors contemplated, though it might be superintended, inspected, patronised (in the best sense of the word) and otherwise assisted by the Chaplains, would be best done by those specially qualified and specially trained to do it. They were not antagonistic to it; but with their local knowledge of the amount of work which the scheme meant, and of the amount of work which a European is capable of in a tropical climate, they judged, and they judged rightly, that if it was to be done as it ought to be

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

done, it should be done by a missionary specially set apart for it.

When the Danish missionaries arrived, the Company's servants needed no order from the Directors to receive them kindly and assist them. The S.P.C.K. pleaded with the Directors in their favour. But if this plea had never been passed on, they would still have been favoured. Some of the Company's servants may have needed some such fillip to their inclinations; but the majority and the seniors did not. They welcomed the missionaries as Christian teachers; whose influence would be all for good amongst all classes of the community they were called upon to rule over. It is generally supposed the Company was absolutely hostile to missionary work in its dependencies. As a matter of fact the Company was most liberal to the S.P.C.K. in the grant of free passages for its missionaries all through the 18th century, as well for goods of all kinds connected with their work. And according to the testimony of the Missionaries themselves, many servants of the Company in the Presidency of Madras were most kind in their reception and treatment of them, most liberal and sympathetic in furthering their designs.

In July 1706 two Missionaries for the conversion of the heathen arrived at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar; one was Henry Plütschau, a Dane, and the other Bartholomew Ziegenbalg who was born in the Kingdom of Saxony. Fenger [1] and Hough [2] have described how these men had the countenance and support of Christian IV., King of Denmark, and of a number of influential persons both in Denmark and in England. They were not kindly received by the Danish Governor; but they commenced their work with great zeal and enthusiasm. Their first reports were sent to the University of Halle and to Copenhagen. These proved to be so interesting, that they were before long translated into English. The translator dedicated his work to 'the honourable Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' A second lot of reports was translated and similarly dedicated a few years later. These early reports of the successful commencement

[1] *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, 1863.
[2] *History of Christianity in India.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of mission work in India aroused much interest in certain circles in England. In 1710 the S.P.G. sent the missionaries their first donation towards the necessary expenses and a box of books in Portuguese. But the S.P.G. were doing all that their limited funds would enable them to do in the plantations of America and the West Indies. They therefore proposed that this new mission in India should be assisted by the sister society the S.P.C.K.; and the obligation of assisting was accordingly transferred to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. So great was the interest in the new work in London that donations flowed in to the coffers of both societies until a complete transfer was effected, and both societies were able to supply some of the early needs of the mission. Meanwhile the early reports reached the Company's Chaplains at Poplar. At this place the Company had its docks, warehouses, and almshouses; here were congregated its shipping and marine subordinates; here it built a chapel between 1642 and 1654, and stationed a Chaplain for their comfort, instruction and benefit. In 1710 the Chaplain was Dr. Josiah Woodward. He read the reports of the Tranquebar missionaries, and was so impressed with them that he forwarded the reports to the Directors and wrote the following letter [1]:—

Popler, 21st Nov. 1710.

(*after compliments*) 'It hath pleased God to dispose many of the heathen in the East Indies to receive the doctrine of Jesus Christ,—as the books herewith presented testify,—and several among us are contributing towards the cost of translating the New Testament into Portuguese to further the progress of that work.

'Since we cannot but see that the Blessed Gospel is with many in this nation a despised and derided thing, perhaps it may please God that we turn to the heathen.

'It may well pierce the hearts of Christians to think of such vast parts of the world yet lying under the power of the Prince of Darkness.

. . . . . .

'The Honourable Mr. Robert Boyle was duely convinced of the importance of the work, and left £100 in the Treasury of this Company for this pious use, being then one of the

[1] *East India Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Committee; which was afterwards repaid him because none followed his example. He also proposed that the one hundredth part of their gains should be appropriated to this sacred purpose; as the Dutch East India Company charge one per mille in all their sales on the buyer, as I have heard, for such uses.

'I shall therefore confide in the candour of this Honourable Committee to bear with me in this sincere discharge of my conscience; not only recommending but pressing this most sure and profitable sort of merchandize; which I do with the truest respect and affection in quality of their Honours'

'Most humble servant and Chaplain

'JOSIAH WOODWARD.'

In the same year that the Poplar Chaplain wrote this letter, Ziegenbalg paid a visit to the English Company's Forts and Factories on the Coromandel Coast, in order to see for himself if there was an opening for mission work in those places. He travelled by horseback and palanquin. He was received well by the Governor and the whole English Council at Fort St. David. At Fort St. George his reception was equally generous; he was lodged by Mr. George Lewis during his stay; he was kindly received by the gentlemen of the settlement, and was invited to dine at Government House.[1] When in due course he reported his impressions to the Professors at Halle, he wrote:—

'What an advantage this [2] would prove to the whole East India Company; what a blessing they would derive thereby in their commerce! . . . . . If they should be willing to entrust us with the management of so noble a charity, we wish they would be pleased to send some of their own country on so worthy an errand.

. . . . . .

'But then such persons must be pitched upon as with a generous resignation are ready to consecrate themselves entirely to the service of these deluded pagans. For such as in the ministration of spiritual things are hurried on by base and sinister ends, and come over to gather up some rarities in the heathen world, or to purchase a few uncertain riches, these would do no great feats among the eastern nations, who com-

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Part ii. pp. 2 and 44.
[2] The establishment of a Tamil Mission.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

monly estimate the Christian religion by the life and conduct that shines in its professors.' [1]

At the beginning of 1712 the S.P.C.K. sent a printing press to Tranquebar with type and paper; also silver and 250 volumes of the Portuguese New Testament, all of which were carried freight free by the Company.[2] At the same time they wrote to the Chaplain at St. Mary's, Fort St. George, to ask his opinion. He replied in October 1712:—

'The subject of your letter is of the greatest moment, and therefore not to be hastily and rashly answered. The missionaries at Tranquebar ought to be and must be encouraged. It is the first attempt the Protestants ever have made in that kind. We must not put out the smoaking flax. It would give our adversaries, the papists . . . . too much cause to triumph over us. I do design by the January ships to let the Society understand that I am a hearty well wisher to your honourable pious and Christian undertakings.' [3]

The same ship which took Lewis' letter to the S.P.C.K. took also one from Ziegenbalg to the same Society, in which he urged the Society to help the establishment of a mission in Madras—representing that there was hardly a city so fit and conveniently placed for the propagation of the Gospel of Christ in India; recommending the Society to write both to the Governor of Fort St. George and to the Directors of the Company and intreat their assistance.

Ziegenbalg renewed this earnest application the following January,[4] saying, 'If the Christian Governors would but espouse the matter more heartily, a considerable progress might then be made in a little while.' And George Lewis wrote by the same ship his opinion of mission work at some length.[5] He wondered that it was not commenced before. He believed the work might be done without attracting attention or opposition 'provided we do not sound a trumpet before us.' In the Mogul's dominions, he said, four fifths of the people are Gentoos, about whose religious opinions the Mogul never troubles himself; 'but to tamper with his Mussulmen is not safe.' He thought the beginning should be made at home,

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1718, pp. 48–9. [2] Do. 1718, Part iii. Letters i. ii. iii.
[3] Do. Letter iv. [4] Do. Letter vi. [5] Do. Letter viii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'where there are some hundreds of thousands who live in the settlements under the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company.' 'Whilst we have so large a harvest at home, let us first gather in that, and then it will be time enough to look abroad.' 'The way to do it is to set up schools and hospitals,[1] and to train up the children to be Christians.'

Before the end of 1712 the S.P.C.K. had appealed to the Directors; and the Directors wrote to the Governor and Council as follows[2]:—

'We are further to acquaint you that the S.P.C.K., which is composed of many of the Reverend Bishops and other Clergy together with divers well disposed gentlemen have addressed to us on behalf of the Protestant missionaries at Tranquebar, to give them our protection and encouragement, and to permit them a Charity School or Schools at Madras. They find it difficult to get any English to undertake this service, but hope to be able to do it in another season. We have consented to their sending three persons by this shipping' (a Schoolmaster and two printers). . . . . 'We recommend to you to give your countenance and protection to the said persons and other Protestant missionaries; and to supply them with a few of the Portuguese Liturgies as you find it necessary, and do whatever you think proper for the strengthening their hands in this difficult but honourable work of spreading the Gospel among the heathens. Some other requests they have made us; among the rest, that you should be empowered to prefer such as they shall instruct preferably to other natives; which will be time enough to pronounce upon, when we hear the success of their endeavours, and whether you have any and what objections thereto.

'We approve of your allowing Mr. Plütschau, the missionary, to take passage on our shipping without paying permission, ... the designs of the Society here are truly great and noble, and we would be willing to encourage the putting them in practise.'

To this letter of recommendation the Governor and Council at once replied[3]:—

'The design of erecting a Charity School or Schools at this place is a very noble one and worthy that Honourable Society

[1] Hostels or boarding schools. [2] Despatch, 2 Feb. 1712–3, 145.
[3] Letter, 16 Sept. 1713, 123. Wheeler says they replied about a year afterwards; this is a mistake.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We will not only be ready to adjust them with the power you have given us, but also with our purses; and do not doubt that many of your inhabitants will do the same, if the persons they send out are of tempers and qualifications fit for the undertaking. But we hope they will be English and not foreigners,' etc.

To this the Directors replied[1]:—

'The S.P.C.K. have represented to us that they have not as yet been able to prevail with any of the British nation to undertake the service of the Protestant Mission to the East Indies, but are advised to make an experiment of two Mallabar [*i.e.* Tamil] Christians educated at Tranquebar under the Danish missionaries, to be employed as masters of two Charity Schools, one to be kept at Fort St. George, and the other at Fort St. David, subject to the inspection of yourselves and direction of our Chaplain at Madras, and of the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort St. David, and desiring we would approve thereof, and protect the persons that shall be employed therein. We have promised to recommend this, as we hereby do to your consideration, and to give them all proper assistances for propagating the Protestant religion in the way they propose,' etc.

During the years 1713 and 1714 when this correspondence was being carried on between the Council and the Directors, the missionaries received great assistance from the advice and influence of Mr. Jennings, a member of the Fort St. George Government. In September 1714 he was appointed Agent at Vizagapatam; and Ziegenbalg wrote as follows to the S.P.C.K.[2]:—

'Mr. Jennings who has been a singular help to us went this month (from Fort St. George) to his Government at Vizagapatam. In the mean time we hope that the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Stevenson will supply the place of that gentleman; he having generously expressed himself to this purpose in one of his last letters,—"Mr. Jennings being absent, I promise to assist you in your affairs, and to do what I can to serve you; you may rely upon me for my good offices; I will not fail your expectation."'

[1] Despatch, 12 Jan. 1714–5, 57.

[2] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1718, Letter xv.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The following month, October 1714, William Stevenson wrote to the S.P.C.K.,[1] and said :—

'Mr. Jennings is now gone to reside at Vizagapatam; I have begun a correspondence with Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Grundler, whom I shall always serve to the utmost of my power.'

He then proceeds to unfold his own plan of a Charity School at Fort St. George; and adds that his scheme, which has the approval of the Vestry, need not in any way clash with the establishment of Charity Schools for proselytes by the Society's Missionaries; and that if they are established, nothing shall be wanting on his part to encourage them.[2]

At the beginning of the year 1715 the Directors wrote in their annual general despatch as follows[3] :—

'Upon the earnest application of the S.P.C.K., as also the Danish Society for Promoting the Protestant Mission in India we have permitted Mr. Ziegenbalg to take passage on our shipping with his family and to carry with him 55 Rheams of paper, and several necessarys and books, and £1000 in silver and gold which he brought with him from Germany, free of charges as to us,' etc.

'We understand that this gold and silver is partly to pay off the debts incurred in India on account of the Mission, partly for the support and paying the salaries of the Missionaries and their dependents, and for building a printing house and foundry, with accommodations for the Charity Schools at Trincombar etc. We have told them we will write you to see that it be not applied to trade or merchandizing; for if it should, we shall look upon it as perverting our charitable design in letting it go out, which will stop further favours of the like kind.'

In reply to this the Governor and Council of Fort St. George wrote on the 30th June 1715 that they would assist the Danish Missionaries when they desire it; they added that they had received the silver, the paper, and the

[1] S.P.C.K. reports, 1718, Letter xvi.

[2] See page 190. Wheeler (page 318) has confused the St. Mary's Charity School founded by Stevenson with the Charity Schools promoted by the Missionaries, which were established a year later outside the Fort.

[3] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1714–5, 132 and 133.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

£1000 sent freight free by the Company's ships,—'the employing of which to the best advantage will take off their thoughts from other matters.'

The wording of these paragraphs in the Despatch and the reply seem to show that the Directors at the time they wrote were not altogether sure of the whole-hearted missionary intention of the Missionaries themselves; but that the Council at Fort St. George had no doubt of it. It is but due to all parties to say that they understood one another better later on; and that the Missionaries by their tact, conciliation, and patent honesty of purpose, earned and for the next hundred years enjoyed the complete confidence of the Directors and of the Madras Government.

During this year (1715) the Governor of Fort St. George was in communication with the Danish Governor of Tranquebar, asking his opinion of the capability of the Danish Missionaries to carry out the design they had in view. He mentioned that the design was greatly favoured by the East India Company, by many peers of the realm, and by 'those too of considerable note.'[1] Mr. J. E. Grundler, the successor of Plütschau as companion helper of Ziegenbalg, wrote himself to Governor Harrison in October 1715,[2] informing him that 'the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was confident that with his assistance the propagation of the Gospel would succeed both at Madraspatam and at Devanapatnam.' This letter and the favourable opinion of the Governor of Tranquebar together seem to have decided the Fort St. George authorities to invite the Danish Missionaries to commence work in the Company's territories. And Governor Harrison wrote the following letter on the 25 Oct. 1715,[3] to Mr. Grundler:—

'I received your most acceptable letter, and shall always think myself happy if, in the discharge of my office, I can by any means promote your pious and laudable endeavours for propagating the Gospel of Christ either here or in any part of our territories. Moreover I am most ready to assist your endeavours whenever you intend to put your design in

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Letter xxvi. [2] Do. do. Letter xxviii.
[3] Do. do. Letter xxix.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

execution. If you had rather begin at Devanapatnam than here, our vice-Governor shall be ready to defend your cause. And whereas I have more than once understood by your worthy friend, Governor Hassius, that you are very well disposed, and most capable of this glorious undertaking, I cannot foresee any hindrances, unless what may arise from the dark superstition of those whom you have a mind to instruct in the Christian Faith. I promise that there shall be no impediment on my part. In the mean time till you certify us by what method you'll proceed in the execution of your design, I bid you farewell.'

Mr. Grundler wrote[1] by the next ship on the 16 Jan. 1715–6 to Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., recording this permission of the English Governor to commence a Charity School either at Madras or Devanapatnam. The same ship took to the Society a letter[2] from the Governor and Council, dated the 26 Jan. 1715–6 :—

'We take this opportunity to assure [the Society] that we are and will be ready on all occasions to patronize and encourage that noble and useful design, which they are pleased to recommend to us. We have offered our service to the Missionaries at Tranquebar more than once, promising them our utmost assistance, whenever they think fit to extend their Malabar[3] Schools to any of our settlements under this Presidency. We shall be glad to see some capable men of our own nation in Holy Orders that are not above undertaking a work of this nature; till that happens, we can see no great prospect of the success you propose in opening a glorious scene of the Christian Church in these parts.'

From which it will be seen that the Government of Fort St. George was not very sanguine of the success of the Danish Missionaries; but pledged themselves to assist the work and to put no obstacle in its way. The Council also reported to the Directors what they had done,[4] and received the following

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Letter xxx. [2] Do. do. Letter xxxiii.

[3] The Danish Missionaries miscalled the natives of the Coromandel Coast by this name; they included in it all Tamil-speaking natives.

[4] In their letter 26 Jan. 1715–6, 36 they reported that Mr. Grundler had been promised the English assistance locally, but waited for further help from Europe.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

paragraph of appreciation and approval in the next General Letter [1]:—

'We note what you write touching the assistance promised the Danish Missionaries in order to establish Malabar Schools at Madras and Fort David, and have seen copies of the letters that passed between our President and Mr. Grundler on that subject, which are to our satisfaction. When these schools can be well fixed, they may serve for many useful purposes in subordination to that greatest of all, the enlarging the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour.'

Later on in the same despatch (para. 90) the Directors informed the Council that they had again permitted the liberty of sending silver and books to the Missionaries free of charge; and again commended their charitable purpose of evangelizing the heathen.

Governor Edward Harrison resigned office in January 1716–7, and was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Collet, who was as well affected towards the Missionaries and their work as his predecessor. Collet was a passenger on board the Jane, on which the S.P.C.K. had shipped a printer, a printing press and other things for the use of the Mission in 1711. When the ship was captured by the French off the coast of Brazil, it was Collet who ransomed the ship and the Mission property, the former on behalf of the Company, and the latter out of good will to the Missionaries.[2] It was now a year since Governor Harrison had issued his invitation to the Danish Missionaries to commence work within the Company's territory, either at Madras or Devanapatnam.[3] During the year Mr. Grundler was working out a scheme for submission to the Fort St. George Government. In the month of May 1717 he delivered this scheme to the new Governor, and the Governor laid it before the Council on the 27th of the month.[4] These were the proposals:—

'1. Whereas the slaves belonging to the English inhabitants of this place have a great many children, who have no

[1] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716–17, 55.
[2] S.P.C.K. Reports, published 1718, Part iii. Letter ii.
[3] Madras was a native town outside Fort St. George, and Devanapatnam was a native town outside Fort St. David.
[4] Consultations, 27 May 1717.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

manner of care taken of them, but are kept entirely ignorant of the Christian Religion; it is humbly proposed that a Charity school be erected, wherein such poor children shall be taught to read and write the Portuguese language (which is the only one they understand) and be fully instructed and trained upon practical knowledge of religion and the true doctrines of the Gospel.

'2. There being some reason to hope that the knowledge of Christianity may also be propagated amongst the Natives of this country, it is likewise proposed that a Malabar [*i.e.* Tamil] Charity School be erected in some convenient place in the Black Town, for instructing poor children in the principles of Religion, and to teach them to read, write, and cast accounts, after the way and manner used among the Malabars [*i.e.* the Tamils].

'3. That these two Schools be allowed the protection and patronage of the Honourable Governor and Council, without whose consent and approbation nothing of moment relating to the said Schools shall be transacted.

'4. That the immediate care and directions of the said two Schools shall be committed to two or more Trustees, to be appointed by the Honourable Governor for the time being.

'5. That leave be given to such Trustees to build or buy two School houses, one for the Portuguese School within the English town, and another for the Malabar School in the Black town.

'6. That what money gifts or legacies shall be given by charitable persons for the support of the said two Schools, or either of them, shall duly be registered by the Trustees in a book to be kept for that purpose.

'7. That the Trustees shall have power to make what particular orders and regulations shall be found necessary for the better management of the said two Schools, provided that the said regulations shall be approved of by the Honourable Governor and Council.'

A similar scheme was submitted by Mr. Grundler to the Deputy Governor and Council at Fort St. David, accepted, and put in operation. And when the Governor wrote to the Directors in August 1717[1] he reported what had been done. The following is the official abstract of the paragraph:—

[1] Letter, 17 Aug. 1717, paragraph 49.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The President at Fort St. David concerted with Mr. Grundler to erect a Charity School at Cuddalore,[1] since erected; one Master there teaches Malabar [Tamil], the second Portuguese; we have, at Mr. Grundler's coming since to Madras, permitted him to erect a Portuguese School in the White town and a Malabar School in the Black; and Trustees are appointed as per Consultation of the 27th May.'

The Consultation Book does not, unfortunately, give the names of the first Trustees; it merely says that it was agreed that liberty be given for erecting the two Charity Schools. The proposals themselves are so similar in character to the proposals for establishing the St. Mary's Charity School eighteen months before, especially in the subordination of the management to the Government of Fort St. George, that one cannot help thinking that Mr. Grundler took counsel with William Stevenson when he was drawing them up. Stevenson had the confidence of the Missionaries, and also of the local Government; it is hardly possible that he was not one of the first Trustees.

A few months before the opening of these schools Stevenson paid an official visit to Fort St. David; before returning to the Presidency he visited Tranquebar in order to see for himself what the Danish Missionaries were doing. He then wrote his justly celebrated letter to the S.P.C.K., on mission work in India, and how it ought to be carried on. He strongly recommended the Society's interest and help on the Mission, urging the Society to take up the work as its own, and to station one Missionary at Fort St. George, one at Fort St. David, and two at Tranquebar. The letter, which was dated the 27 December 1716, was issued by itself by the Society to its subscribers and was subsequently included in the next volume of Letters from Missionaries. It contains an able sketch of the character and religion of the Madrassi Hindu; and a grave warning that there should be no theological differences, such as lead up to controversies and misunderstandings, among the Missionaries. The work, as he saw it, was being done by Danish and German Lutherans. The Society contemplated the prosecution of the work by

[1] A town outside Fort St. David.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

means of clergymen of the Church of England; and the local Government had already expressed itself in favour of English Missionaries. Stevenson foresaw that Lutherans and Anglicans could not in all matters work together; and warned the Society that their agents must be all of one mind. The Society would have liked to employ Anglican Missionaries only; but they were not to be obtained. The wave of missionary feeling which had swept over the University of Halle, and left its influence behind it, had not yet reached the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge or Dublin. In considering Stevenson's letter that was one difficulty the Society had to face. Another difficulty was that they were acting jointly with a foreign missionary body, which had practically originated the work. It was not in their power to take the whole matter into their hands, and place the Missionaries as Stevenson suggested. And so they continued to help as they had hitherto done for another ten years before they took the decisive step of taking one of the Danish Missionaries into their service.

Soon afterwards Stevenson returned to England; Ziegenbalg died in 1719; Grundler died in 1720; Charles Long, the Chaplain at Fort St. George, was not interested in the Mission schools; Schultze, who succeeded Grundler as head of the Danish mission at Tranquebar, was not intimately known to the members of the Fort St. George and Fort St. David Councils, like his predecessors. The Mission Schools, being without personal and sympathetic superintendence, began to languish. In 1726 Schultze, partly influenced by the fact that there was a want of unanimity between himself and his Danish brethren, set out from Tranquebar on a missionary journey to Cuddalore, Madras and Pulicat.[1] He was kindly received at Fort St. George by the Chaplain, William Leeke, and soon began to understand how his presence was required there. He obtained the permission of the Governor to resuscitate the Schools which had fallen into decay. He wrote to the S.P.C.K. representing that his presence was necessary at Madras; and asking them to obtain the necessary permission

[1] Fenger, p. 139 (ed. 1863).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Directors for him to reside there. The Directors made no difficulty; they wrote [1]:—

'At the desire of the S.P.C.K. that if any of the Danish Missionaries shall visit or reside at places under the Company's jurisdiction, our Governors and officers may give them their protection, We hereby consent thereunto, upon supposition that they behave themselves, respectfully and suitably to the Rules of the place.'

It was this move which decided the S.P.C.K. to support the East India Mission more systematically, and for that purpose to entertain Benjamin Schultze in their service. His work as an agent of the Society began in 1728, when with the permission of the Directors and the local Government he commenced to reside in Madras.

In 1729 the Rev. Mr. Schultze bought a house in Madras. In writing to the S.P.C.K. soon afterwards [2] he said, 'Captain Hanson's house was put up to auction and fell to my lott at 600 pagodas. The house has all the necessary conveniences which I could wish for; there is a great hall which serves for a place to meet in; beside my lodging my colleague has an apartment in the lesser house; and in the forepart of the same house is the Charity School.' Schultze wished for a remission of the yearly ground rent of 9 pagodas payable to the Company. He sent his request to the S.P.C.K. in London, who transmitted it to the Court of Directors. The request was granted.

Two years after beginning work in Madras the Directors wrote [3]:—

'We shall be glad to have a true account annually how the Danish Missions succeed, and how they (the Missionaries) behave themselves under our protection.'

To this the Governor and Council replied [4] that the Danish Missionaries were quiet and modest, and had 200

[1] Despatch, 14 Feb. 1727–8, paragraph 93.
[2] *East India Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.
[3] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1729–30, paragraph 62.
[4] Letter, dated 18 Jan. 1730–1, paragraph 81.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

converts. The Directors expressed their pleasure at this report thus [1]:—

'The behaviour of the Danish Missionaries being so agreeable to their profession is pleasing to us; and we hope all in your several stations will give due countenance to their laudable undertaking.'

In the year 1732 the S.P.C.K. sent £1000 to the Minister and Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Fort St. George, and approached the Directors asking them to assist the Mission by permitting the building of a Church and two schools in Madras. The Directors thereupon wrote to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George for their opinion [2]:—

'The S.P.C.K. have represented to us that the Protestant Mission established at Madras has so far prospered, that a Church and two Schools,—one for boys and another for girls,—are exceedingly wanted for the further instruction of the converts to Christianity; but as we have not heard of late from you what success their mission has had, or whether the Missionaries' behaviour is suitable to their character, we are not able to form a judgement whether the said Church and Schools are necessary, and therefore desire an opinion as to that affair.'

To this the Governor and Council replied [3] that if the Missionaries applied to them for leave to build, they would indulge them. But no application to the Government of Fort St. George seems to have been made. Another year was wasted by Schultze writing home to the S.P.C.K. about his wants without expressing them locally. In the S.P.C.K. report of 1734 there is a letter from 'the British Missionaries at Fort St. George' expressing their need of a Church and Mission House at Madras. They say:—

'The British Mission at Fort St. George to this day is provided with only one common house, more fit for one man's lodging than for three people, which has hitherto served instead of a Church; but it is easy to imagine how great the inconveniences and hindrances must be, of inviting the

[1] Despatch, 11 Feb. 1731–2, paragraph 75.
[2] Do. 9 Feb. 1732–3, paragraph 39.
[3] Letter, dated 28 Aug. 1732, paragraph 97.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

heathen to hear God's word preached in so straight an apartment; and therefore they need not urge the Society any further upon that head.'

The house was that bought by Schultze in 1729; and the three people were Schultze, John Sartorius, who joined him in 1730, and John Geister, who joined him in 1732.

In the S.P.C.K. Report of 1735 it is stated that the Society gave directions for the building of a Church 40 feet square, 'so contrived that it might be enlarged to such dimensions as should be found necessary.' The Court of Directors gave their free consent to the building of a Church and two schools at Madras in such a manner as the Governor of Fort St. George and the Society's agents shall agree, the buildings to be erected in the best manner; and they wrote out to the Governor, empowering him to grant a site for the proposed buildings. To this the Governor and Council replied that if the Protestant Missionaries applied, they would give them a proper spot of ground to build a Church on.[1] Application was accordingly made, and the buildings were erected. As to the site, the Rev. W. Taylor says[2]: 'the site of the Church, I was told by an aged native, was near the present Lighthouse,' that is, at the north eastern extremity of the present Fort glacis.

In 1735 Sartorius went to Fort St. David to see if there were any opening there for mission work. He was welcomed by Governor Hubbard, 'who was desirous to detain him.'[3] He remained there eight days; and as Governor Hubbard and other gentlemen of the settlement offered their assistance in the foundation of a new mission there, he decided to return. His determination was partly arrived at by the difficulty of working with Schultze, who was a keen and zealous Missionary, but somewhat autocratic and masterful in temperament. Accordingly Sartorius accompanied by Geister went to Cuddalore in 1737, and with the help of the gentry there purchased a house and compound for the purposes of the Mission. Sartorius was an able linguist and greatly respected by the English officials. He died in 1738, and was

[1] Letter, 30 Sept. 1735, paragraph 55.
[2] *Memoir of the Centenary of the Earliest Protestant Mission* (ed. 1847), p. 7.
[3] S.P.C.K. Report, 1736.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

buried in the English Burial Ground at Cuddalore, all the English gentlemen there attending his funeral. There is no doubt that he was instrumental in resuscitating the Charity Schools at Cuddalore, and in raising a Charity Stock, such as existed at Fort St. George, to support them.

John Kiernander arrived in 1740 to take the place of Sartorius, and experienced the same kindness and consideration at the hands of the English officials as his predecessor. He worked with Geister until 1743, when Schultze returned to Europe, broken down in health, and Geister went to Madras to take charge of the Mission there. Kiernander remained at Cuddalore till the capture of Fort St. David by the French in 1758, working without assistance from 1743 to 1747, assisted by J. C. Breithaupt from 1747 to 1749, and by G. H. Hüttemann from 1750 to 1758. He wrote to the S.P.C.K. in 1748 [1] that the Council, Chaplain and people of Fort St. David had shown them (the Missionaries) extraordinary kindness; that the Governor, Charles Floyer Esquire, had in all emergencies approved himself their friend; and that he had assured the Society that he would take their Protestant Mission under his protection and assist them all in his power. They had been similarly assisted by Governor Hinde.[2]

The Fort St. David Charity Stock, referred to above, was under the management of the Fort St. David Council, and was in the hands of one of its members. The following references to it in the Fort St. David Consultation Books shew that the Charity Schools there were being carried on according to the original constitutions of 1717. There is no reference to the Stock before the first date mentioned.

'*Oct.* 1741. Mr. Eyre produces the Charity Books, balance whereof being [*blank*]. Mr. Floyer is appointed to take charge of the same, and to take a bond payable on demand from Nellatambi for 700 pagodas in the name of the Deputy Governor and Council, at the rate of 12 per cent per annum, the interest whereof is to be paid monthly; and the remainder Mr. Floyer is to keep in his hands for the current expenses of the Charity School.

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1749. [2] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1743 to 1747.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'*July* 1745. Petty repairs in the Charity School in Cuddalore, mending doors and windows, hinges and hooks.

'*Nov.* 1746. Petty repairs to the Verandah of the Charity School in Cuddalore.

'*July* 1747. The Governor (Charles Floyer) produces the Charity Books for the year ending this day, balance being 839 pagodas; which he being desirous to quit himself of, Agreed that he make over the same to Mr. Alexander Wynch, the present Paymaster; that his bond be taken for 800 pagodas at 9 per cent; the odd money to remain in his hands to defray the expenses of the Charity School.

'*Oct.* 1748. Mr. Prince being appointed Paymaster, Mr. Wynch delivers in the Charity books, which it is ordered to deliver to Mr. Prince; that his bond be taken etc.'

Oct. 1749. Mr. Richard Prince delivers over to Mr. Wynch in the same terms as above.

There are only three more references at this period to mission concerns in the East India Company's records; as they are plain proofs of the liberal sentiments of the Company towards the Mission, they are here given.

1. Despatch 20 March 1744–5, Paragraph 6. 'The S.P.C.K. having represented there are some vacancies by the removal of missionaries on your coast, we have permitted the Rev. Mr. Klein and the Rev. Mr. Breithaupt to take passage upon this ship, in order to carry on that good work among the Indians.'

2. Despatch 12 January 1749–50. Free passages were granted to Messieurs Schwartz, Poltzenhagen and Hüttemann.

3. Fort St. David Consultations July 1751. Acknowledgment of the receipt of silver and chests of stationery for Mr. Kiernander and the Protestant Mission, sent out by the Company's ships.

In a volume of miscellaneous documents at the India Office[1] are preserved a number of letters written by Mr. Henry Newman, Secretary of the S.P.C.K., thanking the Court of Directors for benefits and kindnesses towards the Mission by sending money, books, stationery, printing requirements, printers and Missionaries, passage free, to Fort St. George; also beer, wine, cheeses, hour glasses, spectacles and other things. The letters bear the expression of 'thanks of the

[1] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Society for the ready concession'—for 'the generous concession to all their requests'—and bear dates from December 1726 to January 1741; they are only a few that by some accident have been preserved, but they are enough to show the good will of the Company towards the Mission cause at the time, and the gratitude of the Society at the same time for the good will and the liberal kindness bestowed. Historians of mission work in India must no longer ignore these records of co-operation.

There is no doubt that the Danish Missionaries were useful to the Europeans both at Fort St. George and at Fort St. David. This was the case in some measure before 1750, when there were comparatively only a few Germans, Dutch and Danes in the garrisons. But after 1750 it was much more the case; for not only did the number of Germans, Dutch and Danes increase, but an enlistment in Switzerland of Swiss soldiers between 1749 and 1755 added to the number to whom the English Chaplains could not minister, and to whom the ministrations of the Danish and German clergymen were very acceptable. The Missionaries used the English Prayer Book and translations of it; they taught the English Catechism in their Schools.[1] When Fort St: George and Fort St. David were without Chaplains, their ministrations at baptisms, burials and occasionally at marriages were welcomed; and sometimes—perhaps this depended upon their linguistic capabilities—they officiated at the English Service on Sundays. On the death of Thomas Consett in 1730, Messieurs Torriano and Bulkeley received the allowance for reading divine service, and attending to other parochial matters; but the records show that Schultze occasionally officiated at the Fort Church till the next Chaplain came out. In the same way Kiernander made himself useful later on at Fort St. David; and when Schultze returned home broken down in health, Fabricius assisted when required at the English Church, as Schultze had done before him. It was Fabricius who married Robert Clive after the sad death of the Company's Chaplain. But it was not because the Missionaries were useful in these ways that the Directors were well disposed towards them: there is no

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1847.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

evidence that the Directors knew of their help; it may have disposed the local authorities in their favour; but as for the Directors, they were well disposed out of the goodness and kindness of their hearts, and because they recognised that what the Missionaries had set themselves to do was for the highest good of the ruled, and therefore for the best interest of the rulers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH STOCK

REFERENCES have been made occasionally in the preceding chapters to the Church Stock. There is no record as to when and by whom the Church Stock was actually commenced; but there is sufficient material to form an opinion about it. There is no reference in the records to any Church fund before the time of Streynsham Master—before the time of the building of the Church, the establishment of a Vestry for the management of parochial affairs, and the election of Churchwardens. It is probably quite safe to assert that there was no Church Stock before this notable Governor brought the Vestry into existence. There was a fund; but it was not a Church fund; it was a Poor Fund, which was raised by means of fines for the infringement of the Company's Rules of Conduct.

These rules were drawn up in 1667, after the trouble between the rival Governors Winter and Foxcroft, with a view to a better discipline and subordination to authority among the Company's servants abroad.[1] The infringement of the majority of them was punishable by fine. Fines were exacted for all cursing, swearing, banning and blaspheming; for absence from prayers on Sundays and Wednesdays; for leaving the Fort without permission; and for drunkenness. After the mention of 20 offences and 20 penalties Rule 21 says:—

'It is ordered and appointed that all the fines or penalties that are imposed and shall be received for all the offences aforesaid shall be kept in a box appointed for the purpose for the use of the poor, chiefly English, to be distributed according as the Governor and Council shall direct.'

[1] The rules are printed at length by Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*, pp. 677–682.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

These rules were only in force at the larger Factories, Suratt and Fort St. George. When Master became Governor in 1678 he received orders to put them in force at all the subordinate factories on the Coast and in the Bay. Before doing this he called a Council meeting and revised them.[1] It was an action singularly characteristic of the man. If they were to have penal rules in the Factories it was only right that the Company's servants should make them and consent to them. The Council began by defining the official duties of the Company's servants; they provided for the keeping of the records; they established rules of precedence, and prescribed the use of roundels as emblems of dignity; fines were to be paid for all the offences mentioned in the original rules; but the most important change was the appointment of Overseers of the Poor to receive and distribute the fund in the place of the Governor and Council, who had more important work to attend to.

There were two sets of rules, one for the civilians and one for the military; a Factor or Writer collected the fines from the former, and the Paymaster from the latter. The duty of all collectors of fines, whether at Head Quarters or at subordinate stations, was to pay them over monthly to the Overseers of the Poor at Fort St. George.[2]

Within two years of this revision and extension of the Rules the Church was built; the inhabitants met in Vestry and elected Churchwardens and Sidesmen; and there can be hardly room for doubt that the Overseers of the Poor were connected with the new parochial machinery, just as was then usual in England; that they either became the first Churchwardens, or transferred their powers (with the consent of the Government) to the first Churchwardens; so that their office was taken over by the Vestry, which henceforth provided for the relief of the poor themselves.

These local arrangements were made without the knowledge of the Directors. It is not surprising, therefore, to find them writing in 1688[3] and suggesting the establishment of a Poor Fund and the appointment of Overseers or Fathers of

[1] *Wheeler*, pp. 683–698. [2] Wilson's *Early Annals*, p. 69.
[3] Despatch, 11 Sept. 1688.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Poor. It came about in this way. Occasionally a European, who could not be classed with those receiving poor relief, required assistance. He wanted more than the Poor Fund could afford to give him. And if by former service, or by the former service of any relative, the Council esteemed him to have a claim upon the charity of the Company, the Council relieved him out of the Company's chest. An action of this kind brought forth this paragraph in the Directors' Despatch of the 11 Sept. 1688:—

'Upon perusal of your Consultation Books, we find in several places you pay money out of the Company's Stock, for relieving of some poor English and other charitable uses, which is more than we can justly or dare do ourselves; we being not entrusted with the Adventurers' Stock as the Governors of Hospitals, but to trade with it, and to fortify and defend our trade by treaties or arms. Yet since there will in all colonies be a necessity sometimes to relieve distressed poor, we would have you raise a fund or stock for that purpose, which you may intrust in the hands of two or three of our Council, and two or three of the best, most charitable, and ablest of your inhabitants, whom you may Commission by themselves or by their proper officer, to ask and receive upon all pay days and every Lord's Day, or once a month at the Church, what shall be contributed towards the relief of the poor; and you may entitle those so commissioned by the name or style of Fathers of the Poor, as the Dutch call them.'

In 1694[1] the Churchwardens lent 1200 pagodas of the fund to the Company and paid it in to the Treasury. The loan was for six months, and was to bear interest at 10 per cent. The Council ordered a bill to be given for the same. This transaction was in due course reported to the Directors. They took the matter into consideration and wrote in reply as follows[2]:—

'We do not think it at all convenient that the Widows' and Orphans' and Poor Stock should be taken into trade by our President and Council. The President and Council being no body in law, Politic or Corporate, but a flueid variable unconnected number of men that may die or change or differ

[1] Fort St. George Consultation Book, 4th Sept. 1694.
[2] Despatch, 6 March 1694–5, para. 29.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

among themselves a hundred ways. But that the said Poor Stock be taken into the Company's Cash, and interest duely accounted or paid for the same, as the Churchwardens shall desire, every year or twice a year at six per cent per annum, as the same is done here.'

The Ministers and Churchwardens had to take this suggestion into consideration. As far as the Council was concerned the Despatch meant that they were not in future to borrow the Charity Fund money at more than six per cent. The local market rate might be eight or ten or twelve per cent. or any other rate. And of course the President and Council looked forward to make a much larger profit on the capital they borrowed than these rates. On the other hand loss was as possible as gain; and if there was loss, the loss was the Company's and the Company's only; for the Churchwardens held the Council's bond. The interest given was undoubtedly high for so safe an investment. The Directors were neither unreasonable nor illiberal in making their suggestion. But the Churchwardens were business men of the settlement, who understood thoroughly the risks they ran and how to protect themselves. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that they declined the Company's offer. The Council wrote home as follows[1]:—

'The Ministers and Churchwardens finding by Computation that they have made and can make 9 per cent. on the Orphans' Stock merely by interest, put it out themselves and did not transfer it to the Company's Cash.'

Before the administration of the Poor Fund came into the hands of the Vestry and the Churchwardens, there is no evidence that any large sum of money was accumulated. The accumulations began as soon as the Ministers and Churchwardens took up systematically the relief of the poor and the care of the orphans and their property. In 1684 the Government borrowed 600 pagodas belonging to the 'Church Orphants.'[2] There was a reason for the accumulation, for the building up of a large Church Stock, apart from the care of the orphans and the poor. The building of the Church

[1] Letter, 31 Jan. 1695–6, 29.

[2] Consultations, 5 Jan. 1684–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

made a staff of servants necessary; provision had to be made for the upkeep of the building and its furniture, and for the provision of all that was required in the conduct of divine service. The Company made no allowance for these purposes. The Stock grew by means of fines, donations, legacies, Church collections and similar means. In 1686 two of the young merchants quarrelled; the Council anticipated the duel they proposed and settled their difference by fining each of them 10 pagodas for the use of the Poor of the Church.[1] In 1688 the Ministers and Churchwardens owned three houses in Fort St. George, the Hospital building, and a fund of money as well. In 1694 they lent 1200 pagodas to the Government at 10 per cent.[2] In 1697 they lent 8500 pagodas to the Govemment at 8 per cent.[3] There is a monument at Vizagapatam erected by the St. Mary's Vestry to the memory of Jonathan Wilson, who died in the year 1706, aged about 65, leaving his estate to the Poor of the English Church at Fort St. George. There is another monument at Cuddalore (Sonaga Street Burial ground) erected by the Vestry to the memory of Thomas Read, who died in 1708. He was an Ensign in the Company's service; he left by will all his estate to the Church at Fort St. George. In 1708 a young Portuguese, who was chief mate on board a country ship, died on the return voyage from Madagascar intestate.[4] There was found in his chest Rs. 1802; he had no relations; the Portuguese padres, who were allowed by the Government to grant probates of wills of Roman Catholics and to administer the estates of intestates of their own faith, claimed the sum as a perquisite to their Church; but the Governor and Council considered that as the money was 'gott in the English service, it was just and reasonable to divide it equally between our Church and theirs'; and this was done.

The loss of the old Vestry books during the occupation of Fort St. George and Madras by the French from 1746 to 1749 makes it impossible to give more than an outline of how the fund was got together and what was done with it before that time. But it is known that the poor were relieved; that a

[1] Consultations, 20 Jan. 1686–7.
[2] Do. 4 Sept. 1694.
[3] Do. 1 and 9 July, and 4 Oct. 1697.
[4] Do. 1 Oct. 1708.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Hospital was built in the Fort; that the Ministers and Churchwardens had the care of all the orphan children and of their estate if there was one; that they were most careful guardians of both the children and their property, and that by the time Lockyer wrote the fund had greatly prospered and increased. The credit of this careful nursing and administration is due especially to two Chaplains, Richard Elliot 1681–96, and George Lewis 1692–1714. Lockyer wrote in 1703 that the Church Stock then amounted to 6705 pagodas in houses, plate, cash etc.; which with the Orphans' money makes their account current 13753 pagodas. He explains that "orphans' money is, when wealthy parents dying, bequeath their estates to children incapable of managing them, and make the Church trustees;—to provide a good education, and to prevent the abuses their minority might render them incident to from a single guardian, who often prefers his own private ends to the trust reposed in him." He explains that the Church Stock became so considerable from the free gifts of pious persons, and from the monthly collections in the time of divine service for the maintenance of the poor; and he adds that besides this monthly collection, the excess of the receipts over the expenditure in the Offerings Account of the Churchwardens was always passed to the credit of the Church Stock. Until the date of the publication of Lockyer's book only one reference to the Church Stock has been found in the Despatches to Fort St. George and in the Letters home from that settlement. Lockyer's book apparently made the Directors aware of the value and importance of the Stock just as it made them aware of the value and importance of the Library. They wrote out in 1714 and suggested [1] that the Church and Orphans' Stocks might be profitably employed in grain. They also made suggestions as to the keeping of the accounts; and the necessity of exercising some influence in the choice of the Churchwardens. The Council passed on the suggestion as to the employment of the Stock to the Ministers and Churchwardens, and wrote in reply to the Directors thus [2]:—

'The Company's proposal (para 57 and 58 per Kent) for

[1] Despatch per Kent, paras. 57 and 58.
[2] Letter, 13 Sept. 1715, paras. 54 and 55.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

employing the Church and Orphans' Stocks in grain was not accepted, though made by the President when grain was dear; we are of opinion that it would be a surer interest to the Stock than they now make; but it depends on good management, and a better harmony than is now in the Church, etc.

'Those stocks were excellently managed in Mr. Lewis' time; and that they should be still is of the utmost consequence to the place; therefore we endeavour to get good Churchwardens. The Cash is kept as the Company direct; some difficulties arise about employing the money which we hope to remove. We shall send the Church's Journal and Ledger annually as ordered; and be watchful to see the Fund preserved and rightly applied.'

Four months later the Council wrote in further reply to the Directors on this subject[1]:—

'Besides what we mentioned per Kent of the Orphans' and Church's Stock we shall now add that, grain being cheap, we have laid in a store with the Churches Stock; the Minister and Churchwardens manage it; we will take care they dont raise the price in buying or sell too dear. The Churches Ledger is sent; the Journal could not be copied in time; the books are annually closed in October ready for the Vestry's perusal when the Council are present; we will send a complete set next shipping.'

To these letters the Directors replied a year later[2]:—

'It was with some concern we perused your 54th paragraph per Kent, because of that expression or intimation in it that there must be a better harmony in the Church itself. We are sorry to hear of some things that have been related as the source of that misunderstanding which savours too much of a selfish and private interested temper, if our information be true. We would willingly understand the 30th paragraph of the Bouverie's letter to be the beginning of a better agreement. Mr. Lewis, that valuable person, who best understands those stocks, as he nursed them up into a regular method, and brought them into the flourishing condition they now are or lately were, hath been privately asked concerning the present state of them, but cant be induced to speak out, which gives strong reason to suspect he knows (though loth

[1] Letter, 26 Jan. 1715-6, para. 30.
[2] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1716-7, paras. 51 and 52.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to declare where) the blame lies, hoping it will be rectified. We shall be glad to be assured it is so, and do earnestly recommend to you to take the due care therein. Let no private selfish or separate views ever take place to the hurting those stocks or either of them. Do you interpose your, that is, our authority in preventing any such attempts when necessary. Enquire into the management in the nature of a visitation to preserve it from mal-administration, and put it into a regular course, but don't meddle with any of the money. Let that and the management of it be under the direction of the Ministers and Church Wardens jointly; if either or any would deviate keep them in the right course. Your 55th paragraph points obscurely to faults in persons and things by the just commendations given to Mr. Lewis of his management, and adding that it is of the greatest consequence to the good of the place that it should be continued. Let all be mended; if any concerned after this do not readily and heartily contribute their endeavours, speak plain. Let the true and whole state of the case be fairly debated and determined in consultation.

'Remember our general orders to give the trustees of those stocks your countenance and support when necessary for the best improvement of them.'

These paragraphs must have greatly astonished the Fort St. George Council; for there was nothing wrong in the administration of the Church Funds, except in the imagination of the Directors; but it is due to the Directors to remember that the Council gave the food for their imaginations to feed upon, when they hinted that there was a want of harmony in the councils of the St. Mary's Vestry. It is not surprising to find that the Fort St. George Council gave no reply to these comments either in 1717 or 1718; nor that the Directors, having overestimated the importance of a chance remark, wrote at the beginning of 1719 to enquire why no further notice had been taken of so important a matter. In reply to this enquiry the Council wrote[1]:—

'The reason for not answering the paragraphs about the Church Stock was that we did not understand them nor do now; we suppose that formerly some disputes had been about its management; but as there has been none in our time, we

[1] Letter, 10 Oct. 1719, para. 55.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

did not think fit to enquire of what before; it seems now to be well managed; we do yearly inspect their books at the public Vestry.'

When the 1715 letter was written Edward Harrison was Governor, and three other members of Council were Horden, Cooke and Fowke. When the 1719 letter was written Joseph Collet had become Governor, and there were four other new members of Council; but Masters Horden, Cooke, and Fowke were still members.

In managing the estates of deceased persons for the benefit of the orphans the custom of the Minister and Churchwardens was to invest the estate with the Church Stock, pay the cost of maintenance and education out of the proceeds; and when the child or children came of age, to pay them their share of the estate less 5 per cent. for the service rendered. This charge upon estates was credited to the Church Stock; it was one of the various ways by which the Church Stock was increased.[1] Some widows and orphans were left unprovided for. The Church Stock enabled the parish authorities to provide for such cases. If a Company's servant, civil or military, died in poverty, the Government as a rule paid the funeral expenses and made an allowance to the widow; and this did not prevent her from receiving an extra allowance, which she often did, from the Church fund.[2]

The administration of the fund went on during the next 25 years, without comment from the Directors. When Fort St. George and Madras were surrendered to the French in 1746, and the seat of Government on the Coromandel Coast transferred to Fort St. David, the Directors did not forget the old charity fund. They remembered that its funds were invested sometimes in the form of loans to its covenanted servants on mortgage, and that therefore a large part of its stock might probably be recovered. They therefore resolved to institute enquiry and wrote as follows to their President and Governor at Fort St. David[3]:—

'It cannot be unknown to you that there has been for

[1] Letter, 17 Jan. 1722–3, 85; the case of Mrs. Sarah Burniston.
[2] Despatch, 14 Feb. 1722–3, 70; the case of Engineer Johnson.
[3] Do. 17 June 1748, paras. 12 to 23.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

many years at Madras a Stock or Fund subsisting, commonly called the Church Stock of Fort St. George; the foundation of it was laid so many years since, that we are strangers to the origin of it, whether by legacies of deceased persons, or by the voluntary gifts and contributions of others;—whether such gifts, legacies and contributions were tied down to particular charities, or the disposition thereof left to the discretion of the Ministers and Churchwardens, may perhaps be an enquiry attended with difficulty; however we desire you will give us the best satisfaction you can therein. It may also be a question whether, as very large allowances have for a number of years (as we are informed) been paid to the poorer sort at Fort St. George, more may not have been expended for that purpose than the legacies and charitable contributions amounted to; notwithstanding which it appears by the last books which were transmitted to us, there was a very handsome balance in favour of the Church; but whether such balance arises from the capital of legacies or charitable donations unemployed, or from profits in trade we know not; for we are told the Church was sometimes concerned at Respondentia, and in Stocks on the country ships, and also in lending of money at an higher interest than what was paid to others; when we say others, we allude to a practise which had been frequently in use before the coming out of the charter, namely, that the Ministers and Churchwardens possessed themselves of the estate as such persons who died intestate, leaving children behind them, who upon their coming of age, were paid the same with the grown interest thereon.

'What has been already said relates chiefly to the management of the Minister and Churchwardens before the coming out of the charter; after that they declined altogether taking possession of Intestates' estates, and perhaps would have confined themselves solely to what was left in their hands as the Church Stock, if it were not that some of the inhabitants, whether as executors administrators or guardians, becoming possessed of money for the children of deceased persons, considering their own mortality and the uncertainty (if they should die) what hands the money should fall into, what would become of it, or where to be sought for by the children when they came of age; and as the Minister and Churchwardens had acquired a reputation for their discreet management, that they kept regular books of the employment of the money in their hands, which books (as we are informed) were yearly balanced and produced at a Vestry held for inspection thereof and other purposes; and as

NATIONAL BOOK TRUST, INDIA

these books were (as we understand) looked upon as a constant and certain record, and the Minister and Churchwardens supposed to have perpetual succession, the children would always when they came of age know where to ask for and receive their right,—an advantage which could not certainly be depended on if the money was left in particular and private hands,—and we are informed that for these reasons several persons that were executors administrators or guardians thought it the best, as being the most secure way of employing the children's money, to pay several sums to the Minister and Churchwardens, taking their bonds for the same, payable with no higher interest than £5 per cent., though the common interest of the place was from £7 to £8 per cent., and subject also to a deduction of £5 per cent. from the nett sum due and payable to the children when they came of age, and that deduction was also to be made if executor administrator or guardian should at any time before demand and receive the money from the Minister and Churchwardens. 'Other sums we are told were paid to the said Minister and Churchwardens, for which they gave bond to make certain monthly payments to certain persons, and upon the demise of such persons to repay the first principal.

'Matters were in this situation when the French lately attacked and took our settlement, when (as we are informed) the Minister and Churchwardens, or persons who were possessed of the securities, in which this Stock was invested, thought proper to destroy the same, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. However we are also acquainted that several of the debtors have since voluntarily executed fresh obligations, and that the rest of them are ready to do the same, or to pay what they are indebted to the Stock.

'And as by the taking of Madras the being of a Minister and Churchwardens is at an end, and as in fact there are no persons to receive the money owing from the debtors to the Stock, we have been requested to direct you to receive the same, to the end it may be applied for the purposes it belongs; and we being willing to contribute all in our power that justice may be done, have agreed to take upon us the receiving the debts which are outstanding; but as we are not fully apprized of what may be due from the Stock to the Orphans and to the charities, and as it may be uncertain whether all the money that is represented to us as owing to the Stock will be paid, so the greatest care must be taken that a just and equal distribution be made of what shall be received.

'We send you in the Somerset's packet a copy of the last

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Ledger received from Fort St. George; and having extracted the several debts and credits the same is entered by way of balance paper at the end; that will shew you, as far as is in our power, how matters stood in 1745. We hope the same together with the information you may get from the gentlemen who acted as Churchwardens the subsequent year, and otherwise, will enable you to form a clear and exact state of the several debts and credits of the Church Stock, distinguishing in the debtor side the sums due to the orphans by name, and specifying what is due to each particular charity, and whether such charity is general,—at the discretion of the Minister and Churchwardens, or appropriated to any particular purpose.

'In the credit side you will set down the several sums due to the Stock, from whom by name, and how secured, and a copy of this account so made up you are to transmit to us by the first opportunity.

'You are to give notice to the debtors to the Stock that you are directed to receive their several debts, and to indemnify them on paying the same.

'The money as it comes in is to be paid into our Treasury, and you are from time to time to credit the account with an interest of £5 per cent. per annum for so much of the money as shall be in our hands.

'And upon any orphans coming of age and demanding their money, you are to make up the account of what is due for Principal and Interest, after the rate of £5 per cent. per annum upon the money of each orphan, and a like interest upon each charitable legacy; and you are at the same time to take an account of what you have then in cash upon the general account, and having so done you are at liberty, and you are hereby directed, to pay to such orphan a dividend in respect of the money due to him or her, in proportion the money you are in cash bears to what the Stock shall at that time be indebted to all the orphans and charitable legacies, deducting from the money you pay to such orphan £5 per cent. which is to be applied to and as an increase to the general fund, till the whole Principal money and Interest due to both orphans and charities is replaced; and as any further sum comes to your hands, you are to distribute the same in the like manner, so that an equal dividend of the whole money which may at any time be received, be from time to time made between and among all the orphans and charities in proportion to the sums due to them respectively both for Principal and Interest; and if you should be so fortunate as to receive sufficient to pay the whole Principal and Interest due to the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

orphans and charity with a surplus, you are to keep such surplus for our account, to be disposed of for such charitable or public use as we shall hereafter direct.

'It has also been represented to us that independent of the Church Stock there was another, which (it is said) amounted to between five and ten thousand pagodas, established for maintaining a Charity School, wherein the children of the poorer sort were taught to read and write, and educated in the communion of the Church of England, and that Trustees were appointed every year, when the accounts of the trust were inspected.

'The same reasons that induce us to interfere in relation to the Church Stock require our attention with respect to this; and therefore if you can receive any part of this Stock, we direct you to do so, and to give receipts for the same on our account; and if required, to indemnify the parties to the amount of the money you receive. We shall not at present give any orders touching the application of the money you may receive on this account, but shall wait for your answer to this, when we expect you will give us the fullest information you can of this Stock, how it was raised, by whom, and for what purposes, how it has usually been applied, what part of it was in being when Madras was taken, wherein it consisted, what you shall have received, and from whom, how much may then be outstanding, and how secured; and we desire you will at the same time give us your opinion how this Stock, or so much of it as can be received, may be most usefully employed.

'The money as it comes in is to be paid into our Treasury, and you are from time to time to credit the account with an interest of £5 per cent. per annum for so much of the money as shall be in our hands.'

The date of this lengthy Despatch was the 17th June 1748; it arrived at Fort St. David at the beginning of the following year. The Council welcomed the promise of receiving a copy of the St. Mary's Church Ledger, and appointed a committee, consisting of Messieurs R. Prince, A. Wynch, and F. Westcott to examine the copy when received, and to carry out the directions received from the Court.[1] The proceedings of this committee are not recorded. Doubtless the matter was discussed; and as the news of the intended

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, March 1748–9.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rendition of Fort St. George must have reached the Council and the committee soon[1] after the Despatch, there is little doubt that further action was postponed until the rendition took place, which was on the 21st August 1749. It was stipulated in the Treaty that all record books and papers were to be mutually restored. The Directors accordingly wrote out that they would not trouble to send copies of them.[2] This decision was the cause of further delay; for the Account Books of the Church and School Stocks, together with the Minute Book of the Vestry, had all been destroyed during the French occupation. After the rendition there were many important matters to settle and arrange both at Fort St. David and at Fort St. George; and of course ecclesiastical affairs had to wait whilst these were being attended to. The Council was however able to write from Fort St. David the following February thus[3]:—

'We have re-established a Vestry at Madras, who have appointed Churchwardens for receiving debts due to Church Stocks, some of which have been discharged, and several bonds renewed. At the same time a Treasurer and Trustees were elected to look after the Charity School.'

The first Vestry meeting after the rendition was held on the 3rd January 1749-50. The memorable gathering was presided over by the Deputy-Governor, Richard Prince Esqre.; there were four members of Council present, Foss Westcott, Richard Starke, William Smyth King and John Walsh. Besides these there was the new Chaplain, Mr. George Swynfen, who arrived at Fort St. David the previous September, and had been transferred to the subordinate factory of Fort St. George; and the following inhabitants:—

Nicholas Morse,	Capt. John Standard,
Thomas Eyre,	William Percival,
Edward Harris,	Andrew Munro,
Cornelius Goodwin,	Charles Boddam,
Samuel Greenhaugh,	Capt. Charles Hopkins,
Joseph Fowke,	George Jones,
Henry Powney,	John Pybus.

[1] The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed the 7th Oct. 1748.
[2] Despatch, 27 Jan. 1748–9, para. 26. [3] Letter, 12 Feb. 1749–50, para. 73.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Some of the above were covenanted servants of the Company, and some were free merchants. The minutes of the proceedings begin thus:—

'There being several considerable sums of money owing to the Church Stock, several sums from it to orphans and others, which by the want of proper powers cannot be received or paid away; and as a further delay may be attended with public loss, the inhabitants of the town are now summoned to a meeting to consider upon the proper methods to remedy these inconveniences.'

Powney and Fowke the Churchwardens, and Greenhaugh and Boddam the Sidesmen at the time of the surrender of the Fort, were re-elected to those offices, being 'supposed to be best acquainted with the Church affairs.' Arrangements were then made to get in debts, to pay out dues, and to examine the state of the Church's house property. William Percival was re-elected Treasurer of the Charity School Stock. Provision was made for the safety of the Cash; it was to be kept under three keys, one under the hand of the Minister, and one under the hand of each Churchwarden.

During the year 1750 three Vestry meetings were held. The same kind of business was transacted at each meeting; money was paid in by debtors, and was paid out to creditors; special cases of debtors unable to pay were considered and disposed of; and special cases of poverty were relieved from the Church Stock. By the end of the year the old system was again in working order. The Churchwardens wrote to the Governor and Council of Fort St. David in December 1750, reporting their great progress in collecting debts due from those in India, and asking the Governor to obtain the assistance of the Directors in the recovery of debts due from those who had returned to England. This the Governor agreed to do[1]; the Directors on several occasions assisted the Trustees to recover sums of money due[2]; and themselves repaid the value of a bond, lost or destroyed, which had been held by the Churchwardens from the Company before 1746.[3]

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Dec. 1750 and Oct. 1751.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1754, para. 83. [3] Do. Jan. 1753.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

From this time the administration of the Fund was the regular care of the Vestry till 1805. Occasional mention will be made of it in succeeding chapters.

This fund was only for Europeans and Eurasians. In 1696 another fund was established for the relief of the native poor, who had hitherto been allowed to beg in the Fort. This fund was placed in the hands of the Mayor and Aldermen, who were ordered to distribute it at the Choultry, just outside the Choultry gate, every Monday morning.[1]

[1] Fort St. George Consultation Book, 2 Nov. 1696.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XI

THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION UP TO 1746

No ecclesiastical history of the Madras Presidency and Diocese can be complete without some account of the relationship of the East India Company to the Roman Catholic Mission in its territory. The Fort St. George mission was an offshoot of the St. Thoma mission. It was necessary in the earliest days of the English settlement to attract inhabitants to assist the merchants in their commercial and administrative work. St. Thoma, three miles from Fort St. George, was an old Portuguese settlement in a state of commercial and political decay. It and its subordinate factories along the coast contained a few pure blooded Portuguese, and a large number of persons of mixed blood with pure Portuguese names. These were all zealously affected to the Roman Catholic religion. They understood both the language of the country and the peculiarities of the natives amongst whom they had been nurtured and brought up. The earliest Agents of the Company recognised their value as subordinates; and attracted them to Fort St. George as interpreters, tradesmen, office clerks, shop keepers and soldiers. In these capacities they were wanted; and in order to make them come and stay it was necessary to make them contented and comfortable. They were given plots of land for their houses both inside and outside the outer walls of the Fort; and they were allowed the free exercise of their religion with the services of a priest of their own faith.

The jurisdiction of the Portuguese Bishop of St. Thoma extended over the whole of the Coromandel coast; so that it is probable that at first the Portuguese settlers at the Fort were ministered to by a Portuguese padre. Within a short

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

time he was displaced by a French Capuchin. The records do not say how, when, or why this change was made.[1] The story as told by Hough is that a French Capuchin missionary, Father Ephraim de Nevers, arrived at Fort St. George on his way to the further east; that he was invited by the English merchants to remain and to take charge of the Portuguese settlers within the Company's territory; that, being assured of support, protection, and assistance, he consented to stay, and did so. The doing so was a disobedience to the orders he had received from his superiors. It was probably on account of this that he had to appear before the inquisitor of his order at Goa, as related by Padre Norbert, and quoted by Hough and other historians. The establishment of the French Capuchins at the Fort must have taken place very early in its history; for when Padre Isaacson, the first resident English Chaplain, complained of the aggressive character of the Roman Catholic missionaries in 1654 to President Aaron Baker, it was of the two Frenchmen, Ephraim and his companion Padre Zenon, that he complained.

It is possible to give a very probable reason why the change was made. Neither the Company nor the Company's merchants abroad desired to have in their settlements priests who were subject to a foreign jurisdiction. They insisted upon their own authority over all persons and all matters within the limit of their territories. The Portuguese power and influence in other parts of India was still considerable; French power and influence had not yet commenced. The presence of a Portuguese secular priest under the orders of the Bishop of St. Thoma, who was himself subject to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at Goa, might lead to complications. The appointment of a French regular, not under the authority of the Portuguese at all, seemed to the local Government more in accordance with their own interests; and so a French regular was appointed.

Information of the appointment was sent with a protest from St. Thoma to Goa, from Goa to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to London. In the year 1670 the Portuguese Envoy to the Court of St. James wrote to the Company complaining

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. 2, chap. iii. pp. 417–8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that two French clergymen had gone to Fort St. George, 'taking upon themselves spiritual government, under a pretence of having the Pope's Bull.' This he did in the interest of the King of Portugal, who by an arrangement with the Pope had the patronage of all ecclesiastical benefices in the East Indies in return for his protection of Roman Catholic interests.

The complaint placed the Company in a difficulty; they intended to retain their own authority in their own territories; they desired to live peaceably with the Portuguese, and with the country powers who were in alliance with the Portuguese. They therefore wrote[1] to the Agent informing him of the complaint, telling him to smooth over matters, and to be careful not to offend the King of Golcondah in the matter.

The presence of Roman Catholics in the Fort was regarded from one point of view by the Directors in London, and from another point of view by their servants abroad. The Company resented their presence; the merchants recognised its necessity. Consequently while the orders from home regarding them in the 17th century were peremptory, unsympathetic, and often intolerant, their treatment by the merchants on the spot was generally kindly, tolerant, and forbearing. The merchants assisted them to build their first Church in the Fort; and when it was consecrated in 1675 the Governor congratulated them, and ordered salutes to be fired in honour of the occasion.[2] They allowed the Capuchin padres to travel up and down the coast to the different factories free of charge.[3] They were charitable towards them when charity was necessary. Here is an extract from the Consultation Book:—

'14 June 1686. Senor Pedro Paulo de St. Francisco, an Italian Padre, recommended to us by the Generall of Suratt, and to them by the Consull of Naples (whose family is related to the Kings of England and having done many favours to the English nation at Naples) making his request to have his occasion supplied by a contribution from the English of this place, It is ordered that 20 pagodas be given him upon the Rt. Hon. Company's account; most of the English having

[1] Despatch, Feb. 1670–1. [2] Consultations, 28 Oct. 1680.
[3] Do. 23 May 1687.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

contributed thereto, the whole collected (with the said 20 pagodas) being 83 pagodas, was presented to him.'

And when the Governor and Council were called upon to hear complaints against them, as they sometimes were, their decision was given with the knowledge that their presence and work was necessary, and that they must not be treated in such a manner as to cause them to withdraw from the Fort. At the same time both the Directors and the merchants recognised the political necessity of retaining the supreme authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil.

As long as the two first appointed padres lived, there was no clashing of authority, though there were occasional complaints of interference with persons who were not Portuguese. Zenon died in 1687, aged 85, and was interred in St. Andrew's Church in the Fort.[1] Within a few years of his death the Government of Fort St. George came into conflict with the Bishop of St. Thoma, who claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction and more over Zenon's successors at Fort St. George, and the right of appointment of a missionary priest to the Church at Cuddalore.

There is no doubt that the Bishops of St. Thoma had exercised this right of appointment before; but since the last appointment was made the political circumstances of Cuddalore had altered; for it had come into possession of the Company; and the local Government looked upon the right of presentation to the Church as a right which belonged to the owners of the property—that is, to themselves.

In June 1693 the Bishop of St. Thoma—who was also Governor of that settlement—transferred Padre Paulo de Saa from Cuddalore to Porto Novo, and so created a vacancy at Cuddalore. The Bishop then died. In August Padre Don John de Clerici petitioned the Governor and Council to appoint him 'Padre Resident of Cuddalore for the service of the Portuguese inhabitants of that place,' promising loyalty and fidelity to the Hon. Company and their interest. His petition shewed that he was a priest of the Theatine order; that he had letters missionary from the Prefect of the Regulars

[1] Consultations, 11 May 1687.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

at Goa, and that he was not, therefore, subject to the Bishop-Governor of St. Thoma. The Governor and Council, being satisfied that the Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David would approve, made the appointment; and granted a licence to Padre Don John to officiate at the subordinate factory.[1]

At the end of November a new Bishop of St. Thoma arrived; and a few weeks afterwards Padre Don John returned from Fort St. David with his licence. He represented that 'not understanding the English language, he was not sensible of the import of some articles, which upon consideration he found directly contrary to the strict rules of his order, and that his acceptance thereof would render him liable to the ecclesiastical censure of his superiors'; and that he wished to give up the appointment and go elsewhere. The Governor and Council did not choose to alter the terms of the licence upon his objections. At the same time they thought it better to have him at Cuddalore than either a French or Portuguese padre, he being of a different order and nation from them both. They agreed, therefore, to permit him to reside and officiate at Cuddalore during good behaviour without a licence, and to submit the articles complained of to the Commissary General on his next visit.[2] Padre Don John was contented with this arrangement, and returned to Cuddalore; but he died shortly afterwards.

Upon his death the new Bishop of St. Thoma, Raymundo de Mervais, wrote to the Governor:—'I have advice that Padre Don John, whom the Governor my predecessor placed vicar of Cuddalore, is deceased; and whereas I determine to send to that Church Padre Paulo de Saa who has been there' etc. This letter was dated the 11 Feb. 1693–4; it was considered but not replied to at once; in fact an answer was deferred whilst the Council waited an opportunity of finding a fitter person. Two months later the letter was considered in Council and entered in the Consultation Book, and this was the decision arrived at[3]:—

'It is ordered that a General Letter be written to Hatsell

[1] Consultations, 28 Aug. 1693. [2] Do. 16 Dec. 1693.
[3] Do. 5 April 1694.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Council [Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David] to order Padre de Saa from executing his priestly office within their bounds either in public or private, and to expel him if he refuse or prove troublesome.

'And to write to the Bishop of St. Thoma disowning his episcopal authority in Cuddalore or any other English Government.'

This strong resolution was in consequence of the defiance of the local Government by the Bishop of St. Thoma. The Government wished to appoint some one who was not subject to the Bishop. There had arrived lately at Fort St. George a Theatine padre, Gulielmus de Valle,[1] who declared himself independent of the Bishop and willing to go. When the Bishop heard of this, he declared that he would excommunicate Padre de Valle if he went. The Council were informed of this by the French padre in the Fort, who also told them that all the padres of the Jesuit order were anxious for Padre de Saa's continuation at Cuddalore. The Council declined to admit the authority of the Bishop of St. Thoma to appoint a vicar of Cuddalore, and issued the above decided order; and the Governor himself wrote the following reply to the Bishop.[2]

'I received your letter dated 11th February wherein you advise me that you determine to send Padre Paulo de Saa in the room of Padre Don John, whom the Governor your predecessor had placed Vicar of Cuddalore. I acknowledge your civility in giving me notice of your determination; but admire at your usurpation of an authority which did not belong to your predecessor, nor to yourself nor successors, viz. to appoint vicars in any place under the English Government. You have made a wrong account, and if you would reckon right you must begin again. In this case I ought to deal plainly with you, that no foreign episcopal authority can be admitted within the limits of our jurisdiction, and that you are not Governor or Bishop of Cuddalore no more than of Madras; but as your reverence is Bishop and Governor of Miliapore[3] I congratulate your accession to that authority, and desire to embrace your friendly and neighbourly correspondence; in pursuance of which I acquaint your reverence that I have determined to permit Padre Gulielmus Avalle of

[1] Sometimes written A Valle or De Valle or De La Valle.
[2] Consultations, 7 April 1694. [3] The native name of St. Thoma.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the order of the Theatines to reside at Cuddalore in the room of Padre Don John de Clerici deceased.

(Signed) 'NATHANAEL HIGGINSON.'

The questions of authority and right of appointment were discussed for more than a year after this letter was sent. The Government insisted that if their nominee was not allowed to officiate, no one should officiate; and so the Bishop gave in, and assented to Padre Gulielmo de Valle going.[1] The licence granted to him allowed him to officiate, provided that

1. He obeyed the English Government, assisting it in peace and war, and abstained from all acts prejudicial to it.
2. He abstained from proselytising the Protestant soldiers or inhabitants; and from Christening, marrying or burying any of them without leave.
3. He submitted an annual list of Roman Catholics within the boundaries of Fort St. David.

The Council further ordered that no other Roman Catholic priest, religious or secular, should perform any religious office at Cuddalore without the leave of the Deputy-Governor; and that no orders or decrees or letters from the Bishop of Miliapore should be either published or exhibited in the Church.

At the time this Cuddalore dispute arose, a somewhat similar dispute began at Fort St. George. Padre Ephraim was still alive in 1693, but was disabled by age from carrying on his work, which was thus placed upon the shoulders of his assistant Padre Michael.[2] They petitioned the Government to be allowed to employ another assistant, a French priest named Lewis de Olivera, who had been a member of the French mission at Pondicherry before its capture by the Dutch.[3] The Government granted the request on the ground that he was of the same order as Ephraim, a Capuchin, and that the request was itself reasonable, there being 8000 Christians within the bounds of the city belonging to the Portuguese Church; and they gave him a licence to reside and officiate with the same conditions as those mentioned above.[4]

[1] Consultations, 3 May 1695.
[2] Sometimes referred to as Michael Angelus and Miguel.
[3] August 1693.
[4] Consultations, 25 Sept. 1693.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

These French Capuchins had another assistant, a Portuguese named de Mello, who apparently resided and officiated at Fort St. George without any licence, and who probably would have been allowed to do so if he had not committed an indiscretion. This extract from the Consultation Book briefly explains what took place, and how the Government asserted its authority[1]:—

'Padre Salvadore de Cunha de Mello, a Portuguese, having complained against Padre Lewis de Olivera (both resident in this place and officiating under the French padre) before the Bishop's Vicar of St. Thoma, upon which the said Bishop's vicar has issued his order for Padre Lewis de Olivera's appearance before him . . . under pain of suspension . . . etc. Ordered that this letter be written to the Rev. Padre Michael Angelus; "You are ordered by the President and Council not to permit Padre Salvadore de Cunha de Mello to officiate as a Priest in the Portuguese Church of St. Andrew's in this city of Madras till further notice."'

None of the records show that there was any interference on the part of the local Government with the actual spiritual work of the Capuchin priests, or with their method of carrying it on, so long as they acknowledged the supremacy of the Government, and attended to their own flock. The regulations that were made were made with a view to preserve the authority of the Government, and for no other reason; every infringement of them was consequently followed by some unpleasant penalty. No person could build within the walls of the Fort without permission; the French padres knew this; but they began a building in the Churchyard of St. Andrew's in 1698. They were at once stopped, and were not allowed to proceed till they had obtained the necessary leave.[2] In May 1701 it came to the knowledge of the Governor and Council that the Bishop of St. Thoma had sent an order to Padre Michael Angelus to deliver up certain papers relating to a cause then pending in the High Court of Judicature. The Government thereupon re-published their declaration that no Roman Catholic Bishop had any power or jurisdiction over the clergy or laity of that persuasion residing

[1] Consultations, 1 Nov. 1694. [2] Do. 30 May and 10 Oct. 1698.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

under their protection; and they ordered that this declaration should be read out on the following Sunday in St. Andrew's Church, and that the Secretary of the Council should be present to hear it. At the same time Padre Michael was forbidden to publish in his Church any communication from any Bishop, or ecclesiastical functionary whatever, without first obtaining leave to do so from the Governor.

Probably Padre Michael obeyed this order as long as he possibly could. It became impossible at the end of the year 1702 when the French ships brought to Pondicherry a Patriarch and a band of Italian priests, who were on their way to join the Jesuit Mission in China. One of the priests came by leave to Madras with a letter from the Patriarch; and after some days he received authority from the Patriarch to be Superior over the Capuchin community and head of the Madras mission. The Government would not, however, allow him to take up the appointment[1]; and they continued Padre Michael in the position in which they had placed him. At the beginning of 1704 he applied for leave to go to Pondicherry, representing that he was summoned thither by the Patriarch, and that if he did not go it would tend to his ruin.[2] The Governor gave the same reply as before, that he could not allow any person to have authority over the priests of the place, so as to send them away or alter them at their pleasure; he forbade him to go; and ordered the officers of the gate not to permit him to pass out.

The Patriarch and the Bishop of St. Thoma continued their attempts during that year to exercise authority at Fort St. George over Padre Michael. They placed him under an interdict, by which all his ministrations were stopped. The Government replied by admitting a Portuguese Capuchin into the town and investing him with authority to officiate.

'The Capuchins here of the Portuguese Church, being under interdictions from the Patriarch and the Bishop of St. Thoma, who design to put upon us what padres they please, which may be the worst of consequences. To prevent

[1] Consultations, 22 Dec. 1702, 24 Jan. 1702–3, and 22 Nov. 1703, and Letters home at this period.
[2] Consultations, 22 Jan. 1703–4.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which it is agreed, for the satisfaction of many of the inhabitants of that persuasion, that Padre Lorenzo, a Capuchin, be admitted into the town to exercise his functions in their Church.'[1]

After a time the French Patriarch pursued his journey to China and left the Fort St. George Capuchins at peace. Padre Michael Angelus died in Jan. 1707–8. The head of the Capuchin order travelled from Pondicherry in order to appoint a successor; but he was told on arrival by the Capuchins and others that no one but the Governor and Council had that power; and that it was necessary to petition the Government to make the appointment. A petition was accordingly presented signed by Laurentius, Renatus and Innocentius, 'Capucini'; no successor was suggested by name; it only pleaded for a continuation of the protection, favour and charity which had been hitherto enjoyed, and mentioned the deaths of Zenon, Ephraim and Michael Angelus.[2] There is no reason to suppose that the choice of the Government was not the choice of the head of the order. They had no interest in preferring one man to another. All that they wanted was subordination to their authority. In appointing Padre Renatus and investing him with a licence under their seal they probably appointed the priest whom the Capuchins wished for.

The Governor and Council having reported what they had done in their next letter home, the Directors replied[3]:—

'We observe that you have ordered a capuchin padre to succeed Padre Michael, Head of the Portuguese Church, deceased; we take it for granted that you approve of him as a proper man, and would have you never part with but always keep these appointments or the power in your own hand, whereby you will have the greater authority over those ecclesiastics to keep them within bounds, and [cause them to maintain] a suitable deportment towards the Government, and engage them to your interest, and thereby all their dependents.'

About a month before this despatch reached Fort St. George the Governor produced at a Council meeting[4] a letter

[1] Consultations, 15 Sept. 1704.
[2] Do. 18 Feb. 1707–8.
[3] Despatch, 9 Jan. 1708–9, 47.
[4] Consultations, 11 June 1709.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he had received from a Portuguese Dominican friar at St. Thoma together with a copy of a letter from the Capuchins of St. Andrew's to the friar. These letters stated that the Patriarch in China, had revived the trouble he formerly gave by renewing his excommunication, and forbidding absolution without the severe penance of carrying a cross from St. Andrew's to St. Thomas' Mount; and this for obeying the orders of Government. The Council agreed that further orders should be at once issued to search all padres that came within the Company's limits, to refuse them admittance to the Fort, and to prohibit the padres of St. Andrew's to publish any communication from the Patriarch in their Church upon penalty of expulsion.

The interference of the French Patriarch and the revival of French power and activity on the Coast together caused a gradual revulsion of feeling in favour of the Portuguese. The Portuguese were no longer politically to be feared; they were not commercial rivals; they were not seeking to build up their own interests by the destruction of British influence. And so from this time there will be noticed in the council chamber of Fort St. George a growing prejudice in favour of the Bishop of St. Thoma and the Portuguese.

Occasionally the presence of the Roman Catholic padres in the Fort produced social results which the Company and the local authorities greatly misliked: that is, marriages which—though perhaps sacramentally and ecclesiastically valid—were not valid according to the law of England. A case occurred in 1698[1]; one of the Company's servants, Henry Dobyns, was privately married to Mrs. Rachel Baker by a Roman Catholic priest. According to English law it was no marriage; and so the local Government refused to recognise it, and separated the parties till they were legally as well as sacramentally married at St. Mary's. Insistence upon a legal marriage was not due to intolerance of a foreign religion, but rather to a sense of duty towards the family of a Company's servant. Toleration was in the air and was increasing year by year. In 1705 Sergeant William Dixon and Sergeant Francis Hugonin were given commissions as

[1] Consultations, 30 May, 25 and 30 June 1698.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ensigns at the Fort. The former was a Roman Catholic; so the Council thought it necessary to justify themselves when they made the promotion.[1]

'The objection against Dixon is from an obsolete order of the old Company that no Roman Catholic should bear command in the garrison; but in regard that they have since employed commanders and supra-cargoes to India that have been professed Roman Catholics, we hope it may warrant us making this person an officer, he being likewise one of the best soldiers we have in the garrison; and 'tis not unlikely but his preferment may make him return again to the Protestant religion.'

In 1695 the Governor licensed the Theatine padre de Valle to officiate at Cuddalore. In 1699 he was dispossessed, and Padre Paulo de Saa (the nominee of the Bishop of St. Thoma) was licensed in his place. The record of this transaction has not been found; the reason of the change is not therefore known. De Saa continued to officiate till 1706 when he petitioned for an assistant, and nominated Padre Emmanuel de Silva, the son of Captain de Silva, an inhabitant of Fort St. George.[2] His petition was granted; and these two continued at Cuddalore till the end of March 1710. The position of the Government with regard to Roman Catholic affairs on the coast was rather complicated. They denied the jurisdiction within their territories of the nearest Roman Catholic Bishop. They licensed two French priests of the Capuchin order to officiate at Fort St. George, whose Superior was at Pondicherry. They licensed two priests of the Portuguese Church to officiate at Cuddalore, who acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Bishop of St. Thoma. They favoured for a short time priests of the Theatine order from Goa and appointed them to Cuddalore. The French Jesuits were opposed to the Capuchins and the Theatines, and were in favour of the Portuguese Bishop and priests. And the situation was further complicated by the presence in Fort St.

[1] Consultations, 12 May 1705.
[2] Do. 25 July 1706. 'Whereas your petitioner by the permission of the Rt. Hon. Company is vicar . . . . for near 7 years,' etc.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

George between 1702 and 1710 of a Theatine priest who was an Englishman.

In the Fort St. George Council Book[1] there is a lengthy record of the Black Town caste dispute, then taking place, in which Padre Milton's name is several times mentioned :—

'About five years past here came from Goa a Theatine Padre, an Englishman, Milton by name, who often passed between this place and Fort St. David, and several times came to the Governor[2] pressing him leave to build a chapel here or at Fort St. David, which he positively refused him considering that the worst of consequences must attend it, or that it would be to the great dislike of the Company to have an English Priest here of the Popish religion; for that, being such, he ought to die by our Laws. Yet nevertheless one Joseph Hiller . . . . bought a piece of ground here (without any leave or knowledge of the Governor) for Milton; on which he immediately erected a fabric after the model of a convent, and had made considerable progress therein, before the Governor, who was going to the garden one morning, knew anything of it. He immediately sent for Padre Milton, and demanded of him how he came by that ground; who answered Mr. Hiller bought it for him. Upon which the Governor ordered him immediately to desist from building, and by six at night to depart the place, which he accordingly did to St. Thoma,' . . . . etc.[3]

There is no further reference to Padre John Milton in the records until 1710, when he and Padre Don Simon de Costa, both being of the Theatine order, petitioned the Governor to be restored to the Church at Cuddalore.[4] They represented that their order had served the Company for 16 years (that is from, 1693); that their first vicar had died at Cuddalore; that their second vicar, though appointed by patent, had been dispossessed several years; that when they came to Madras eight years before (that is, in 1701) they assisted Governor Pitt to find a padre for Bencoolen and sent one of their own order there; that for this service Governor Pitt promised to

[1] Consultations, 22 Aug. 1707. [2] Thomas Pitt.

[3] The first Englishman found doing mission work in India was Padre Stephens, a Winchester scholar who became a Jesuit (see the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*). John Baptist Milton was the second.

[4] Consultations, 13 Jan. 1709–10. The Governor was William Fraser the opponent of Thomas Pitt in 1707.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

restore the Churches of Cuddalore to them; that they had since by request of the Government sent one of their order to Bantam, and another to Bencoolen; they reminded the Governor that none of the Portuguese padres could be prevailed with to go to those parts; and they asserted that the present incumbent, Padre de Silva, was a person of none the best morals.

The Government granted the petition, in part; they agreed that a licence should be given to Padre Don Simon de Costa to officiate at Cuddalore, and that Padre de Silva should be displaced. As soon as this decision was known at Cuddalore Padre de Saa requested permission to go to Fort St. George, which was granted;[1] and there can be no doubt that he laid his own case before the Bishop of St. Thoma. The Council reported to the Directors what they had done. The Bishop of St. Thoma wrote to the Governor about the Theatine order, which considered itself not to be under episcopal jurisdiction.[2] But matters remained as arranged during the rest of the year 1710.

At the end of that year the opinion of the Council underwent a change with regard to Milton and the Theatines and their charges against the Portuguese padres at Cuddalore. It is very likely that the political circumstances of the Portuguese had something to do with the change. At the beginning of 1711 the Bishop of St. Thoma, who was on a visit to the Fort, was treated with marked respect; and it was agreed that Padre Clement Pereira should take the place of de Costa and Milton at Cuddalore, and should be considered as officiating for Padre Paul de Saa until further orders.[3] The reply of the Directors arrived in August 1711: they did not approve of the Portuguese being turned out to make place for Theatines; and so Padre de Silva was reinstated—the charges against him being found to be false, invented by Milton, 'a man of very indifferent character.'[4]

While Padre John Milton was at Cuddalore in 1710 he made the most of his opportunity to pervert the English from

[1] Consultations, 14 March 1709–10.
[2] Do. 19 Oct. 1710. [3] Do. 27 Feb. 1710–11.
[4] Do. 15 Nov. 1711. Edward Harrison, Governor.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their faith; so that the Fort St. David Council wrote to the Company[1] and pleaded for a Chaplain, on the ground that some Protestants were being perverted. Probably this also had something to do with the displacement of the two Theatines. Milton retired to St. Thoma and remained there till October 1712 when, having volunteered to go to Bencoolen with the newly appointed Agent, Joseph Collet,[2] he started on his journey. The Fort St. George Council evidently had very little respect for him; they briefly reported[3] that Padre Milton, turned out of the Cuddalore Churches by the Company, had gone to Bencoolen, where nobody else would; that there was 'no fear of his turning any English to Popery, being not qualified for it,' etc. Two years later they wrote[4]:—

'Padre Milton is dead, and the disputes about him are ended.'

Before starting for Bencoolen he wrote a letter to the Company which is dated the 26 Oct. 1712,[5] in which he gave some information about himself, and some of the arguments upon which he relied that the Company would support him and his order against the Portuguese. At the time he wrote he had a Church and a house at St. Thoma; this meant that he was working under and with the licence of the Portuguese Bishop. He was over 50 years of age. He reminded the Company of the difficulty they had at the time he arrived in 1701 in persuading any Roman Catholic priest to go to the West Coast[6] to minister to the Portuguese soldiers in the Company's service; how anxious they were about this; how Governor Pitt had put up a notice at the Sea Gate holding out large promises of gratitude to any padre who would go; how the 'black Canarine priests,' meaning the Portuguese clergy of St. Thoma, would not go[7]; and how he

[1] Letter, 12 Jan. 1710–11: Edward Harrison being Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

[2] Consultations, 12 June 1712.

[3] Letter, 14 Oct. 1712, 157.

[4] Letter, 29 Sept. 1714, 80.

[5] *Company's Records, Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

[6] Meaning Bencoolen in Sumatra.

[7] Some of the Portuguese clergy were of mixed blood; there is no reason to suppose that all were; the term Canarine probably refers to the place of their education, Cranganore in the Canara country.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had come to their assistance and obtained two Theatine priests for the purpose. He further reminded the Company that according to the decree of the Congregation of Cardinals at Rome no Bishop could molest him; meaning that he was just the person the Company required for the spiritual charge of their subordinates—one who had no episcopal superior. He reminded them of the power of the jus padroada [1] of the King of Portugal, 'which the Portuguese make such a noise about'; and he asked them to establish him so firmly at Cuddalore 'that we may have no vexations with the Portuguese,' meaning by 'we' apparently himself and his order.

The Company gave no reply to the letter. It was true that they had had a difficulty in getting a padre for Bencoolen, and that consequently they had had a difficulty in getting the Portuguese soldiers to stay there.[2] The latter difficulty was solved as soon as the Theatine padres arrived. When Joseph Collet went as Chief of Fort York in 1712 he took with him a large bell, which the Company had sent out with him as a present for the Portuguese Church there.[3] It may probably be regarded as connected with the policy of conciliating and pleasing the Portuguese soldiers in their employ.

In 1715 Padre Paulo de Saa, who spent the last few years of his life at Fort St. George, died; and Padre Emmanuel de Silva was licensed to officiate at Cuddalore in his place.[4] Padre Paulo lived in his own house in James Street; when he died he left it by will to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide for the use of such Italian Missionaries as happened to touch at Fort St. George on their way to their several missions. The will being proved, the Council met to consider its provisions; and it was agreed that the matter be enquired into and debated before any person be permitted to take possession, 'there being good reason to suspect that the Italians have a design of establishing themselves here in opposition to the Capuchins of the Portuguese Church.'[5] They at once wrote to the Directors; but while waiting for their reply they

[1] The right of patronage which the King of Portugal possessed in all episcopal appointments in India by right of treaty with the Papal Court.
[2] General Letter to Fort York (Bencoolen), 11 March 1703.
[3] Consultations, 12 June 1712.
[4] Do. 9 Feb. 1715–6.
[5] Do. 2 Aug. 1715.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

allowed the Abbé de Cordeiro, the agent of the Congregation in question, to take possession of the house, dwell in it, and keep it in repair, 'till the Company's pleasure be further known' or 'till he finds opportunity to dispose of it to advantage.' [1]

The Governor and Council did well in making enquiry; the Congregation was and is a Roman Catholic Board of Missions with its headquarters at Rome. At any time its interests might be either placed or taken under the protection of a foreign power. The question, therefore, had a political as well as an ecclesiastical bearing. The Directors recognised this and replied promptly [2]:—

'In answer to your 107th para. per Kent, we say that you were in the right to forbid any person taking possession of Padre Paolo de Saa's house till you had well considered the matter, and had received our orders what to do. Our orders are that the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, to whom that house is bequeathed by will and by deed of gift, may have liberty to dispose of it to whom they please except a foreign ecclesiastic, but that they shall not be permitted to reside in it themselves; nor will we suffer any one else who is a priest of any religious order of the Church of Rome to be there, unless it be one or other of your Capuchins; for we will have no others of that religion to inhabit or sojourn as such with you; they never come for good; and we ought not to give them an opportunity to do mischief or create quarrelsome disputes as was beginning some years ago, and will be attempted again and again by such sort of people. . . .

'We hear the Capuchins now with you are in your interest and will not secretly endeavour to do you mischief; wherefore let them continue with you, and suffer no other priests of their religion to disturb them, or (if you know it) to sojourn within our Town or its Dependancys.'

The Abbé was informed of this decision, and was given the opportunity of delay to dispose of the house himself. As he took no action beyond saying that he had no authority either to sell the house or to take money on that account, the matter came before the Council again.[3] At this meeting it was

[1] Consultations, 20 Oct. 1715. [2] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1715–6, 82.
[3] Consultations, 15 July, 25 July, and 4 Oct. 1717.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

reported that there was another house in the English town left on the same account. It was agreed, therefore, 'to sell both and to credit the Company with the proceeds till such time as some person produces a proper power for receiving it.' In the proceedings the house—presumably the one left by de Saa—is described as the Theatine Mission House, and as being situated in James Street. It was sold to Mr. Rawson Hart in July; and the proceeds were received three months later by Padre Thomas, one of the Capuchins of the place, by the authority of the head of the Theatine order at Goa.

In the year 1719 it came to the knowledge of the Governor that the Portuguese priests of St. Thoma had taken the liberty to marry some English people belonging to Fort St. George contrary to the Company's regulations, 'which practise he apprehended to be of dangerous consequence; many of the young gentlemen in the Company's service being of good families in England, who would be very much scandalized at such marriages.'[1] There were two cases; the Chief Officer of the Company's ship Falconbridge married the daughter of a Frenchman of Fort St. George; and a soldier named Dutton married Ann Ridley, daughter of a former Governor of the West Coast.[2] In the former case the bride refused to be married at St. Mary's because of the regulation of 1680, by which the children of all marriages between Protestants and Roman Catholics were ordered to be brought up as Protestants. The Chief Officer, an Englishman by race and religion, consequently renounced his religion for Romanism, and was married by a Portuguese padre at St. Thoma. In the latter case the bride was a Church orphan, a ward of the Ministers and Churchwardens, who refused their consent to the marriage on the ground that the man of her choice was not her social equal.[3]

The Governor and Council were forced to take the acts into consideration, because they were in defiance of authority.[4] First they showed their displeasure of the action of the Portuguese padres of St. Thoma by forbidding them the

[1] Consultations, April and May 1719.
[2] These were afterwards married at St. Mary's, 4 May 1719.
[3] He is described in the Consultations as 'one Dutton, an ordinary fellow.'
[4] Consultations, 2 April 1719.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

liberty of coming within the English bounds till further notice. Then they agreed to publish an order in English and Portuguese, and to put it up at the Sea Gate and at the Portuguese Church in the Fort, 'that if any Christian inhabitant of Madras shall be married in this city, at St. Thoma, or elsewhere, without leave from the President, if he be in the Company's service he shall be liable to such penalty as we shall think fit; but if the person so offending shall not be in the Company's service, and only a free merchant or inhabitant of the town, he shall be expelled the English Government on the Coast of Choromandell. Also any parent consenting to or promoting such marriage, without leave as aforesaid, shall be liable to the like penalty of expulsion.'

The Council rightly imposed a penalty with a view to prevent marriages which were not legal in England. Succession to family property and family honours depends on legitimacy; so that a civilized government was bound to do something to protect society from the effect of thoughtless action; the Council could not have done less than it did. But besides safeguarding interests of that kind, they had to consider if a regulation of their own, which had had the effect of causing the perversion and irregular marriage of one of the Company's superior servants, was any longer politically necessary, and if it ought not to be repealed.

Before using hard expressions about the regulations of 1680 and the persons who drew them up and promulgated them, it is necessary to take into consideration the circumstances of the period when they were made. The distrust of all things and persons connected with Romanism then was due in a large degree to political causes; and the 1680 regulation was a precautionary measure due to the political needs of the time. Romanism was esteemed to be a political danger to popular government and progress, and a social danger to personal freedom. The regulation must be held to have been justified by the exigencies and dangers of the time. Forty years later the theory and practice of toleration had grown; and besides this the political danger had to some extent disappeared.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Governor and Council came to the conclusion that the regulation ought to be repealed, and for these reasons :

1. That the obligation is in its own nature unjust, and a violation of that natural right which all parents have to educate their children in that religion they think most acceptable to God.

2. That such a promise can be no obligation on the conscience of any person, being unlawful in itself.

3. That the requiring such a promise may be attended with ill consequences, as in the instance now before us.

The regulation was therefore repealed. Persons still make ante-nuptial arrangements of the kind with regard to possible offspring privately, but no one is legally bound by them.

In 1721 the Capuchins of Fort St. George applied to the Governor for permission to rebuild their Church. This was readily granted 'in consideration of their good behaviour'; it is only necessary to notice that in the Consultation Book they are referred to as the Portuguese padres.[1]

Although the Company had shown from the beginning a firmly rooted dislike and distrust of the Roman Catholics at Fort St. George—a feeling not always shared by their servants abroad—the distrust was not reciprocated. On the contrary the Roman Catholic Missionaries, whether Portuguese Seculars or Theatines or Jesuits, had the utmost trust and confidence in the justice, probity and honour of the Company. In the year 1720 Padre L'Abbé,[2] the agent of the Jesuit Missionaries in China, applied to Governor Hastings at Fort St. George to be allowed to deposit 10,000 pagodas in the Company's Cash, and to receive in return a fixed sum of 600 pagodas a year. He wished to make an agreement with the Company which would prevent himself and his official successors and the Society to which he belonged from ever demanding back the capital sum so long as the annual interest was paid; but at the same time leave the Company liberty to repay the capital sum whenever they wished to do so. Governor Hastings and his Council referred home for instructions.

[1] Consultations, 10 April and 26 Oct. 1721. [2] The Abbé de Cordeiro.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The letter does not exist, but this is the abstract of the paragraph[1]:—

'Padre L'abee has a bond to be paid 600 Pagodas a year for the 10,000 pagodas of the Jesuit Missionaries paid into cash; he can never demand the original sum unless we fail in paying the annuity; but the Company may pay it back.'

The Governor and Council received the sum on the understanding that no interest was to be paid till the Company's consent was received. At the same time the Padre Agent himself wrote to the Company in London on the subject. The Court of Directors replied as follows:—

'Fort General; 26th April, 1722.

'We have had application made us by Monsieur Labbe, agent for the French Jesuit Missionaries in China, to receive 10,000 pagodas of theirs into our cash at Fort St. George; that President Hastings had received the money conditionally to await our orders, though he had no occasion for any having a flowing cash; that said agent desires that the money may remain in our cash, and the proprietors be for ever dispossessed of the property thereof on the Company's yearly allowing them a reasonable interest. We have considered of the whole, and . . . . are willing to allow them a certain interest of six per cent, though it is one more than we pay here per annum, and hope it will be to their satisfaction.'

On the 25th February 1724 the Jesuit agent paid another 2000 pagodas into the Company's Cash; and received in exchange a 6 per cent. bond. A year later he obtained permission from the Court of Directors to deposit another 10,000 pagodas in their cash on the same terms. So that in 1725 the Company had received on behalf of the Jesuit Missionaries in China the sum of 22,000 Pagodas,[2] and had agreed to pay them a fixed interest at the rate of 6 per cent.

In the year 1725 a visit was paid to Fort St. George by Monsieur le Chevalier d'Albert, who commanded a ship of the French Navy. He afterwards wrote an account of his Eastern voyages, but it was never published; it remains to this day in

[1] Abstracts of Letters, 3 Feb. 1721–2, 133.

[2] The transactions are extracted by Wheeler (pp. 436–7), but he does not mention the condition attached to the loan, that the Company had the power to pay back the loan whenever they pleased.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

manuscript in the National Library at Paris. He was most hospitably received by the Governor, saluted to his heart's content, and has recorded his general opinion of the place and the people. He says amongst other things [1]:—

'The English have a Church in the White Town, all the officers and employés being obliged to profess the Anglican religion. They have permitted Padre Thomas, a Capuchin, a man of the best character, wit, and ability, to build near their castle a Church both handsome and lofty, which ornaments the town and does honour to its founder, all the more that it is the English themselves who have paid the cost.'

The extract is a testimony to the really liberal spirit of the Fort St. George merchants. The Church was not built with the assistance of the Company's cash. The Chevalier must have got his information from Padre Thomas; and the Padre must have told him that he was liberally assisted by the merchants in their private capacity.

Padre Thomas succeeded Padre Renatus as Superior of the Church of St. Andrew some time before 1721; the record of his appointment has not been found. He was instrumental in rebuilding the Church and the living chambers round the Church, the latter work being carried out in a handsome manner in the style of the Company's Guard room and Hospital.[2] It was during his incumbency that the system of allowing the Capuchin padres to grant probates of wills of deceased persons of their faith was modified. The system had worked well when the population was small—when there were no law courts nor lawyers—but it was impossible under the growing conditions of prosperity and increase. The Directors were therefore appealed to by the Governor and Council in 1728 and new regulations were made. A year later some mistakes were the cause of the following resolution [3]:—

'There being some mistakes arisen from the orders this year received from our Hon. Masters relating to proving wills in the Portuguese Church, Agreed that a note be affixed in the several languages at the Sea and Choultry Gates and at the

[1] This extract from the Manuscript, folio 131, was given to me by Mr. S. C. Hill of the Bengal Educational Department.

[2] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1729–30.

[3] Do. 10 Oct. 1729.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Portuguese Church to explain the same. And to give notice that any person of the Romish communion is at liberty to take out probates of wills or letters of administration in that Church, but that they are not compelled to do it. Also that by so doing they are not entitled to a right of sueing any subject of England or other person who is not of that communion. And that although the priests of that Church are allowed to grant such probates or letters of administration to such as request the same of them, yet that they have no authority to examine or decide any controversy between man and man, or to do or to execute any other judicial act whatsoever.'

After this date nothing appears in the public records about the Roman Catholics until 1744. In April 1742 Padre Thomas, the Superior and Chief Pastor of the Roman Catholic Church died. Padre Severini (who, if one may judge by his name, was an Italian) was appointed by the Governor to succeed to the office of Superior; but it was not thought necessary to authorise him by a regular instrument. He continued in his office for nearly two years, conducting himself to the general satisfaction of both rulers and ruled, when the equanimity of the Government was disturbed by the arrival of a decree from Europe appointing some one else. The incident is described in the Consultation Book thus [1]:—

'The President acquaints the Board that . . . . . a paper under the hand of the Provincial of the Convent of Tauris and the seal of his office called a Decree, and said to be sent out of France by the way of China, appeared in town about the 5th instant, whereby Padre Renatus,[2] a Frenchman by birth and a junior brother who has hitherto acted under Severini, is appointed Apostolic Missionary and the Guardian of the Missions in the Indies and Persia; a title though not exactly the same with that Severini is known by of Superior and Chief Pastor of the Church of St. Andrew of this town, yet the influence it carries with it will render it so like in its effects that he looks on it only as an artful attempt to invade the Hon. Company's right of appointing who shall be Superior in ecclesiastical matters over the great number of our inhabitants of the Roman Catholic profession, a privilege necessary to the Company's honour and interests and to the welfare and

[1] Consultations, 10 Feb. 1743–4.

[2] Second of the name.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

good government of the town, and (as occasion offered) so jealously maintained by our predecessors, as often approved by our Hon. Masters, that he therefore recommends to the Board to consider of the steps proper to be taken on this affair.'

After searching the records and finding precedents it was 'resolved and ordered that an instrument be drawn out appointing Padre Severini Superior and Chief Pastor of the Church of St. Andrew in this town on the model of that given on a like occasion by the President and Council in February 1707.' It was also resolved that the instrument be translated into Latin, and that an order (also in Latin) be given by the Secretary to Padre Severini directing him to read the instrument of induction, or cause it to be read, publicly in his Church on the following Sunday, the Secretary being present.

Five days later the Secretary reported to the Council that the instrument had been duly read as ordered both in Latin and in Portuguese by Padre Renatus.[1] The instrument was entered in the Consultation Book both in Latin and English. This is the Latin version :—

'Reverendis Patribus Severini cæterisque Capucinis Ecclesiæ Sti. Andreæ in urbe dicta Madraspatnam.

'Quandoquidem Reverendus Pater Thomas in Ecclesia vestra nuper principalis mense aliquando Aprilis A.D. 1742 diem obiit, et Reverendus Pater Severini permissu nostro istius officio ita exinde functus est ut nobis satisfecerit :

'Nos jam per præsentes hasce literas nuper dictum Patrem Severini Ecclesiæ Sti. Andreæ sub jurisdictione nostra positæ, supremum et primarium pastorem confirmamus ; et illi et vobis idem Romanæ Catholicæ Fidei exercitium quod antecessores vestri exercuerunt concedimus ; plenam exigentes et totam obedientiam ab illo cæterisque vestrum erga administrationem nostram ; quam quamdiu præstiteritis, tamdiu præsidium vobis et tutamen nostrum confirmamus ; volumusque ut concessionem hanc durante nostro, et solum nostro bene placito exerceatis.

'Datum sub manibus nostris et sigillo Honorabilis Societatis Anglicanæ ad Indos Orientales re conjuncta negotiantium in urbe dicta Fort St. George hac die decima Februarii A.D. millesimo septuagentissimo quadragesimo tertio.'

[1] Consultations, 15 Feb. 1743–4.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This was signed by the Governor and Council, Nicholas Morse, William Monson, Thomas Eyre and four others.

The Capuchin padres had now to consider what was the best thing to be done. Renatus was appointed chief of the mission by the head of his Order; and Severini was appointed by the local Government. After two months' consideration they adopted the course of doing what was best for the mission; they submitted to the ruling power. Padre Renatus waited upon the Governor, produced his commission signed by the Vicar General of his Order, and said that as the Board had already determined to continue Padre Severini as Chief Pastor of the Church, he should in no manner disobey the orders in that respect but submit entirely to them.[1] The President commended his decision and recommended him to observe all orders punctually, that thereby peace and good order might be preserved amongst the fathers of the Church.

The Directors in their next General Letter referred to the incident thus[2]:—

'The Church must never be independent of the State, nor the French suffered to intermeddle in our affairs, are maxims of such true policy, that we entirely approve your proceedings as to Father Severini.'

Paragraph 50 of the same letter shows that Severini had in 1744 written direct to the Company in London and made a request. This was the reply:—

'Padre Severini having represented to us that he hath money in his hands bequeathed towards erecting a hospital for female orphans at your place, and desiring to pay the same into our cash, we direct that you receive any sum not exceeding 6000 pagodas as he shall offer to pay in accordingly; and that you allow him 6 per cent per annum interest thereon; but we reserve to ourselves the liberty of paying off the principal whenever we shall think fit.'

This letter arrived at Fort St. George in August 1745. In the following February Severini deposited 6000 pagodas in the Company's cash, and an account was opened with the

[1] Consultations, 28 April 1744.

[2] Despatch, 7 Feb. 1744–5, 42.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

heading The Roman Catholic Female Orphan House.[1] On the same day Severini wrote to the Directors[2] acknowledging the loan to be made on the same terms and subject to the same conditions as that made by Padre L'Abbé in 1720, and informing them that the money had been paid into the Treasury for the support and maintenance of the Roman Catholic female orphans in the town of Fort St. George.

In 1746 Fort St. George and the walled town of Madras were surrendered to a French naval and military force under Admiral La Bourdonnais.

[1] Consultations, 17 Feb. 1745–6. [2] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XII

CHURCHES FOUNDED BEFORE 1746

1. *St. Francis' Cochin.*—All the Church buildings which were erected before 1746 in the Presidency and Diocese of Madras, with the exception of St. Mary's Fort St. George, and which are now the trust property of the Government, have come into the hands of Government either by treaty with foreign powers or by arrangement with the local owners. The oldest of all the Churches in our possession is that of St. Francis' Cochin; it therefore has a right to the first place in this chapter.

In the year 1503 Albuquerque, the great Portuguese Governor of the Indies, visited Cochin. Having obtained the permission of the Rajah to erect a Factory for trade, and to protect it with a Fort, he commenced to build. He was accompanied by some Franciscan friars, who were assisted at the same time to build a Church for the Portuguese residents and a Community chapel for themselves. The Church was built and dedicated to the service of God in honour of the Holy Cross, after which it was called; and the Chapel was in due time completed and dedicated in honour of St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order. Both were duly consecrated. Local historical evidence and local tradition together assert that the Church of St. Francis was commenced in 1505; it is not known how long a time was occupied in the building of it; but it was certainly finished before 1524. For in that year Vasco da Gama, Viceroy of India and Admiral of the Indian Sea, visited the Fort; and dying there on Christmas Eve, his body was given a temporary resting place at his own desire within its sanctuary. Here it remained for

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

fourteen years, when it was taken to Portugal. There is a broken sepulchral stone in the Church at the present day inscribed with the word Vasco; and this has been thought to be the stone which covered his remains at one time. But the coat of arms on it is not that of the da Gama family; and so the memorial must be of some other Portuguese official. The Portuguese remained in possession of the Cochin Fort and Church for 160 years; at the end of that time, that is in 1663, they were attacked by the Dutch and lost several of their eastern possessions including Cochin.

The Dutch took the Franciscan Church for their own place of worship; and, being very intolerant of Romanism, they made use of the Cathedral of the Santa Cruz as a storehouse, instead of leaving it for the use of the many Roman Catholics amongst the natives and the domiciled population of mixed descent, who by conquest became their subjects. The Dutch retained possession of Cochin for 132 years, that is until 1795, when they surrendered that and other possessions in India and Ceylon to the East India Company. In 1803 all the Danish, Dutch and French possessions in the East Indies which had been conquered during the war were to be restored to their former owners by the Treaty of Amiens. Cochin, therefore, ought to have ceased to be a British possession in that year; but the Dutch were not ready to re-occupy it; it became the property of the Company after the Treaty of Paris.

During the Dutch occupation there were of course many alterations in the perishable part of the structure, such as the wood work of the roof and of the internal fittings. But the walls remained the same, and are the same now; and the floor, mostly consisting of inscribed memorial stones, remained also; these were added to from time to time as distinguished Dutchmen died, and were laid to rest within the hallowed walls side by side with those who were both their ancient enemies and their brother Christians.

When the British Force took possession of the Fort the authorities did not enter into possession of the Church. At that time the Honourable East India Company not only did not own a single Church in India, but had no intention of burdening itself with ownership Ownership meant expendi-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ST. FRANCIS', COCHIN.
The first Church built in India for Europeans.

NATIONAL ARC OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ture over repairs; it meant the appointment of Chaplains and Church Keepers; and the Company was not as yet prepared to spend more money than it was already spending over its ecclesiastical affairs. The Church therefore was left in the possession of the Dutch community of the place, who provided and paid, with the assistance of the Dutch East India Company, their own Minister.[1]

Cochin was visited by Bishop Middleton in 1816. The Christian community, consisting mostly of persons of pure and mixed Dutch descent, petitioned the Bishop to send them a Minister. From this petition it appears that the Church and school had been shut up since the death of the Dutch predicant P. Cornelisz in 1801, which means that when the Dutch Company regained possession in 1803 they were not in a position financially to favour the settlement with the services of a Chaplain. The petitioners complained that the children were unbaptised and untaught; and that the sick and poor were neglected. The Bishop forwarded the petition to the Governor of Fort St. George, and strongly recommended that a clergyman should be sent. The first clergyman sent was the Revd. Walter R. M. Williams M.A.,[2] who was appointed a Chaplain in 1816. Assuming that he arrived in India at the end of the year, he must have been sent at once to Cochin; for his name appears in the India List of 1818 as stationed there. One of his first efforts was to establish a free School for the many children of the place who came under his influence. To do this effectually he raised from amongst the residents a Charity Fund, and in a short time had his school in working order. But he did not live long. In 1823 the Governor and Council of Fort St. George wrote to the Directors reporting his death, and added that they had placed the free School in charge of Mr. Duncan the Clerk under the superintendence of the Magistrate of Malabar. They mentioned that it was in a prosperous financial condition; and that it was composed of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Hindus. The Directors replied[3] regretting the death of Mr. Williams, and approving

[1] The name of the Dutch Minister up to 1801 was Cornelisz. He is occasionally mentioned in the Fort St. George Consultation Books.

[2] Despatch, 12 June 1816, 159, Mil. [3] Do. 28 July 1824, 48–50, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the arrangement made, which continued until Mr. Duncan died in 1832.

There arrived in Madras at the beginning of 1818 two C.M.S. missionaries Henry Baker and Joseph Fenn. They had the permission of the Company to proceed to India, and to carry on their work wherever they saw an opening. It was not long before they either saw an opening at Cochin or were invited by the Chaplain to take advantage of an opening which he saw. They were certainly there in 1821; for the return of European baptisms, marriages and burials was made to the Senior Presidency Chaplain by the Rev. Henry Baker at the end of that year. The following year and for several years they were regularly made by the Rev. Joseph Fenn. These two missionaries of the C.M.S. adopted precisely the same policy as the S.P.C.K. missionaries; they ministered to the Europeans and the Eurasians, and prosecuted their native mission work at the same time; and they had the use of the Church for all their purposes. Ultimately Joseph Fenn followed the example of Henry Baker and went to the Travancore country. The Archdeacon of Madras paid a visit of inspection to Cochin soon after this change took place. He sent a good report of the work of the School to the Government. But the Protestant inhabitants, for whose special educational benefit the fund had been raised, were not apparently satisfied with the method of administration. Soon after the death of Duncan they sent a petition to the Government of Fort St. George regarding it. The Government made a fresh arrangement and reported as follows to the Directors[1]:—

'The Archdeacon having submitted to us a report of the Free School established at Cochin by the late Revd. Mr. Williams, we signified that we were highly pleased with the success which has attended that gentleman's exertion; and on the Archdeacon's recommendation we sanctioned the continuance of the Clerk and Sexton in the service.

'We received petitions from S. I. Dupon and others, inhabitants of Cochin, respecting the Free School of that place, stating that on the death of the late teacher, the Institution had ceased to be carried on, as no one would undertake the

[1] Letter, 4th Jan. 1833, 1, 3, 4, Public.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

duties on account of the small salary attached to it. They submitted a correspondence with the principal Collector of Malabar respecting the appropriation of the Funds, and begged that the request contained in their letter to him of the 15th of September 1832 regarding its establishment might be complied with.

'The Collector transmitted at our desire a statement of the Funds belonging to the Institution; and upon his report we resolved that a copy of his letter should be furnished to the Archdeacon of Madras, and to the Accountant-General; and that authority should be given for vesting the Funds of the Institution in the name of the Archdeacon; and that the interest accrueing therefrom, together with the subscriptions of the inhabitants of Cochin, and the cash in deposit with the Magistrate of Malabar, should be appropriated to the objects of the Institution under the orders of the Archdeacon.'

After the Archdeacon's visit Cochin was made an outstation of Quilon, where there was a Chaplain and a large body of troops; and the Chaplain of Quilon was ordered to make periodical visits. This arrangement continued until 1853. During its continuance the Church was repaired by the Government on the representation of the visiting Chaplain at a cost of Rs. 902[1] in 1836; and again in 1852 at a cost of Rs. 817. In 1843 when the Rev. R. W. Whitford was Chaplain of Quilon, the inhabitants desired to have a resident clergyman of their own. With the consent of the Bishop they entered into negotiations with the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., offering to hand over the Church to the Society, on condition that the Society provided them with a resident clergyman. The Diocesan Committee accepted the offer. The Bishop reported the arrangement to the local Government; and asked the Government to do the necessary repairs, amounting to Rs. 620, on the ground that the Church was used by the Company's officers. The Government complied, and reported what had been done to the Directors.[2] It so happened that at this time the Directors were trying to carry out a policy of dissociating themselves from the work of Missionary Societies; and of putting an end to the joint use of

[1] Despatch, 8 Jan. 1836, 2. [2] Letter, 11 March 1845, 1, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Church buildings by European and native congregations. They replied therefore thus[1]:—

'This Church was considered to belong to the Dutch inhabitants of Cochin; and is stated by the Bishop to have been made over by them to the Missionary Society.

'A grant of money for repairing a Church which is exclusively the property of a Missionary Society, and at which a Missionary clergyman alone officiates, is inconsistent with the principles we have often laid down; and we must desire that a proceeding which would not have been sanctioned, had a previous reference been made to us, be not repeated.'

The Fort St. George Government replied to this, after making enquiry about the ownership of the Church, that they did not recognise the Church to be the property of the Missionary Society; but that they looked upon Cochin as an outstation of Quilon.[2] They also forwarded the correspondence which had passed between them and the local officials on the subject, including the Collector of Malabar, the visiting Chaplain at Quilon, and the Lay Trustee of St. Francis' Church. This correspondence has not been preserved; but it is evident from the Directors' next Despatch that though they were not satisfied with the evidence, they accepted the conclusion of the local Government that the ownership of the Church had lapsed to themselves; and they expressed their dissatisfaction by proposing that the Church should be handed over to the S.P.G., if they would provide a permanent minister for it.[3]

'The claim of the Government does not appear to be substantiated by evidence; the individual opinion of the Lay Trustee being the only evidence you have adduced in favour of your view.

'Whatever may have been the circumstances of the Church in former days, it seems that it has now lapsed to the Government for want of other rightful claimants. This being the case, we should prefer that it were made over entirely to the S.P.G., subject to the condition of permanently providing a minister for it; but should that Society object to take it on those terms, we approve of your having allowed the inhabitants of Cochin free use of the Church for a minister of

[1] Despatch, 10 March 1847, 2, Eccl. [2] Letter, 17 Aug. 1847, 8, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 22 Aug. 1849, 3, 4, 5, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their own, and of your having authorised them to admit an agent of the Society to minister in it.

'While this arrangement continues no disbursement of public funds for repairs or improvements is to be made, and you will abstain from all connection and interference in its concerns.'

The Directors apparently wished the Missionary Society to educate the children of the domiciled Eurasian population, and to provide the ministration of religion for their servants and subordinates free of charge to themselves. But this was manifestly an unfair requirement. The Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. felt it to be so. The local Government itself felt it to be so. Ministration of the kind was recognised to be expedient and profitable. Should the cost of it be a charge upon the revenues of the Government, or be found by a few charitable persons in England interested in the propagation of the Gospel? There could be but one answer to the question put in that way. The Government of Fort St. George accordingly wrote[1] that the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. declined to receive charge of the Church at Cochin, as they were unable to comply with the condition of perpetually providing a clergyman for the performance of the English service.

The Diocesan Committee of the Society, when they wrote to the Government, made a statement which shows that they had either consciously or unconsciously, purposely or by mistake, commenced a new policy. They gave as the ground of their refusal that the Society was 'in this country a missionary society for the benefit of the natives.' When they took over the work of the S.P.C.K. they also took over a good deal of property; and they took the over subject to the conditions under which the property was originally given and held. They were pledged to work among all classes just as the S.P.C.K. had done, and just as the Society had ever done in every other part of the world.

Two years later the Directors wrote[2] to enquire what arrangement had been made for the custody of the Church, 'with reference to our desire that the joint occupancy of it by

[1] Letter, 1 Feb. 1850, 3.

[2] Despatch, 31 March, 1852, 5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

your Government and the Missionary Society should be terminated'; and also what provision had been made for the due performance of divine service in it.

To this the Government of Fort St. George replied[1] that a clergyman had been stationed at Cochin by the Additional Clergy Society of the Diocese, to which Society the Church had been made over, so long as it provided a resident clergyman of the Church of England at Cochin. At the same time the Government enclosed an application from the Bishop for a grant of Rs. 125 a month to meet the expense, on the ground that the English ministrations were largely to officials and subordinates of the Government; and mentioning that Rs. 53 a month would be saved by the discontinuance of the visits of the Quilon Chaplain. The Directors then began to understand the financial side of the question, and replied as follows[2]:—

'The arrangement here reported is in accordance with the wish we formerly expressed for the termination of the joint occupancy of this Church by your Government and the S.P.G.

'We are opposed as a general rule to grants from the public revenues in aid of the operations of voluntary religious Societies; but as it is not our wish, on the other hand, that the Government should derive any pecuniary advantage from the payment of clergymen by such associations, we authorise you to place Rs. 100 a month at the disposal of the Bishop.'

In 1868 this allowance was increased to Rs. 150 a month,[3] but within a short time it was again reduced to the former amount. The arrangement continued until 1898. From the time it was arrived at until it came to an end the Government liberally assisted in the cost of the repair of the structure and in the supply of furniture; giving sometimes one half and sometimes two thirds of the total cost. The congregation was sorely troubled at times to find all that was necessary. They had inherited from Dutch times some handsome silver plate, including a Font bason, an alms dish, and other smaller pieces for sacramental use. It is sad to relate that the larger pieces were sold to enable the Trustees to carry out necessary repairs in 1873. In 1887 the roof of the Church, which was

[1] Letter, 10 Aug. 1852, 18. [2] Despatch, 31 Aug. 1853, 18, 19.
[3] G.O. 8 Aug. 1868, No. 169, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ZION CHURCH, TRANQUEBAR.
The Official Church of the Danish East India Company.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of teakwood, required extensive repair. The Government consented to carry out the work, and to preserve this historic relic of Portuguese times, on the condition that the building was handed over entirely to their care and trusteeship. Since that date the Church has been on the list of ecclesiastical buildings—a list which includes Roman Catholic as well as Presbyterian buildings—which are held in trust and kept in repair by the Government. The old Dutch Cemetery as well as the old English and the modern English cemeteries are equally cared for out of the Indian revenues.

There are 29 Portuguese and 19 Dutch monumental stones in the Church; the date of the earliest is 1546, and of the latest 1789. These were at one time on the floor of the Church covering graves. They are now placed round the walls to prevent the gradual obliteration of the inscriptions; and a substantial flooring has been put in their place. There are only four tablets to the memory of Englishmen, three being of brass and one of marble. The brasses are memorials of Dr. Morgan, J. H. Aspinwall Esquire, and the Honourable Mr. H. B. Grigg, formerly British Resident of Travancore and Cochin. The marble tablet is a memorial of the Revd. A. F. Sealy. As an Educational Officer he was for 27 years Lay Trustee of St. Francis' Church, and took a cordial and sympathetic interest in all its concerns. On his retirement from the Service he offered himself to the Bishop of Madras for ordination, in order that he might continue to serve as a Priest those whom he had so long served as a faithful layman. His offer was accepted, and he was duly ordained; and he worked for a year amongst a people who greatly regarded him; and then God took him; and the people dedicated this handsome memorial of him.

The Lectern was the gift of Mr. Sealy in his early days. The carved teak and ebony Pulpit and Reading Desk were the gift of Francis Henry Crozier, of the Madras Civil Service, fifty years ago. They are two of the many memorials in the Diocese of his Christian zeal and churchmanship.

2. *Zion Church, Tranquebar.*—This is the second oldest Church in the Diocese in the trust ownership of the Government. The Danish East India Company was incorporated by

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Royal Charter at Copenhagen in 1612, and sent out a vessel to search for a settlement on the Coromandel coast, where they could commence trading operations. It was not till 1620 that they found a place they considered suitable. This was Trincombar. The Danish Admiral in command of the expedition at once entered into negotiations with the Rajah of Tanjore, and purchased the coast village. Following the wise example of the Dutch they commenced to build a Fort, and at the same time laid the foundations of the Church. The early Ministers, like those of the London East India Company, were engaged for voyages, involving an absence abroad of about three years. From the time of their arrival on the coast till their departure they ministered to the Company's servants ashore, sometimes staying longer than their covenanted time. Later on they were appointed as Pastors of Zion Church, and received extra remuneration and a free passage for officiating as Chaplains on the voyage out and home. It was to this place that the first Protestant Missionaries came in 1706; and it was here they built the first Protestant Mission Chapel in 1717; and from this place as a centre radiated for 120 years a bright light of Christian effort throughout the South of India. Two of the devoted pioneers are buried in the Chapel they erected to the glory of God, Ziegenbalg on the north side of the altar, and Grundler on the south side. When Ziegenbalg and his first companion, Plütschau, arrived at the settlement the Danish Governor assured[1] them that he neither could nor would hinder their design; but he expressed a wish that what they did might be done publicly in the Government Church. He arranged with the Danish Chaplains that they should have the use of the Church once a week; and in this Church the first five converts were baptised in 1707.[2] These were the first fruits of the Danish Mission. The Missionaries continued to use Zion

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, Part i. published 1718; Fenger's *Tranquebar Mission*, p. 35.

[2] Fenger, page 35. They must not, however, be understood to be the first non-Roman native Christians; the Dutch were quietly busy with mission work all through the previous century; and the English Ministers at Fort St. George were not unmindful of this duty. The St. Mary's Registers begin in 1680; the baptism of a slave is recorded in 1681.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH, TRANQUEBAR.
The Mission Church built by Ziegenbalg, 1717.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Church for ten years; it may be assumed, therefore, that all the early baptisms of converts during that period took place in that building. The fact that the Church was the scene of the earliest labours and successes of Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and Grundler adds greatly to its historic interest. After 1717 Zion Church ceased its direct connection with the Missionaries and their work; and remained the Church of the European officials until the capture of Tranquebar by the English in 1800. Probably no event in the history of British India was so greatly regretted as the necessity of making war upon the Danes, who were at the same time our peaceful neighbours, our esteemed kinsmen and our gallant allies. The Fort capitulated to Colonel Dugald Campbell, who had authority from the Government of Fort St. George to treat the Missionaries with special consideration. The Danish Government had for about 80 years made them an allowance of 300 pagodas a month to pay themselves and their agents, and to meet the cost of their missionary operations.

In 1802 Gericke addressed the Government,[1] pleading for a continuation of the allowances on the ground that the Tranquebar Missionaries were Danish Government officials, and that they ought to be treated in the same way as all other such officials. He pointed out that the Danish mission was not a charity but an institution founded by Royal Charter, and that the salaries of the agents were paid annually by His Majesty of Denmark. And he further represented the good they did among natives and Europeans by means of Churches, schools, poor relief, the dissemination of good literature, and by co-operation with English Missionaries.[2] The Government referred the matter to the Danish ex-Governor, General Anker, for his opinion; and ultimately continued the allowances and privileges pending reference to the Directors. The Directors acquiesced in the principle of the arrangement but reduced the allowance to 200 pagodas a month. The Danish Chaplain of Zion Church returned to Europe; the Missionaries were put in charge of both Churches; and they kept up the services and the schools and

[1] Mil. Consultations, 25 March 1802.
[2] Meaning the German agents of the S.P.C.K.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the mission work until the town was restored to the Danes in 1817. The reduction of the Government grant made it necessary to reduce local expenses; this was done by closing some of the Tamil schools in the villages.

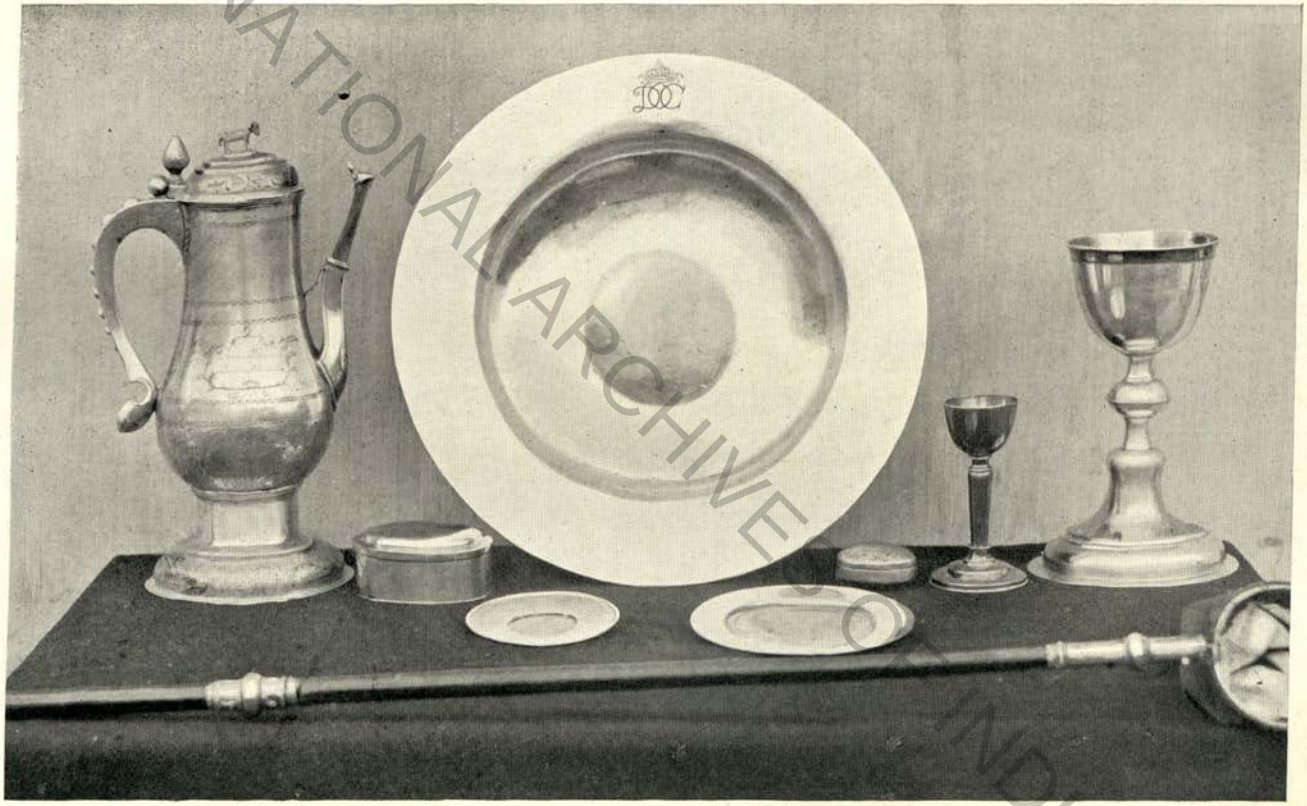
From 1817 to 1845 the Danes again ruled in their old settlement. At first the royal allowance was stopped, and the mission was placed under the superintendence of the Danish Chaplain. Bishop Middleton kept the work going by grants from a fund at his disposal until the royal allowance was resumed. The reduced amount of the allowance made it necessary to transfer a number of the district congregations to the Tanjore mission.[1] In 1845 the Danes sold the settlement to the East India Company. By this time there had grown up a want of sympathy between the English and the Danish missions, chiefly in consequence of a difference in policy on the caste question. The Christians of the Danish mission were not therefore affiliated or transferred to Tanjore as their fathers had been. They were taken over by the Leipsig Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

But the European and Eurasian congregation petitioned the Government of Fort St. George to take over the Church and its furniture, two burial grounds, and a fund of Rs. 6000, on the condition of providing the settlement with the services of an English Chaplain and paying a monthly establishment grant of Rs. 21. The local Government granted the petition, and sent the Revd. B. S. Clarke, Joint Chaplain of Trichinopoly, to be the first English Chaplain of Tranquebar. His duty was also to visit occasionally Negapatam, Tanjore, Combaconum, Dindigul and Madura; but this overwhelming duty was soon afterwards modified. The Directors wrote their approval[2]:—

'We approve of your having appointed one of the Chaplains of Trichinopoly to be permanently resident at Tranquebar. We approve of the arrangements regarding visits to out-stations; we doubt the expediency of making Dindegul and Madura out-stations of Tranquebar contrary to the recommendation of the Bishop.

[1] These were known for a long time as the transferred congregations.
[2] Despatch, 20 Oct. 1847, 15, 16, 17, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



TRANQUEBAR CHURCH PLATE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVE OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The allowance of Rs. 80 given to the Missionary of the Church of England at Tanjore ordered to be discontinued.

'The interest of the Church Fund is to be devoted to the repair of the Church.'

The Directors evidently thought that the allowance given to the Missionary at Tanjore for ministering to the English residents there could be saved by making Tanjore an outstation of Tranquebar. But it was soon proved that a man's powers are limited; and the grant, which was originally sanctioned in 1826 at the request of Bishop Heber, was restored in 1851.[1]

Zion Church was licensed for all ecclesiastical uses in 1846 by Bishop Spenser.

Among the articles of Church furniture which were handed over to the Government in 1846 were three bells in the tower dated 1741, 1759, and 1791; and an old Danish clock. There is a black granite font with carved panels; and a massive silver bason, 15 inches diameter, which fits into it. On the bason is a crown surmounted by a cross above a monogram composed of the letters D.O.C. A Poor Box of brass, one foot high, stands on a pedestal of ebony, 15 inches high, in a corner near the chief entrance. This interesting relic of the 17th century is firmly fixed to the floor. The box is fastened by means of a padlock. There is an ebony stick with silver bands, 4 feet long, for handing round the offerings bag, dated 1687. A highly interesting carving in wood of the Last Supper forms an appropriate altar piece. But still more interesting are the Communion vessels. Of these there are two sets, one presumably for general use in the Church and one for travelling and private use. The former set has four pieces; a silver chalice, 9½ inches high, marked with a cross and with this inscription 'Zion's Kirkes, Alter Beoer i Tranquebar Fort 1689, A G H C Winther i Kiobenhaon'; a silver paten, 6 inches diameter, marked with a maltese cross on the top side and with a monogram composed of the letters H C W on the other side, undated; a richly chased ciborium, 4 inches by 2, unmarked and undated; and a silver flagon, 13 inches high, which is sur-

[1] Despatch, 16 July 1851, 4, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

mounted by a paschal lamb, and is engraved with two shields; on one side of these is the inscription 'Adrian Blanenhan Dorrethea Niels datter, Anno'; on the other is 'Christian Hansen Pouch Anna Maria Erics datter 1712.'—The latter set has three pieces only:—a silver gilt paten, 4 inches diameter undated; a silver gilt chalice, 5½ inches high, dated 1689; and a small silver gilt ciborium dated 1702; the small chalice has the inscription 'Christian Hanson Pouch Anna Maria Erics datter A.D. 1689.'

When the Church was handed over to the Madras Government in 1846 all the records and the registers were removed to Denmark.

Of the 57 Danish and German Missionaries who were connected with Tranquebar between 1706 and 1846, twenty died and were buried there, twenty-two died at other stations in the South of India, and only fifteen returned to their native country.

The system of placing Chaplains at Tranquebar and giving them the charge of small out-stations within one hundred miles distance lasted from 1846 till 1863. The number of Europeans and Eurasians in their charge gradually decreased, so that in the latter year it was discontinued. Only three Chaplains were stationed there, B. S. Clarke, H. Taylor, and R. P. Little. During the incumbency of B. S. Clarke repairs and improvements were undertaken twice at the expense of the Church Fund.[1] Larger repairs and improvements were undertaken in 1853 during the incumbency of the Rev. H. Taylor.[2] In 1879 the Fund, amounting to Rs. 10,286, was transferred to the Accountant General; and Rs. 1,020 were spent over the repair of the building and the furniture.[3]

3. *Pulicat Church.*—This Church is given the third place in this chapter because it is probably not quite so old as the Church at Tranquebar. There is no certain record of its building; but there are circumstances which point to its very early existence. Pulicat, or as it is written in the

[1] Consultations, 16 Nov. 1847, and 27 Nov. 1849.
[2] Do. 15 Nov. 1853 and 21 April 1854.
[3] G.O. 4 Sept. 1879 and 17 Dec. 1879.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SILVER FONT BASIN ON BRASS STAND,
PULICAT CHURCH.

POOR BOX,
TRANQUEBAR CHURCH.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

early records, Palleacatta, is situated 25 miles north of Fort St. George on the sea coast. A river and a very extensive salt water lake have their exit into the sea at this point; they have between them made the island on which the Dutch in 1615 built their Fort and Factory. They made this place the Head Quarters of their Coromandel Agency until they took Negapatam, a larger and more commodious settlement, from the Portuguese in 1658. According to the historian of the Dutch East India Company,[1] Valentyn, the Dutch had a Preacher at Pulicat for the benefit of their Governor (Landvoorgden), their factors (Opperkoopleeden), and their subordinates as early as 1625. The Ministers of the Dutch Church were of two classes, Predicants and Dominees. The Predicants were the better educated men, who were licensed to preach; they received higher pay than the Dominees, whose functions were to read the printed forms of prayer, to teach the children, and to visit the sick. The Dutch only stationed Predicants at their more important stations, where there were Churches. Dominees were sent to the smaller factories where as a rule there were no Churches. It is this rule, which seems from Valentyn's History to be so invariable, which leads one to suppose that there was a Church building at Pulicat in the early part of the 17th century. Whether the building in existence at present was that building or not is another question. There is no reason to suppose that the walls are not the same. The Dutch were deliberately builders of strong enduring buildings. All their ancient settlements on the Coromandel coast and in Ceylon, which are now in the hands of the English, bear ample testimony to the endurance of their work. It is most unlikely that they adopted the unusual course of building a cheap Church at Pulicat to last a short time, and then replaced it with another; it was not their way. The probability is that the present plain but solidly built structure is coeval with the building of the Fort itself; and that the old Dutch monuments in the Churchyard, some of which belong to the first half of the 17th century, have been reared one by one under the shadow of the same old building.

[1] Valentyn's *History of the Dutch East Indies.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In the middle of the 17th century the Dutch East India Company obtained possession of the Portuguese fort of Negapatam. The area was larger and more suitable for their purposes than Pulicat; so as soon as they had surrounded the town with walls and bastions, and built quarters for their civil and military servants, they moved the seat of government on the coast from Pulicat to the new station. With the Governor and the chief Dutch officials of the Company went the Predicant; and Pulicat remained for about 100 years subordinate to Negapatam.

When Fort St. George was surrendered to the French in 1746, Fabricius, the S.P.C.K. Missionary at Madras, was allowed to take refuge with his orphan children and some of his converts at Pulicat. The Dutch Governor received him kindly, appointed a place for him to live, and allowed him to carry on his mission work. This was the beginning of much subsequent intercourse between the Madras Missionaries and the Dutch congregation at Pulicat. Padre Severini of St. Andrew's Fort St. George was also allowed to take refuge with his orphan children in the Dutch Fort.

In 1781 Negapatam was taken from the Dutch by the English Company and not restored to them by the treaty of peace in 1785. Pulicat was therefore again made the seat of the Dutch government on the coast. The Dutch Chaplain accompanied the Governor, and took with him the Church plate which had been in use at Negapatam for about 100 years. It became necessary on the return of so many civil officials to restore and partially rebuild the Church. This was done in 1787. There is no reason to suppose that it was either made larger or smaller than before. It could never have been a large building; for such was not required for the inhabitants of a fort 300 feet square. Most probably the perishable wood work of the roof was repaired and the top of the walls strengthened to receive the new beams.

When Holland joined forces with France in 1795 Pulicat was one of the Dutch settlements in the East captured by the British forces. The friendly intercourse between the Dutch residents and the Madras Missionaries already referred to made the plan of placing the Church and the congregation—

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Europeans, Eurasians and natives—under the care of the Madras Missionaries not only a possible but also an acceptable one to the residents themselves.

At the time of the capitulation one of the Madras Missionaries was the trusted and greatly esteemed Gericke, and the other was his assistant C. W. Päzold. Gericke visited Pulicat regularly as an out-station of Vepery, his head quarters, until his death, and included it in his reports and returns to the S.P.C.K. in London, which employed him.[1] After the death of Gericke in 1803, Päzold continued as far as he was able the pastoral care of the congregation, and wrote his reports to the S.P.C.K. in London about it.[1] He expressed his regret in 1805 that they had no minister of their own; but he did what he could for them, Europeans as well as others, preaching in English, Dutch and Tamil as occasion required, baptising, churching and marrying as he had opportunity. It was at his instance in 1811 that the Government of Fort St. George appointed a Sexton and Church Keeper, to take charge of the building and its contents, as well as of the Burial ground around it.[2] Dr. Rottler was appointed to officiate as Minister in 1814.[3] In the year 1818 the Dutch possessions on the Coast which had been acquired in 1795 were restored to Holland; and Dr. Rottler's appointment came to an end. The Dutch Government then appointed a Minister of their own, Job C. Winckler. Six years later—that is, in 1824—all the Dutch possessions in India were transferred to the East India Company by Treaty, in return for certain advantages in the Straits. Mr. Winckler retained his office two years longer. He signed the Register Book for the last time on the 24th Dec. 1826, describing himself as 'Netherlandshe Zendeling se Madras.' Aitchison says that all the Dutch possessions in India were given up to Great Britain in 1824 without any reserve or condition.[4] However, the Pulicat congregation, headed by Mr. Winckler, claimed the ownership of the furniture in the Church; the congregation at Sadras followed suit; and both congregations asked the Government to maintain the Church establishment

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1803, 1805, 1812, 1813.
[2] Despatch, 2 April 1813, 108.
[3] Do. 19 May 1815, 49.
[4] Aitchison's *Treaties of India.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and the schoolmaster, as was done by the Dutch Government before. The Government of Fort St. George did not care to dispute the ownership of the Church furniture; and they were disposed to be liberal towards their new Dutch subjects. They therefore purchased the furniture both at Pulicat and Sadras[1]; and sanctioned a Church establishment at Pulicat amounting to Rs. 44 a month, and one at Sadras amounting to Rs. 24 a month, and they promised to maintain a schoolmaster at Pulicat on Rs. 25 a month until it was settled what should become of the Dutch inhabitants. The S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Madras, Dr. Rottler, J. L. Irion and L. P. Haubroe, continued between them to care for the spiritual interests of the congregations until 1836. From 1837 to 1839 the S.P.G.—to which Society the S.P.C.K. had handed over its Mission work in 1826—stationed one of its agents, the Revd. J. F. Goldstein, at Pulicat; his work was amongst all classes, and was greatly appreciated. When he was transferred to Trichinopoly in 1839, the Society had a difficulty in supplying his place. The Revd. Robert Carver, then stationed at St. Thoma, paid periodical visits between 1842 and 1845, when he died. After that date the European and the native work were divorced. The European work was ordered to be done by one of the Presidency Chaplains; and the mission work was continued by an agent of the S.P.G. This arrangement continued till 1899, when for convenience sake the mission was handed over to the C.M.S., whose agents could more easily reach the place than those of the sister Society.[2] In consequence of this the building was conditionally handed over by the Government to the Church Missionary Society; but the European records and the old Dutch Government plate were retained in the charge of the visiting Presidency Chaplain.

The Government repaired the Church and the Cemetery wall in 1831,[3] 1840,[4] 1848,[5] 1852,[6] and 1873.[7]

At the present time Pulicat is deserted by Europeans and Eurasians as a place of residence. The descendants of the

[1] Despatch, 12 May 1826, paragraphs 14–24.
[2] G.O. 10 July 1899, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 20 Feb. 1833, 21, Eccl.
[4] Desp. 2 July 1841, 18, Do.
[5] Do. 22 Aug. 1849, 13, Do.
[6] G.O. 18 May 1852, Do.
[7] G.O. 29 Jan. 1873, Do.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

old Dutch possessors have died out or gone elsewhere. The station is not sufficiently healthy to attract new comers. The native Christians find a better opening for themselves and their children in more modern towns, and have gradually deserted the place. Only the walls of the plain old Dutch Church, and the cemetery monuments remain to show what a history the old settlement has.

The plate, of which illustrations are given, is not of great intrinsic value, but it is of great historic interest. The silver Font bason is 18 inches in diameter; when in use it fits into its brass stand, which is itself worthy of notice. The workmanship of the stand is so crude, that it must have been made on the coast. That of the bason and the other silver articles is superior and is probably European. The bason and the alms dish have richly chased rims. The square paten with curved corners is 9¼ inches square. The chalice, which has a cover is, 8½ inches high. The alms dish has a diameter of 14 inches. There is no date or inscription on any of the pieces; but there is no doubt that their workmanship is of the 17th century.[1]

The date of the oldest monument in the Churchyard is 1651; but the ground was in use long before that date. The bell was re-cast in 1846, and bears that date. The walls of the old Fort were demolished in 1806.

4. *St. Peter's, Negapatam.*—Negapatam, which is 20 miles south of Tranquebar, was one of the many coast towns on both sides of India where the Portuguese in the 16th century held sway. The Portuguese Missionaries followed, and sometimes went in advance of, the Portuguese flag. Here, as at other places on the coast, they obtained a great and lasting influence over the fisher caste. When the Dutch took possession of the Town in 1657, Baldaeus, the Dutch Minister and Predicant of Jaffnapatam, received orders from the Dutch Governor of Colombo to proceed to Negapatam and to report on the ecclesiastical requirements of the place. This he did in 1660. The Dutch had expelled the Portuguese Missionaries; but the Paravars (fisher folk) were so much devoted to their first Christian teachers, and so resentful of

[1] They were brought from Negapatam.

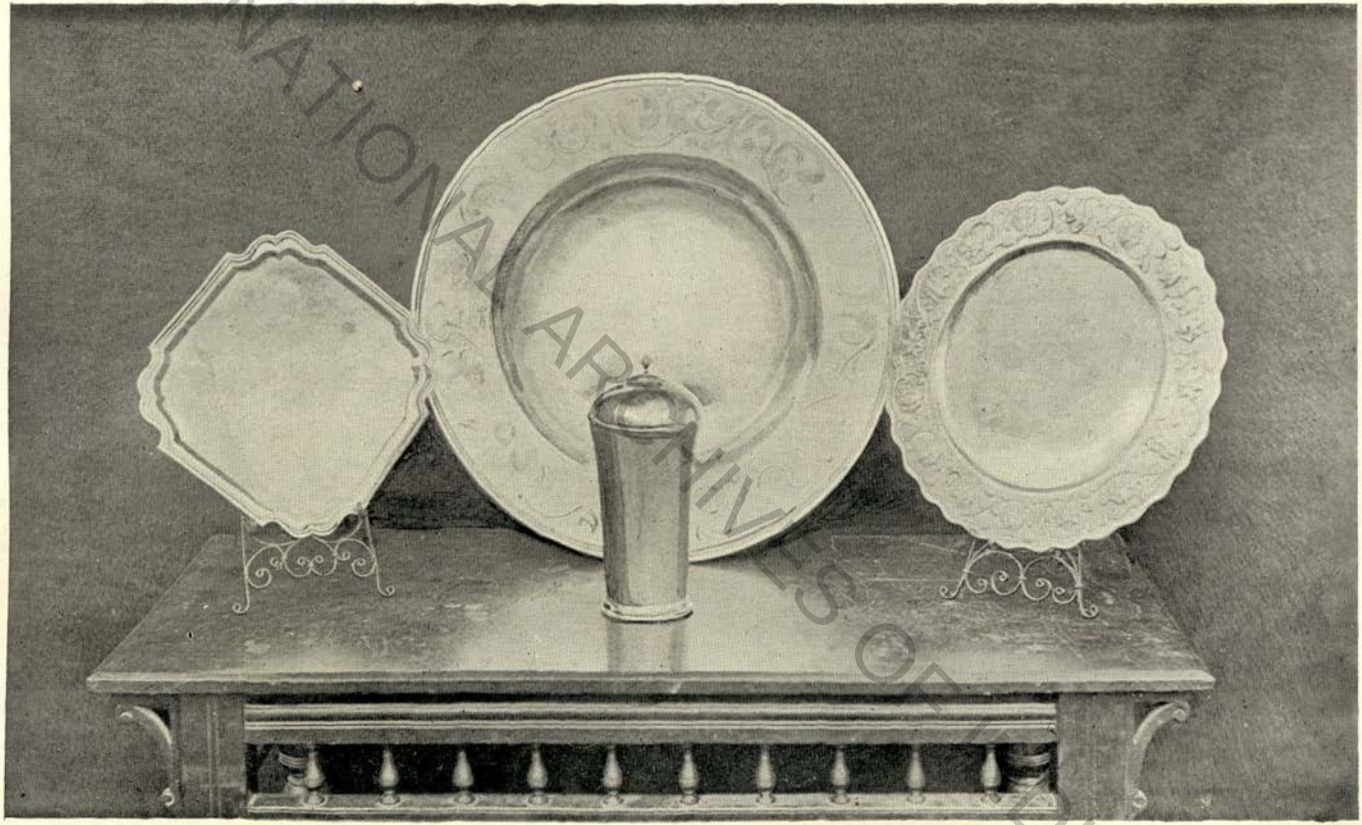
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their expulsion, that they could not be persuaded to enter the Church where Baldaeus officiated, even though he preached in Portuguese. The Church mentioned here was not St. Peter's; it was probably a small building erected for the special use of the Paravars, with walls of sun-dried brick, floor of rammed mud, and a roof of palmyra wood covered with tiles, such as is seen in many a fishing village round the coast. The design and arrangement of St. Peter's is purely Dutch. The first Opperhoofd was appointed in 1657; and the first Predicant was appointed in 1660.[1] The appointment of a Preacher showed the importance of the place in the eyes of the Dutch themselves. Negapatam was a walled town on the coast of a rich district; it was nearer to all the Dutch ports in Ceylon than Pulicat, and therefore more convenient and more important commercially. In the town, whose walls the Dutch greatly strengthened and enlarged, there was room not only for merchants and merchandize but also for a large force of soldiers and for military stores. It was not long therefore before Negapatam became the Head Quarters of the Dutch Coromandel Agency. The appointment of a Preacher in 1660 leads one to suppose that the Dutch Government pursued its usual policy—usual in its larger and fortified settlements—of building a Church. There is an illustration of Negapatam in Valentyn's book, showing the Church with a tower and spire at the north east corner.[2] The tower no longer exists. The building has undergone various other changes; roofs have given place to roofs; but the walls, the floor, the heavy teakwood furniture, dark with age, the handsome carved pulpit reached through a staircase in the wall and overhung by a carved sounding board, the solid carved Altar rails and the massive heavy-looking Font, all belong to this early period of the Dutch occupation.

In 1732 the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar began to work amongst the Tamil population of Negapatam with the consent and assistance of the Dutch Governor and the Dutch Minister.[3] Up to that time the Dutch Ministers had one after another made efforts among the Tamil subjects of the

[1] Valentyn's *History of the Dutch East Indies.*
[2] The date of the picture is 1715.
[3] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, vol. i. 38.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



THE SACRAMENTAL PLATE OF PULICAT CHURCH.
(Now in use at Madras.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dutch Government. But as soon as the Danish Missionaries with their mastery of the Tamil language offered their services, the Dutch Ministers gladly left the matter in their hands. A catechist was sent from Tranquebar to instruct the native congregation under the superintendence of the Dutch Chaplain; and occasionally the Tranquebar Missionaries visited him themselves.[1] These men, after the first twenty years of the mission, were mostly Germans, educated at the University of Halle. Their mission was called the Danish mission because they worked under the patronage of the Danish King and lived at Tranquebar under the protection of the Danish Government. In the service of the Dutch East India Company were many German soldiers. The Tranquebar Missionaries made themselves useful to the Dutch Government in ministering to them.

In 1758 Messrs. Kohlhoff and Schwartz paid a visit to Negapatam, and were welcomed by the Dutch Governor and the gentlemen of the settlement. They remained some weeks, and were incessantly engaged in various religious services with both native and European Christians. They persuaded the Dutch officials of their duty to be the nursing fathers of the Church; so that the Governor promised to build a Church for the use of the native Christians. The promise was kept and the Church was built in the following year and dedicated to the service of God.[2] Schwartz paid a second visit to Negapatam in April 1759[3]; and a third visit in September 1760.[4] On all occasions the Missionaries ministered both to Europeans and natives, and conducted their ministrations in German, Portuguese and Tamil. These early visits were the beginning of a happy intimacy between themselves and the Dutch authorities, which lasted till the Dutch power came to an end. The native Chapel, which still stands on the beach, was built for the Tranquebar Missionaries, and was connected with the Tranquebar mission until the Danish mission stations were handed over to the S.P.C.K. in 1824.

It was probably in gratitude for the ministrations of these

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. iii. 285, and Fenger.
[2] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, vol. i. 119, 120.
[3] Do. do. vol. i. 120, 121.
[4] Fenger, p. 206.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

occasional visitors, Kohlhoff, Schwartz and Gericke, that the Dutch Governor of Jaffnapatam sent a large and costly present of timber to these S.P.C.K. Missionaries for their mission building purposes at Cuddalore. It was forwarded to them through the Governor of Negapatam with all charges paid.[1]

The Tranquebar Missionary C. W. Gericke became connected with the S.P.C.K. in 1767 when he went to Cuddalore. From that time what he did as a Missionary was done in the name of the Society which employed him; and he reported all that he did regularly year by year to his employers. He visited Negapatam henceforth from Cuddalore; and when he was driven from Cuddalore on its capture in 1781 he took up his abode there, and remained till he was called upon to take charge of the Vepery mission in 1789.

During these eight years he ministered in the native Chapel and conducted services in the old Dutch Church for the British troops of the garrison. The Church itself remained in possession of the Dutch Predicant and his wardens, and was used also by them for the necessary Dutch services. The Madras Government laid no claim to the building. In 1786 it became known that Negapatam was not to be given back. The Dutch officials therefore prepared to retire with their private property to Pulicat, among them being the Predicant and the members of the Consistory. These actually took with them the Church plate; with regard to the rest of the furniture, they made a proposal to Gericke which is embodied in the following letter[2] from him to the Madras Government through the British Resident.[3]

'In consequence of a report to me from the Dutch clergyman and Churchwardens I beg leave to address you on a subject that interests not only all the Protestant inhabitants of Negapatam, but in some degree the cause of our holy religion too. The above gentlemen are to leave this place and settle at Pullicat; they desire to make an offer to the English Government of the organ, pulpit, pews and seats and of their Church for such an equivalent as upon an impartial estimate shall be found reasonable; and I intreat your favour

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1769 and 1770. [2] Consultations, 22 May 1787.
[3] Thomas Lewin Esquire, Resident at Nagore.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to recommend this proposal in the best manner to the benevolent attention of the Hon. Board of Fort St. George.

'I'll say nothing of the organ, but should be sorry to see the pulpit and other moveables taken out of the Church and carried to Pullicat for the chapel that is now re-building there. In this case one of the best chapels in India would be ruined; and not only the English gentlemen at Negapatam and Nagore would be deprived of a decent place for divine worship, but all the Protestant families, many widow ladies, and a considerable number of decent poor and orphans that are to remain here and who constantly attend the divine service performed in Portuguese at the Dutch Church, would grieve at the loss of it. The latter, 'tis to be feared, will after the departure of the clergyman and Churchwardens be destitute of their monthly allowance which they have been accustomed to receive from the Dutch Church; and if they should lose the use of the Church too, that would be to them so dejecting a circumstance that from it they would be in danger of falling an easy prey to their Roman Catholic friends and neighbours.

'But if the English Government can think it fit to admit of the above proposal, the said customary allowance to the poor from the Church may be made to continue together with the Chapel [1]; for the Dutch Government will in return, upon due representation, I make no doubt, consent to let the price of the purchase of the Negapatam Church furniture go towards a fund for the support of its poor and orphans; and will make the Chapel of Pullicat amends some other way; for it is unpracticable for the poor and orphans of Negapatam Church to follow the Dutch clergyman and Churchwardens to Pullicat.

'Seeing the Protestant inhabitants of Negapatam in fear for their Church, and the poor among them in danger of losing with it their support, I could not help taking an interest in their cause, and by your mediation to address the benevolence of Government on their behalf.'

The Governor and Council discussed the proposal and agreed 'that the Resident be directed to ascertain and report to Government what sum the Dutch clergyman and Churchwardens expect for the organ, pulpit, pews and seats of the Church at Negapatam; and in case they have authority to dispose of their produce without the permission of the Dutch

[1] Gericke generally uses the word Church for congregation, and the word Chapel for the building.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government, whether they consent that it shall be appropriated to the Church Fund for the support of the poor and orphans of that place.'

The Madras Government made no claim to the building and its contents by right of conquest; they granted the sum demanded for the internal fittings, and left Gericke to take over the building and its furniture, and other ecclesiastical properties including two burial grounds, without further note, comment, or condition. Their help to Gericke was of the same nature as their help to Hutteman at Cuddalore, to Schwartz at Trichinopoly and Tanjore; the unexpressed condition being that if the Missionaries were assisted in the provision of Churches they would be expected to use them for the benefit of Europeans as well as for native converts, and to minister to all alike. The Government did not want the Churches; they were quite content that in the out-garrisons they should be owned by Missionaries or mission societies or by the people that made use of them; and that they should use them as they pleased so long as they were open to Europeans in their service.

Soon after the purchase of the internal fittings of the Church for the mission the Dutch minister returned to Europe, and the elders and the deacons went to Pulicat. Gericke was thus left in sole charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the place. In 1788 he was called to Madras to take the place of the aged Fabricius as head of the Vepery mission. He arranged for the support of the poor as well as he was able out of mission funds; and for one of the Tranquebar Missionaries, Cœmmerer, to carry on the pastoral work. What he was able to do for the poor was not enough; for in 1794 Schwartz visited Negapatam and reported to the Fort St. George Government the poverty into which some of the Dutch and Dutch Eurasians had fallen; he obtained for them a grant of 40 pagodas a month to be administered by Gericke as head of the Vepery (S.P.C.K.) mission.[1] This allowance was continued until 1835.[2] Gericke was described by Schwartz to have been 'like a father to the distressed people.'

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1795, and Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 258.
[2] Despatches, 8 July 1835, 40, and 10 Aug. 1836, 42 (Public).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ST. PETER'S, NEGAPATAM.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

After the capture of Colombo and other places in Ceylon in 1795, there were many Dutch prisoners at Negapatam; and amongst them was a Predicant named Grahan. His local ministrations were very highly esteemed; so that when he received orders to return to Colombo in 1799 the inhabitants petitioned the Government through Gericke, the Missionary in charge, to allow the minister to remain with them. The petition was granted. Grahan remained and conducted the pastoral work of the place under the general superintendence of Gericke till the death of the latter in 1803. Copies of the register books were submitted by him to the Senior Chaplain of Fort St. George through Gericke, as if to emphasise the fact that Gericke was in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the place.

In his will Gericke left a legacy to Domingo de Rozario, 'reader and schoolmaster at Negapatam, who has managed the charitable institution of that place ever since I left it in 1789.' And he left a sum of money 'to supply the wants of the charitable institution at Negapatam, which the allowance of 40 pagodas a month from the Hon. Company doth not supply,' and to keep 'the churches at Negapatam' in repair. He made a similar provision for Vepery. His intention was to maintain the mission at both places as they were at the time of his death.[1]

The S.P.C.K. report for 1805 laments the want of a Missionary at Negapatam. 'The large town of Negapatam, heretofore a favorite place with the late Mr. Gericke, having many Dutch, Portuguese and [Tamil] Christians in it, is destitute of a minister; a Portuguese man named Domingo de Rozario, stationed there by Mr. Gericke, teaches English in a school consisting of about 40 children; and on Sundays he reads the Common Prayer and a sermon in Portuguese.'

De Rozario died in 1807; the Tranquebar Missionaries at once sent a European catechist or reader to take his place; and occasional pastoral visits were paid from that place, from Madras and from Tanjore. At the end of 1808 the Dutch inhabitants petitioned the Government to give them a resident

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, Appendix, p. xxx.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chaplain on an allowance of 25 pagodas a month, and named the Rev. Mr. Voss, a Dutch minister, as one willing to undertake the charge. The petition was granted.[1] He resigned in Feb. 1810, nearly a year before the Despatch of the Directors sanctioning the appointment arrived. The catechist again took charge; he was authorized by the Tranquebar Missionaries to perform the offices of baptism, marriage and burial for the members of the native congregation, and for others who might desire his services. As the representative of the Vepery mission he distributed the Government allowance of 40 pagodas a month to the Dutch and Dutch Eurasian poor of the place. On the arrival of the Wesleyan Missionaries the Collector, Mr. John Cotton, thought that the distribution would be better in the hands of Englishmen, and transferred it from the Catechist's hands to theirs. This was objected to by the Madras District Committee of the S.P.C.K., of which Mr. Richard Clarke was the honorary secretary; and the distribution was replaced in the hands of the mission representative. When Mr. Kindersley became Collector, the distribution was again placed in the hands of the Wesleyan Englishman, and the Government supported the contention of the Collector that the grant had nothing to do with the S.P.C.K. mission, and that they could appoint whom they pleased to distribute it. The grant was distributed by the Wesleyans till it was abolished in 1836.

The advantage of nationality was on the side of the Wesleyans; the German agents of the S.P.C.K. were not able to hold their own against them. The Rev. A. F. Cœmmerer of Tranquebar had charge of the mission after the death of de Rozario. He reported in 1820 that the congregations were much in the same state as they had been for a considerable time past; that Mr. Younker, the resident catechist, read service in the Church; that the school was small; that the expenses were defrayed by Mr. Gericke's legacy and by a donation from the Madras Government; that a Missionary of the London Society[2] had for some time resided there, and the Government had allowed him a salary of 25 pagodas a

[1] Despatch, 10 July 1811, 140.
[2] This probably means the Wesleyan Society.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

month for reading the English service.[1] This allowance for performing clerical duties for the Europeans was sanctioned later on by the Directors.[2] Cœmmerer of Tranquebar superintended the mission up to 1833. The District Committee of the S.P.C.K. instructed Haubroe to visit and report on it in 1821. He reported that the mission deserved the attention of the S.P.C.K.; that there would be an ample sphere of useful labour for a resident Missionary, who possessed discretion, zeal and learning, and a knowledge of the native language. But neither the S.P.C.K. up to 1826 nor the S.P.G. after that date, were able to find a worker for Negapatam until the year 1833. By this time it was 30 years since Gericke's death, and 30 years since it was a well understood fact that the ecclesiastical buildings and property were connected with the Vepery mission. The absence of any local representative more important than a catechist for so long a time was injurious to the work of the mission, and jeopardised its property.

For in 1820 a Wesleyan Missionary named Squance came over from Jaffna and settled at Negapatam. Dr. Cœmmerer reported his arrival to the District Committee; and as the right to the use of the Church was involved, the Secretary Mr. Richard Clarke wrote to the Civil Resident about it. In reply the Resident said that he understood that the Wesleyan Society differed very little from the Church of England; and that the Church belonged to no particular body, but was 'merely Protestant.' Mr. Clarke then wrote to Dr. Rottler to inquire as to the property, and at whose disposal it was; and Dr. Rottler referred him to Gericke's will. But the Civil Resident in the absence of a real clergyman preferred the ministrations of the Wesleyan Englishman to the German catechist, and gave him the use of the Church. For fifteen years the Wesleyans continued to use the building, and then were with difficulty ousted.[3]

When the catechist John Younker wrote his report to Dr.

[1] *Madras Christian Observer*, Jan. 1832.
[2] Despatch, 10 March 1824, 36.
[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 219. Taylor is not an altogether reliable guide; but he was himself a few years later a Wesleyan minister, and probably knew these circumstances.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Cœmmerer in 1823 he made no mention of the use of the Church by the Wesleyans.[1] The distribution of the Government dole, obtained by Schwartz, was still with him; the Tamil Church was in need of repair, and he asked that the reverend Missionaries at Vepery might be informed and requested to do it. He spoke of his Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil work; and begged for more Portuguese Books of Common Prayer. The month before Cœmmerer confirmed (according to Lutheran custom) 18 Portuguese and Dutch persons and 3 Tamils. There is no mention of an English congregation. It looks as if he had left the English services to the new comer, and was sharing the Church with him for the purpose. But the return of a baptism of a European child by him in 1825 to the Senior Presidency Chaplain shows that he had not altogether relinquished English work.

In the year 1832[2] and again in the year 1835[3] the Government repaired the wall of the old Dutch Burial ground; this contains many handsome monuments over the graves of the old Dutch officials. In 1836 the Collector of Tanjore was about to do some repairs to the Church itself. By this time there was a European Missionary in charge; he represented what was about to be done by the Collector to the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G., who objected, claiming the property. The Government in the face of all that had happened 50 years before declined to contest the right, and relinquished the privilege of repairing the building to the Society.[4]

The Eurasian Charity School, which had been established by the Dutch and taken over by Gericke, received a large Government grant until 1851. An annual report was made to the Government on its condition, and regularly transmitted to the Directors.[5] The Government had undoubtedly retained an interest in the ecclesiastical and educational affairs of the station; but there can be no doubt that they had parted with the buildings and the property at a time when they had no desire to possess such things.

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 255.
[2] Despatch, 2 Oct. 1832, Eccl.
[3] Do. 18 March 1835, Eccl.
[4] Letter No. 10 of 1857, 21, and Despatch, 11 Aug. 1858.
[5] Despatches, 23 Dec. 1840, 17; 20 May 1846, 39; and 30 July 1851, 28, Ecclesiastical.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In 1853 the Society appealed to the Government for assistance to repair the building on the ground that the Society's agents ministered to Europeans as well as others within it. The Government offered to pay the cost of the repairs—800 rupees—if the building were unconditionally handed over to them. This the Society declined. In 1860 the Government paid one third of the cost of some petty repairs[1]; and in 1864 further repairs were paid for.[2] Soon after 1880 the ancient teak roof was found to have suffered so much from the ravages of time and decay, and the estimated cost of repairing it was so great, that the Society submitted to the terms of the Government and handed over the building to them in trust; it is now in their safe custody.

The first English Missionary of the S.P.G. stationed at Negapatam was Adam Compton Thompson, who was sent there in 1833 and remained till 1835. He was succeeded by Thomas Carter Simpson, one of the many useful and devoted priests educated at the Clergy Orphan School, Canterbury. He was succeeded by John Thompson, a brother of Adam, in 1837, who remained at Negapatam until 1842. In 1845 the Chaplain of Tranquebar was ordered to visit Negapatam periodically, and to take over the European work. The declared policy of the Company at this time was to separate themselves and their concerns from all connection with Missionary enterprise. In 1858 they requested the local Government to make arrangements to prevent their Chaplains from even making use of the mission Church in their ministrations.[3] The Madras Government were not favourable to this policy, and delayed the execution of it in this and other cases, on the ground that the joint occupation of a Church was convenient, and worked no kind of harm or injury to any one. The extinction of the old Company soon afterwards prevented any new arrangement being carried out. Since the Dutch period came to an end the Church had been in joint occupation of Europeans and natives, like several others in the south of India. At the present time it remains so.

It was at Negapatam that that incident occurred in

[1] G.O. 23 Nov. 1860, Eccl. [2] G.O. 20 April 1864, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 11 Aug. 1858, 47, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

connection with the 72nd Regiment which seemed so wonderful and striking to Gericke that he gave an account of it in his annual report to the S.P.C.K. Hough reproduced the story in his history. During 1785 there were two companies of time expired men belonging to the 72nd without any commissioned officer, awaiting embarkation. They received Gericke's ministrations with gratitude; Sunday after Sunday they marched to Church; and they behaved themselves towards the inhabitants with a kindness and self-control which won their respect and admiration. All honour to the 72nd.

When the Church was taken over by Gericke the interior arrangement was that usual in Dutch places of worship; the Austinfriars Church in the City of London is a fair type of the arrangement. The pulpit and its sounding board occupied the centre of one side; underneath it was a railed space; against the opposite wall were the raised panelled seats for the Consistory—the elders and deacons and officials; below them was the official seat of the Governor. There can be hardly any doubt that this arrangement continued for the next 50 years, and until the arrival of an English clergyman. The necessity of having an altar-table in a fixed position, without making more change than was absolutely necessary to accomplish this, led to the conversion of the old platform for the Consistory and the Governor into a sacrarium. In this space an altar-table was placed, and it was surrounded by the rails which formerly enclosed the space round the pulpit. With these alterations the building was licensed by Bishop Spenser in 1844 for all ecclesiastical purposes.

The building measures inside 120 feet by 40 feet; it is built lengthways east and west. The pulpit is in the centre of the north side; it is entered from the Vestry below through a passage in the wall up a flight of steps. It is a noble structure of good workmanship, either made by the Dutch themselves or under their careful supervision. The sounding board has a diameter of 10 feet; it is supported on the north by a panelling of teakwood which rises to the necessary height from the back of the pulpit. Its two other supports are fluted teak columns which rise from the floor of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Church. Along the south wall on each side of the altar are the old panelled and canopied seats, well carved, solid and substantial. The state chair, used by the Dutch Governors, is now in the sanctuary; it is broad enough to seat two ordinary persons. The musicians' gallery over the west door remains; but the organ—a hand organ with a cylinder, with a front of gilded pipes—has been removed from it to the east end. Round the walls of the Church are fixed the emblazoned escutcheons of such Dutchmen of social and official importance as died in Negapatam. Here and there are handsome monumental tablets. One is the carved representation of a young woman sailing on a large shell, and holding over her head a shawl to catch the wind. It is the memorial of the daughter of an early Governor, who was drowned on her passage out from home to join her parents.[1]

The plate is neither old nor worthy of special mention; but a handsome altar cross was presented by Captain Dallas, of the Madras Army, who was Lay Trustee in 1900.

Although these Churches existed in 1746, they were not then the property either of the Company or of any English mission body, nor were they used for English services. Negapatam was the first of the four used for English services, and that was in 1785. It became the property of the Government nearly 100 years later. Pulicat was used for English services in 1795; it became the property of the Government in 1845. Cochin was used for English services in 1818; it became the property of the Government in 1847. Tranquebar was ceded to the Company in 1845; if English services were held in it before that date, it was only for a short time during the military occupation of the Fort by the Company's troops.

[1] I am indebted to the Rev. B. M. Morton, B.A., Chaplain, for refreshing my memory as to these details, and for the photographs of Negapatam and Tranquebar Churches.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XIII

FORT ST. DAVID; CHRIST CHURCH, AND THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY EPIPHANY, CUDDALORE

On the Coromandel Coast about 115 miles south of Fort St. George is the mouth of the Goodalam River. Just inside the mouth its waters form a shallow lake. Two hundred years ago small flat-bottomed craft of about 50 tons burthen could both enter the river and move about the lake. This physical fact was a matter of great importance to small traders who had business with Ceylon and the coast ports. On the right bank of the river, inside the mouth, stands the native town of Cuddalore. On the left bank, at the very mouth itself, with the sea eastward and the lake to the south stands a ruined fort. Both the town and the fort have a history of much interest.

In the middle of the 17th century the town had a population of fishermen, weavers and cultivators, who acknowledged the Rajah of Gingee as their feudatory chief. The weavers had the reputation of being the very best on the Coromandel Coast; their cloths were not only in demand along the coast and inland, but they were esteemed also by the Dutch and English trading Companies, who competed for their possession.

An adventurous Tamil merchant named Chinnea Chetty established himself as the middle man between the Companies and the producers. He quickly acquired considerable wealth; and as his ships and his stores and his money increased he took the precaution to build himself a fort, and to protect his warehouses with entrenchments, ramparts and guns. This fort measured 400 feet by 500 feet; its walls were built of stone; its gateways and its guardrooms were likewise of masonry.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Within were his own house, his offices and warehouses, and tiled huts for his subordinates. Here he successfully traded till the invasion of the Mahrattas in 1673, when he put his accumulations of money and goods into his ship and sailed away to a safer place.

There were some Dutch merchants living in a Factory House at Cuddalore at this time; they knew of the fort; they knew of its desertion; and they entered into negotiations with the new Mahratta ruler of Gingee for its purchase. The French at Pondicherry, which is only 15 miles north of the fort, also knew of it; and they also are said to have offered to purchase it. A young English merchant named Elihu Yale was sent by the Fort St. George Council in 1674 to see what could be done to get Cuddalore cloths in the future, now that Chinnea Chetty had retired from business. He saw the deserted fort; but he took no particular notice of it. The Dutch were strongly opposed to his establishing a factory in the town. He reported therefore to his superiors what he had seen and done, with the result that the Dutch were left in quiet possession of the market.

In 1681 the English Company established a factory at Cuddalore; but the Dutch took means to prevent the venture being a profitable one; they are said to have bought up all the cloth for a higher price than it could be sold for again; so the Englishmen gave up their factory in 1685, and returned to Fort St. George. They then made an attempt to share in the trade of the district by opening a factory at Connimere, about 12 miles north of Pondicherry. The jealous opposition of the French made this attempt only partially successful. So they tried another centre at Porto Novo, a decayed settlement of the Portuguese about 12 miles south of Cuddalore; this attempt was defeated by the hostility of the natives and the Portuguese Eurasians.

Elihu Yale became Governor of Fort St. George in 1687; the important question of the time was whether the English merchants were to be excluded from Cuddalore trade or not. He remembered the deserted fort. And without the knowledge, or even the suspicion of Dutch, French, or Portuguese, he entered into negotiations with the Mahrattas for its purchase.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The agreement was signed, the price paid, and possession taken on the 15th July 1690. This was the second possession of the East India Company in the East.[1]

Governor Yale named the Fort in honour of St. David—partly perhaps because he himself was of Welsh descent, and partly perhaps in recollection of his son David, who died in childhood at Fort St. George in the early part of 1688. William Hatsell was appointed Chief with the title of Deputy Governor. With him went 13 merchants of various grades, a Surgeon, a Lieutenant, 2 Ensigns, a Gunner, 100 European soldiers, 20 matrosses and 20 gun lascars. In August 1692 they were joined by the first Fort St. David Chaplain, Jethro Brideoake.

Of course a good deal of building and repairing was necessary to render the fort habitable by Europeans; but this was soon done; and the garrison settled down to the same kind of regular life that they had led at Fort St. George. The merchants messed together in the Council chamber; attended the services in the room set apart as a Chapel, and transacted the business of the Company between whiles.

It was arranged with the Mahratta Chief at Gingee that the jurisdiction of the Company should extend as far as their guns would carry. Hatsell was sufficiently alive to the joint interests of the Company and the dwellers in the fort to send to Fort St. George for the longest range gun they had. With this they marked out their semi-circular boundary; in which were included several small native villages[2] and Cuddalore. All were handed over. The Dutch disputed the validity of the whole transaction; they wanted the fort themselves, but had lost it through haggling over the price of it. The English Company allowed them to keep their property, and to stay where they were, if they pleased. But they did not remain long. They retired to Negapatam and left the Englishmen in full possession.

There is some reason to suppose that a Roman Catholic mission was established at Cuddalore in 1606.[3] When the

[1] Bombay was the property of the Crown, and was leased by the Crown to the Company.

[2] Still known as the Cannon Ball Villages.

[3] See the *South Arcot Manual* by Nelson.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

English Company commenced their rule a Portuguese priest, Paulo de Saa, obtained from the Fort St. David Council a grant of land in the town of Cuddalore, on which to build a Church, school and mission house. This was in 1692. The site of the Church was not that on which Christ Church of the present day stands. The building was partly destroyed by the French in 1758. In 1767 it was pulled down; and the materials were used in erecting a new Church on a site nearer the mission house of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries.

In a former chapter have been mentioned some of the incidents of its history. The English Theatine, John Milton, dispossessed the Portuguese clergy in 1707. He left the place in 1711 and the Portuguese were re-established in possession. Here they remained till, by the advice of Admiral Boscawen, the building was confiscated by the Fort St. David Government in 1749 and handed over to the representative of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The British authorities and the Company's officials had been smarting with indignation, since the capture of Fort St. George and Madras in 1746, at the treachery and disloyalty of the Roman Catholics, to whom they had been both forbearing and generous. Admiral Boscawen had no doubt that the right course to pursue—politically—was to confiscate all Roman Catholic ecclesiastical property, banish all Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, and compensate the Protestant Missionaries for the destruction of their property in Madras by giving them the confiscated property. He used his great influence with the Fort St. David Council, and later on with the Court of Directors, to get this policy carried out; and he was successful.

The Council recorded this resolution[1] and letter on the subject:—

'The Romish priest that resided at Cuddalore, in consequence of the Resolution of Consultation of the 16th October, having departed our limits, an order to Mr. Kiernander to take possession of the Church there (which its agreed be called by the name of Christ Church) is directed to be drawn out and given him.'

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Nov. 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'To Mr. John Zechariah Kirnander, British Missionary to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge

'Sir,—The Romish Church at Cuddalore being vacant in consequence of our orders to the priest that exercised that religion there to depart the Honourable Company's limits, we have therefore thought proper to appoint the said place of public worship, hereafter to be called and known by the name of Christ's Church, for the use of the British Missionaries belonging to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, till the Honourable Company's pleasure shall be known herein, desiring you will assemble your congregation in the joint Church, and let them know it is appointed for the encrease of the Protestant Religion.

'Dated at Fort St. David this 25th day of November 1749; signed by order of the Honourable the President and Council.

'CHARLES BOURCHIER, *Secretary*.'

The transfer was not made without protest on the part of the Bishop of St. Thoma; but the protest did not avail. It was a rough and ready method of retributive justice; but the local authorities were convinced that it was justice.

After the return home of Mr. Jethro Brideoake in 1695, no Chaplain was stationed at Fort St. David until 1702 when Mr. John Landon was sent there from Masulipatam. He retired from the Company's service in 1705, and no immediate successor was appointed; but the Fort St. George Chaplain was ordered to pay occasional visits to Fort St. David. This was done by George Lewis, James Wendey, William Stevenson, Charles Long, and Thomas Wendey. Long was actually appointed a Chaplain for the purpose of ministering altogether at Fort St. David; but he was unwilling to take up his abode there; and was finally dismissed the Service for refusing to do so. Dean Smedley visited the station from Fort St. George in 1730 and died there. Robert Wynch visited in 1732. Eden Howard paid periodical visits between that date and 1745, when he returned home. At the end of 1746 Fort St. David had become the Presidency; and the Company's Chaplains were regularly stationed there until the rendition of Fort St. George.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This new condition of affairs gave an unlooked-for importance both to Fort St. David and to Cuddalore. For they became together the chief political, military, naval and trading centres of the Company on the Coromandel Coast. Instead of being a Deputy Governor the Chief of Fort St. David became a Governor, and his commission was made out to him as 'President of all our affairs on the Coast of Coromandel and Orixa and of the Ghingee and Moratta Countries, and of the coast of Sumatra; Commander in Chief at our Fort St. David at Devanapatnam, and all the territories thereunto belonging, and of all the forces' etc. The Directors, who had already [1] spent large sums of money over the repair of the Fort St. David fortifications, ordered them to be further fortified and secured.[2]

The Revd. Francis Fordyce arrived, as we have seen,[3] from Bencoolen in October 1746. He had apparently received his instructions to go to Fort St. George before the Governor and Council had received the Directors' Despatch about him, if they ever received it at all; and he at once took his departure for the Coast. He received a Palankeen allowance in Nov. 1746 to enable him to travel between the Fort and the town of Cuddalore, but he was regarded by the Council as on the Bencoolen establishment, and treated accordingly until March in the following year. They then put him on the Fort St. David establishment,[4] and informed the Directors of what they had done.[5] In April 1747 occurs this entry in the Consultation Book:—

'The Revd. Mr. Francis Fordyce being entertained on this establishment agreeable to our Honourable masters' directions, and having several months' allowances due to him from the West Coast,—he now delivers in a petition requesting to be paid the same, which is granted, and it is ordered that Account Current Fort Marlborough be debited for it.'

'The humble petition of Francis Fordyce sheweth, That your petitioner having left Bencoolen for Fort St. George in July last with the consent and permission of the Deputy Gover-

[1] Despatch, 7 Feb. 1744–5, 29, 30. Do. 7 May 1746, 37. Do. 14 Nov. 1746, 11-end.
[2] Despatch to Fort St. David, 24 July 1747.
[3] Chapter vii.
[4] Consultations, March 1746–7.
[5] Letter, 2 May 1747, 89.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

nor and Council of Fort Marlborough, and that he hath not received any salary since the 25th June, nor any diet allowance since the aforesaid month of June till the 1st of March, when he was put on this establishment, humbly prays that your Honour &c Council may be pleased to pay him after the usual manner what is due to him. And your petitioner,' etc.

Fordyce was paid his claim, and worked for a year before being again mentioned in the Consultation Book. At the end of that period[1] he made an application to the Council. He represented that he had buried all that had died in the King's Hospital; that he had applied to Commodore Griffin for the surplice fees as paid to the Chaplain of Gibraltar for discharging that office to all belonging to H.M.'s Navy in that Port; but that he had refused to gratify his demand. He asked the Governor and Council to do so; and to order, 'if Mr. Griffin does not think proper to be at such expense,' that he appoint one of the Chaplains of the Squadron to attend their Hospital and bury their dead. He also asked for a further allowance for attending the Garrison Hospital at Cuddalore on account of the distance from the Fort.

The Board declined to interfere with the affairs of the Fleet; as to the latter request they reminded him that the Chaplains at Fort St. George never made any such claim; that he got the same pay and allowances as they did; and they thought that he ought to be contented, especially as the Company allowed him a Palankeen.

The number of deaths amongst the soldiers and sailors in Hospital during the previous year had been no less than 480. He had been assisted for a portion of the year by his colleague Mr. Richard Rider before his departure for Bencoolen; it was distinctly a time of unusual stress and labour for all in the settlement, civil and military as well as ecclesiastical. Fordyce asked for benefits and allowances not only in the wrong manner but also at the wrong time.

For another year he performed his duties at Fort St. David and Cuddalore; but his temper was so offensive, and his control over his tongue so small, that at the end of that time he was assaulted by a young officer of the garrison,

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, March 1747–8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Robert Clive, whom he had grossly insulted. An enquiry was held by the Governor; and Francis Fordyce was suspended till the pleasure of the Directors could be known. The number of civil and military officers who bore witness against him at the enquiry is sufficient evidence of his ill-conditioned disposition. The fact was elicited that he had served the Company at St. Helena and at Bencoolen before his appointment to Fort St. David, and that at both places he was thoroughly disliked because of his quarrelsome disposition. When the Governor reported the proceedings to the Directors he referred to Fordyce as a 'meddling mischievous person.' [1]

The suspension took place in March 1748–9; the Council appointed Mr. Henry Cope to read Divine Service, with the allowance of half the pay of a Chaplain, and ordered that 'as the Revd. Mr. Kiernander resides at Cuddalore, he be ordered to officiate in burying the dead.' This arrangement lasted less than a month, as will be seen from the following extract from the Consultation Book dated March 1748–9 :—

'The President acquaints the Board that as we are at present destitute of a Chaplain; and as he had information that the Revd. Mr. Robert Palk, the Admiral's Chaplain, a very worthy and able Divine, was willing to remain in India; he had therefore requested the favour of the Admiral to grant him that liberty. He therefore proposes to the Board that he may be appointed to this place; which is unanimously agreed to, as he bears a universal good character.

'Ordered therefore that he receive the same allowances as were enjoyed by his predecessor, Mr. Fordyce, and that they commence from the 1st. of next month.'

Almost at the same time that this appointment was made at Fort St. David, the Directors made an appointment of a Chaplain to assist Fordyce. They wrote [2] :—

'We have entertained the Revd. Mr. George Swinfen M.A. as one of our Chaplains at Fort St. David at the usual salary gratuity and other allowances. . . . He takes his passage on this ship.'

[1] The pith of the enquiry has been extracted from the Fort St. David Consultation Book, and printed in the *Memoir of Captain Dalton* (W. H. Allen & Co. 1886).

[2] Despatch, 29 March 1749, para. 20.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

George Swynfen arrived on the 8th Sept. 1749, and began to draw pay from that date.[1] Robert Palk also continued to perform the office and draw the pay of a Chaplain. It was at this time that Fort St. George was handed back to the East India Company by the French, and a new Deputy-Governor and Council appointed.

Admiral Boscawen sailed with the fleet for Fort St. George for the purpose of receiving back the Fort in person. Palk accompanied him; and whilst at Madras he officiated as Chaplain till the arrival of Swynfen in December. The fleet then returned to Fort St. David.

A month later the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We approve of your suspending our late Chaplain, Mr. Fordyce, as we are fully convinced of his troublesome and unbecoming behaviour.

'We confirm your choice of the Rev. Mr. Robert Palk to be one of our Chaplains, and we hope he will merit this favour by a uniform good behaviour; but we direct that the Rev. Mr. Swinfen, a gentleman of our own appointing, have the precedency.'

Swynfen was present at two Vestry meetings at St. Mary's in 1750, and died on the 18th November of that year. In October the fleet went to Bombay homeward bound; and Palk went with it to the great regret of the settlement.[3] In the following March Admiral Boscawen arrived at Bombay, and Palk heard of Swynfen's death by letter from Fort St. David. He immediately obtained leave to return. On his arrival he wrote to the Governor[4] stating that when he left Fort St. David in the previous October he intended to apply to the Hon. Court of Directors to return as soon as he could disengage himself from His Majesty's Service; but on arrival at Bombay he heard of Mr. Swynfen's death, obtained leave from the Commander in Chief of H.M.'s Squadron, and arrived at Fort St. David in hopes of being reinstated Chaplain to that settlement. The Council considered his letter and agreed as follows:—

[1] Table of Salaries and Accounts in the Consultation Book.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1749–50, 65, 66.
[3] Letter, 24 Oct. 1750, 67.
[4] His letter was dated 16 May 1751. Fort St. David Consultation Book.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'As we make no doubt from the recommendation the Honourable Company will have had of Mr. Palk, they will readily confirm him as one of their Chaplains on this coast, and having none here at present, Agreed that his request be complied with.' [1]

There had been no Chaplain on the Coast for 6 months; but by this time the Coast officials had learned how to make use of the Danish Missionaries. Fabricius at Fort St. George and Kiernander at Fort St. David were masters of the English language; they willingly gave their services whenever they were required. The system of employing the Missionaries for English work commenced at Fort St. George in 1730 when Consett died. Two civilians were appointed with a salary to do all that they could in and out of the Church; but Schultz, the versatile linguist and scholar, occasionally officiated at St. Mary's.

The Fort St. David Council reported their proceedings to the Directors,[2] and mentioned that Mr. Palk returned thanks for the favour done him. It is very evident from what happened subsequently that the Governor and Council were anxious to retain the services of Mr. Robert Palk. His strong personality had impressed them. The Directors were not unwilling to gratify their servants on the Coast; but the great time that elapsed between the writing of a letter home and getting a reply to it, obliged the Council to make local arrangements and report them afterwards, whilst the Directors were making other arrangements and sending out orders for them to be carried out. The Directors heard of the death of Swynfen and the departure of Palk in the middle of 1751. In the following December they appointed Mr. Samuel Staveley and Mr. Thomas Colefax to be Chaplains on the Coast.[3] But in the mean time Palk had returned to Fort St. David, had been re-entertained as a Chaplain, and had been despatched to Fort St. George to officiate as Chaplain there.[4]

The two new Chaplains arrived in June 1752. The Council wrote in July[5]:—

[1] See also Letter, 7 Feb. 1750–1, paras. 39, 40.
[2] Letter, 6 Aug. 1751, para. 54.
[3] Despatch, 6 Dec. 1751, para. 24
[4] July 1751. Vestry Minute Book.
[5] Letter, 5 July 1752, para. 72.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'Mr. Palk, hearing of Mr. Swynfen's death, and his election to be Chaplain, returned from Bombay and has officiated to general satisfaction; he and Mr. Colefax are appointed to the duty here, and Mr. Staveley at Fort St. David.'

By this time the Coast Government had returned to Fort St. George, and resolved that Palk should remain with them. To this letter the Directors replied[1]:—

'As you advised us that the Revd. Mr. Palk embarked on the Vigilant for Europe, we appointed the Revd. Mr. S. Staveley and Mr. Thomas Colefax to be our Chaplains on the Coromandel Coast, not imagining that Mr. Palk would return again; we therefore confirm our appointment of those two gentlemen, notwithstanding your re-admission of Mr. Palk. However as we had a satisfactory account of his behaviour, we appointed him one of our Chaplains at Bombay, and directed the President and Council last year to give him notice to make the best of his way thither accordingly, and at the same time to acquaint him that if at the time of receiving such notice there should happen to be a vacancy at your Presidency by the death or otherwise of Mr. Staveley or Mr. Colefax, or at Bengal by the death or otherwise of Mr. Bellamy or Mr. Mapletoft, in either of these cases he was to have the option of succeeding to such vacancy. If Mr. Palk happens to be with you acquaint him with the above, that any misunderstanding that may have arisen from our appointments aforesaid, and your re-choice of him, may be set right; our meaning being that in case of such succession Mr. Palk is to be the Junior Chaplain.'

Before this letter was written, *i.e.* in September 1752, Mr. Colefax died; the Council appointed Mr. Palk to take his place,[2] and recalled Staveley from Fort St. David. Other arrangements were made for the continuation of Divine Service there. So the official connection of Chaplains with Fort St. David came to an end in 1752, and was not resumed till 1807.

The further history of Robert Palk belongs to a future chapter.

As for Fort St. David the English services were conducted by one of the Company's servants, who received an allowance for the work and was called the Reader of Divine Service.

[1] Despatch, 15 Dec. 1752, para. 65. [2] Letter, 21 Feb. 1752–3, para. 29.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He had charge of the Registers and the Church funds; he was responsible for the daily services, and for all burials. Marriages were performed by the Chief Justice, that is, the chief magistrate. Baptisms and burials were performed sometimes by the Reader and sometimes by the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. After 1752 the copies of the register books sent to Fort St. George for transmission to the Directors were signed by the Reader. From 1713[1] to 1746 they were signed by the Church clerks; and from 1746 to 1752 they were signed by the Chaplains.

Before 1749 there were two burial grounds for Europeans, one near the Fort and north west of it, and the other near the town and north of it.[2] The latter is the older of the two. It was used by the Dutch and English when they possessed small factories in the town side by side, before the Fort was purchased. The oldest dated monument is of the year 1684; it is to the memory of the wife and child of Mr. John Davis, 'Chief of Coodalore'; it is handsomely graven with a coat of arms (a chevron between three swans passant), a helmet and a crest. The former was in use at a very early period, but not before the Company's occupation of the Fort. It contains 71 monuments; but only three of these have decipherable inscriptions; the oldest commemorates James Hugonin, the Swiss officer in the service of the Company who was Gunner at Fort St. George and afterwards of Fort St. David. It is dated 1718. The other two commemorate the wife of Captain Augustus De Morgan (1720), and Captain John Chisholm of Colonel Draper's Regiment (1761).

This cemetery was only in use for a short time after the destruction of the Fort in 1758. In 1730 Dean Smedley, the Chaplain, died. In 1746 Admiral Barnet died. In 1748 a naval Chaplain of H.M.S. Vigilant, the Rev. George Peacock M.A., Vicar of Littleport, Isle of Ely, died. Their remains were buried in one or the other of these cemeteries; it is not known which.

The political troubles with the ruler of Mysore from 1760 to the end of the century seem to have made it necessary for

[1] The date of the Company's order for their transmission home.
[2] Now called the Sonaga Street Cemetery.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Europeans in the town to have a burial place within the walls. At first a piece of ground near the Church in Sloper Street was used; but within a short time the compound of the mission Church was made use of, and continued to be so used for privileged persons until 1875. When the political dangers were over on the fall of Seringapatam, the ancient burial ground in Sonaga Street was again brought into general use. In 1820 a new site was secured and enclosed [1]; this is the ground which is at present in use. Among the names of those commemorated in the various grounds, who did their part in making British history in the south of India, are the honoured names of Maxwell of Monreath, Munro, Sterling, Cullen, Kensington, Dent, Bryce, Dance, Leggatt, Rowley, Keble, Haslewood, Fallofield, Fraser, Parry, Hallyburton, Floyer, Harington, Boileau, Whitlock and others.

The Danish S.P.C.K. Missionaries succeeded by means of tact and obedience in ingratiating themselves with the English authorities. Governor Hubbard welcomed them in 1735; Governor Hinde in 1743, and Governor Saunders in 1749. In 1753, after the return of the Government to Fort St. George, Saunders wrote to the S.P.C.K. in London expressing his sympathy and regard. By that time he had four years' experience of their work, their character, their temper, and their method; and was able to express his approval. It was he who in 1739 sent the Company's slaves [2] to Kiernander for Christian instruction.

In 1742 Giester and Kiernander established charity schools for Eurasians and natives both in the town and near the Fort. With the permission of the Deputy Governor and Council they built a school chapel between the Garden House and the Fort, close to the Fort burial ground. When Count Lally came with a large force in 1758 and overpowered the Cuddalore and Fort St. David garrisons, many native Christians fled to the school chapel for sanctuary; among them were many Roman Catholics. These refugees were inhumanly massacred, and the building destroyed; but whether the

[1] Letter, 15 Dec. 1826, 7, Eccl.

[2] The Company's slaves were Madagascar Caffres, who were imported to serve as workmen on the fortifications of the Company's Forts and as soldiers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

perpetrators were Europeans or the native allies of the French does not appear to be absolutely known.[1] In the report which Kiernander sent home to the S.P.C.K., he spoke of the kindness and consideration of Count Lally himself, and of his chief officers Colonel Kennedy and the Baron Heidemann, towards himself and the Christian people of the mission, after his interview with them. The Missionaries and many converts escaped to Tranquebar with Lally's knowledge and consent, but to the great disappointment and displeasure of the Roman Catholic authorities at Pondicherry. These could not forget that their Church had been confiscated and given to their rivals.

The general destruction by the French was very great. They partly destroyed the old Church at Cuddalore and wholly destroyed the school chapel; they blew up the Fort itself; they destroyed all the civil and ecclesiastical records; so that when they were driven out two years later by a British force under Eyre Coote, the Missionaries re-commenced their labours without Church, school, or mission house; they practically had to commence their work afresh.

Kiernander did not return to Cuddalore after its recovery. In 1758 he went to Calcutta, most likely attracted by his old Fort St. David friends, now in authority in Bengal, and remained there the rest of his life. When Hutteman, his colleague since 1750, returned he found a large military and naval force in possession without any Chaplain. He was at once appointed Chaplain to the garrison by the officer in command, and was given rations and quarters. At the same time he was made a naval Chaplain by the Admiral of the Fleet, who appointed him to H.M.S. Medway, to enable him to draw the pay of his appointment. Hutteman stipulated that he should not have any duty on board; but that his duties should be confined to ministering to the sailors in the Naval Hospital in the town. By special request he conducted one service of thanksgiving on board a ship which had recently weathered a great storm. With this exception his duties were all ashore.

[1] *Calcutta Review*, 1847, vol. vii. p. 132. Note by Garstin; and Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, vol. i. p. 122.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Fort St. George Government was asked in 1760 by the officer commanding the land forces to make Hutteman some allowance as Chaplain. This, however, they could not do without the sanction of the Directors. But they did what they could. They gave him a portion of the recovered territory—a piece of land which brought in about 100 pagodas a year. It has been known ever since as the Padrekottagam—the Padre's close or village—and Hutteman at once made it over to the S.P.C.K. mission.[1]

In 1766 Hutteman was joined by Gericke; at this time the bulk of their work was among the Europeans and Eurasians; the partly destroyed Church was not of much use to them; it was too small; it was without furniture and fittings; it was unsafe. George Hutteman therefore wrote a letter to the Governor of Fort St. George,[2] representing that the Church at Cuddalore was in a most ruinous condition—walls cracked, timber rotten, no proper seats for soldiers; the situation the worst in the town, among the Pariars; the way leading to it full of nastiness; and asking that orders might be given to pull down the old Church, in order to rebuild it near the Mission House on a commodious spot belonging to it, and that proper seats might be provided. He also stated that the estimated cost was 300 pagodas—about £120—and continued thus:—

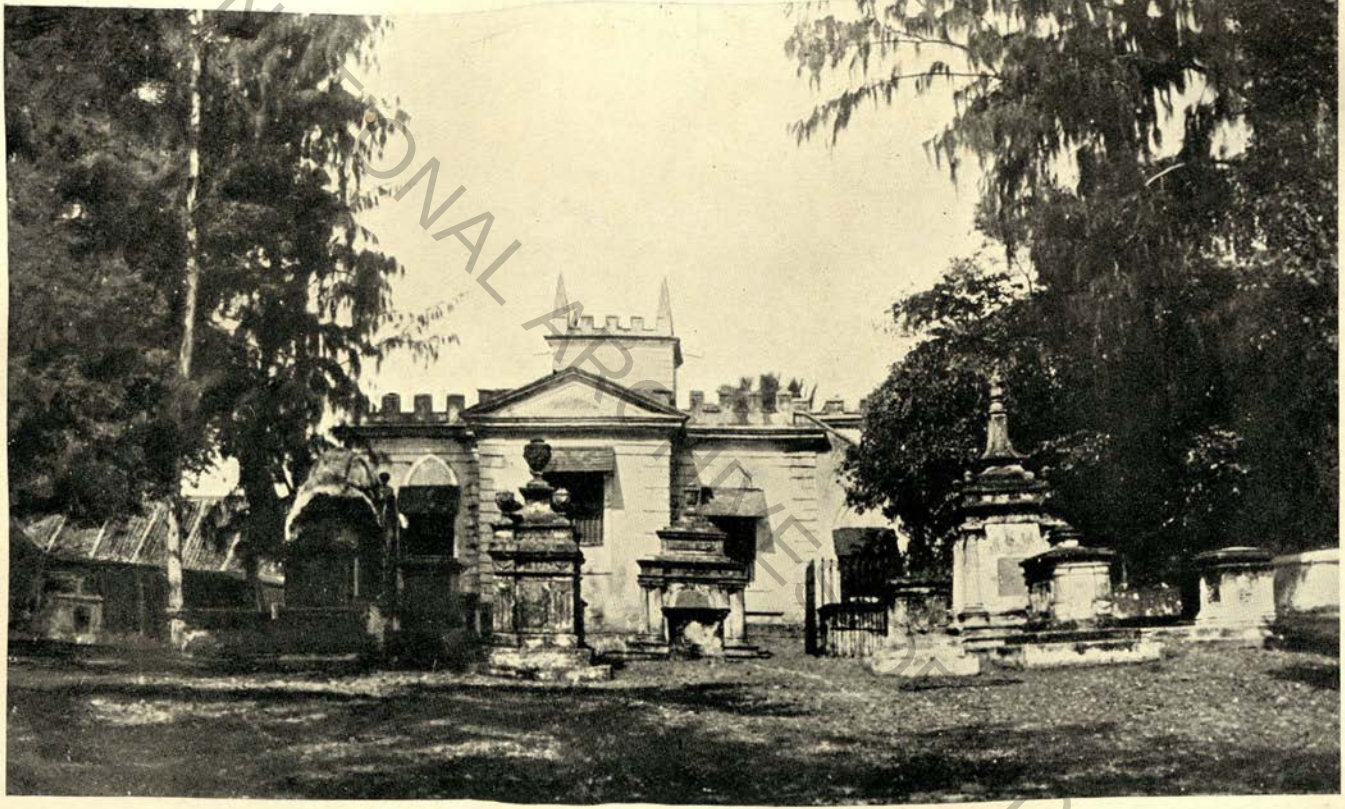
'Should the President think proper to consent to this humble request, which we have all reasons to hope from their noble and generous sentiments, such an act will undoubtedly entail Jehovah's blessing on their administration. . . . . It will at the same time furnish a convenient place for an evening lecture, whereby many of our soldiers have been reclaimed from the pernicious ways of Drunkenness and Debauchery.'

The Governor and Council 'agreed to write to the gentlemen at Cuddalore that we will be willing to contribute 300 pagodas towards building a Church at Cuddalore provided the materials of the present Church will with the addition of that sum be sufficient.'

This resolution meant that they would not give any more.

[1] It passed with other properties from the S.P.C.K. to the S.P.G. in 1826.
[2] Madras Consultations, 24 March 1767.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



CHRIST CHURCH, OLD TOWN, CUDDALORE.
From the Churchyard, looking west.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

There can be no doubt that the cost was under-estimated; for the new building was larger than the old one; the measurement of the area was 87 feet by 42 feet; and there was in addition a short tower and a spire. The rest of the necessary expenditure must have been raised locally among the officers and men of the garrison—partly as a return for the religious, moral, and educational work the Missionaries had done among the European and Eurasian soldiers—and partly on the ground that the buildings would be for the joint use of Europeans and natives.

The building was dedicated with due solemnity in September 1767, and was named Zion after the Danish Church in Tranquebar.[1] It is a curious fact that the new name was never popular with the English residents, and that by degrees the name given to the old Church in 1749 took its place. In this good work of rebuilding and of ministering among the soldiers and sailors Hutteman was greatly assisted by the Church Clerk, a pious soldier named John Kerr, who not only gave assistance generally, but when money was needed lent the Missionaries all his savings.

In 1772 Hutteman and Gericke revived the English School, and carried it on side by side with the Portuguese and Tamil schools which they had already re-opened. Two old soldiers acted as schoolmasters and taught 30 European and British Eurasian children.

In 1781 George Hutteman died and was buried at Cuddalore. For 25 years he had worked among all classes and had enjoyed their confidence and respect. The pay he received from the S.P.C.K. was only £50 a year, and from the Padrekottagam £40 a year; yet, like most of the other German Missionaries of that century, he managed to amass a good fortune. His will was proved in the Mayor's Court at Madras in 1781; from which it appears that he left 18000 pagodas in Company's bonds besides houses, furniture, carriages, and plate.[2]

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1766–8, and Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii. 494.

[2] He had 4 daughters and 5 sons. One daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Jacob Pieterz, a Dutch official at Negapatam; another, Sophia, was married to C. W. Gericke, the S.P.C.K. Missionary; another, Christina, was married to Captain Augustus de Morgan, and became the grandmother of the great mathematician.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He left small legacies to the schoolmasters who helped him in the mission, Sergeant George and Sergeant Connor, and to the Church Clerk who succeeded Kerr. He continued :—

'If the Honourable Society [1] will approve of combining the Cuddalore and Vepery Mission, for split ropes have no strength, and will order all the houses here, gardens, and Devicottah acre, to be formed into one aggregate sum for the maintenance of a college to read publicly four hours a week on Divinity and Moral Philosophy, I bequeath to such an institution 500 pagodas. If not approved the sum returns to my estate.'

The son in law Gericke was the executor and guardian of the younger children.

Soon after his death the Mysoreans under Hyder Ali and their French allies came down in force upon Cuddalore and took possession of it. Gericke did good service at this time to the British. He interviewed the commanding officer of the Swiss regiment of de Meuron, and those of the French regiments, and appealed to them as Christian officers and gentlemen to prevent the destruction of British life and property on which their allies were bent. He was to some extent successful.[2] He was allowed to shelter and tend several wounded British officers. His good service was acknowledged by the Fort St. George Government, and by Lord Macartney the Governor; but it called forth no special reward or return on the part of the Government or of the military authorities.

The French did not destroy the Church this time; they made use of it as a powder magazine. The preservation of life and property was due entirely to their presence and to that of the de Meuron regiment; the regiment was composed of German-speaking Swiss, who were easily influenced by Gericke's appeal to them. The allies did not remain long in possession; and when they were driven out in 1782, Cuddalore bid a long farewell to foreign rule. It has been free from hostilities from that day to this.

In 1781 Gericke left Cuddalore for Negapatam, and there he remained, though still in charge of Cuddalore, till he went

[1] The S.P.C.K.

[2] *Memoir of Schwartz* by Dean Pearson, vol. ii. 277. Letter to the S.P.C.K. printed in the 1795 Report, p. 117.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE TOWER OF CHRIST CHURCH, OLD TOWN, CUDDALORE.
(The building in the foreground is an S.P.G. Mission School.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to Madras in 1789 to take charge of the Vepery mission. In that year he sent to the S.P.C.K. in London a list of S.P.C.K. property in the various mission stations; from this it appears that at Cuddalore there was

1. A Church, School buildings, and a Mission House.
2. Grounds and Arable lands (the Padrekottagam).
3. Plate, books, and money.

In 1792 Christopher Horst was appointed Catechist or Lector at Cuddalore under Gericke at Vepery. He received 10 pagodas a month, half being paid by Gericke out of mission funds and half by the Fort St. George Government. He was a surgeon who had studied at Gottingen; he arrived on the Coast with one of the Hanoverian regiments in 1787. As Lector his duty was to all classes, Europeans, Eurasians and natives, like that of his predecessors[1]; and he faithfully discharged it till 1801 when he went to Tranquebar.

During the period of Gericke's superintendence of the Vepery mission the Church at Cuddalore was repaired. In 1795 it was done partly out of mission funds in the hands of Gericke and partly by means of money raised locally among the civil and military residents. The mission funds were not solely at Gericke's disposal; the S.P.C.K. Missionaries together formed a board of management, and the senior of them was the agent of the rest. So we read in the report of 1796 the following extract of a letter from Gericke to the S.P.C.K. Committee[2]:—

'A balance remaining in favour of the Cuddalore mission, the missionaries had appropriated towards the repair of Cuddalore Church, it having been found necessary to pull down the wall on one side of the foundation and to take down the roof. The work was then more than half finished; and some pecuniary assistance had been promised to Mr. Gericke by several friends.'

The S.P.C.K. reports show that Gericke received various sums of money from Europe between 1795 and 1801 for the general expenses of the whole mission besides the sums sent out for salaries. In 1797 he received the amount of Pasche's

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1792. [2] Do. 1796, p. 126; letter dated 22 April 1795.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

legacy and also of Ziegenhagen's legacy [1]; the latter—£1000—being to the three missions of Madras, Cuddalore and Tranquebar in equal parts.[2] The sums thus received enabled him to carry out the partial rebuilding and repair of the Cuddalore Church. In the 1801 report it is stated that Gericke rebuilt the Church by means of the salary he received from the Government and his allowance as Chaplain of the Naval Hospital. It is difficult to reconcile this statement with others in the reports. The probability is that, in imitation of his master Schwartz, he paid his official salary and allowances into the mission fund, and regarded the whole sum as mission property at his own disposal; and that when he assisted the repair of the Church out of the mission fund, he represented it as paid from his salary, which was in a sense true.

In 1803 Immanuel Holtzberg, a graduate of Leipsig, was sent to Cuddalore from Tanjore. At his university he had imbibed the neological views on the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and was looked upon by his brethren as a hindrance rather than a help in mission work. In 1806 he was made Chaplain of the de Meuron regiment [3]; the regiment was disbanded in 1808; there is no evidence that he ever joined it.

In 1807 the S.P.C.K. sent out £50 for the repair of the mission buildings; Holtzberg preferred to leave the expenditure of the money to others; the repairs were therefore carried out 'under the advice and inspection of two respectable gentlemen.' [4] In the same year the Company made Cuddalore the head quarters of the young military cadets, and sent a Chaplain, Marmaduke Thompson,[5] to minister to them. At the same time they appointed Holtzberg to do duty at the Cantonment near the old Fort, now called New Town, at 30 pagodas a month. Unfortunately nothing was said about borrowing Christ Church or hiring it. By this order of Government the S.P.C.K. Missionary was separated from the S.P.C.K. Church, and another clergyman ordered to officiate in it. The

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1798.
[2] See also Taylor's *Memoir*, 82, 84, 85, 87.
[3] Letter, 12 Feb. 1806, 239–241, Mil. [4] S.P.C.K. Report, 1808.
[5] He was one of the 'Evangelical Five,' nominated by Simeon and Charles Grant; the others were Bengal Chaplains—Brown, Corrie, Parson and Martyn.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

intention of the Government was to build a chapel for the cadets[1]; and to use Christ Church till it was ready. The Missionaries had always shown a ready obedience to the orders of Government, and did so in this case; but they asserted their right of ownership. Estimates for the new building were prepared; Thompson suggested an expenditure of 500 or 600 pagodas; the military engineer prepared plans for a more substantial building at a cost of 3492 pagodas. The Directors reviewed these[2] and urged the Madras Government to build a chapel in a cheap and plain style. However, before this despatch was even written the Madras Government found it necessary to remove the cadets from Cuddalore; the Chaplain was removed at the same time, and the difficulty came to an end. Holtzberg's allowance was then reduced to 20 pagodas a month; and this allowance was sanctioned[3] by the Directors 'there being no Chaplain at present stationed at Cuddalore.'

In 1813 Holtzberg was reported to the S.P.C.K. in London to be a bad man. The Society thereupon wrote to the Directors to inform them that he had been dismissed their service. The Directors wrote to Madras that he was not to be employed any longer at Cuddalore; and added that if he were an improper person he was to be sent home.[4] This evil report must have been due to malevolence; for as soon as the Directors' Despatch arrived at Fort St. George the Governor called upon the Collector of Cuddalore to report on Holtzberg's character and conduct. The report was in his favour; so that he was allowed to continue his work at Cuddalore and to receive his stipend for his English work. A strange position was thus created. A dismissed S.P.C.K. Missionary continued to use with the approval of the Government an S.P.C.K. Church. There was no local authority to prevent him doing so until 1815, when the Madras District Committee commenced its work under the authority of the Bishop of Calcutta. The most valuable work of this and other similar committees during the 19th century was the preservation of mission property, and (until the creation of the Madras Bishopric) the exaction of obedience on the part of all

[1] Letter, 24 Dec. 1807, 234, Mil.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1811, 142, Mil.
[3] Do. 3 June 1814, 257, Pub.
[4] Do. 27 July 1814, 2, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

agents to the orders and policy of the Societies in England. The District Committee afterwards exonerated Holtzberg; so that he was only for a short time in an anomalous and strange position. In 1817 the Government suspended him for celebrating a marriage without license from themselves; but after an explanation and expression of regret he was restored to his appointment; and his allowance was increased to 25 pagodas monthly.

On his suspension a Chaplain, Charles Church, was appointed to Cuddalore. It is not recorded in his life[1] what passed between the two men. Holtzberg kept possession of the Church; and in doing so must have had the approval of the District Committee.[2] Probably he also performed his mission duties. Charles Church was hospitably received by one of the military officers; he reported to the Government that there was no Church or chapel belonging to the Company; that the Magistrate in New Town gave up his office as a place of worship on Sundays where about 20 Europeans assembled; that he took a house in Old Town, fitted it up as a school chapel, and ministered to about 50 pensioners and their families; and that he opened in Cuddalore town two schools for heathen boys and gathered together about 150 children. When Holtzberg's explanation was accepted, which was probably due to the members of the District Committee, Charles Church was moved to another station, and Holtzberg resumed all his various duties. He died in 1824; the Government of Fort St. George recognised his faithful service by granting his widow a pension of 35 rupees; this the Directors sanctioned.[3]

The difficulty which stood between the Chaplain and the Missionary was that of ownership both in 1807 and in 1817. No one thought of compromising the matter by paying the mission for the use of the building. It was left to Bishop Heber to suggest this solution of the difficulty in 1826;

[1] *Memoir of an Indian Chaplain* by James Hough. Edited by J. M. Strachan (a Madras Civilian.—F. P.).

[2] Church by request reported to the Committee on the state and property of the Mission (S.P.G. Report, 1829).

[3] Letter, 9 Sept. 1825, 37, Eccl. Despatch, 29 Nov. 1826, 21, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

when the Directors cordially approved of compliance with his suggestion. Since then the Government has paid to the mission 35 rupees a month for the use of the building by the Europeans stationed at Cuddalore, and has from time to time assisted to keep the building in repair.[1]

David Rosen, a Dane and a graduate of Copenhagen, was appointed to superintend the mission work at Cuddalore in 1824[2]; and Henry Allen, a Chaplain, was at the same time appointed for the English work. Both used the Church by arrangement; it was during their joint use of it that the settlement of the monthly allowance was arrived at. Allen died in 1828 and was succeeded at once by the Rev. John Hallewell, another Chaplain. Rosen left in 1829 and had no successor until 1834. His leaving was due to the opinion of the S.P.G General Committee in Madras that his services were more urgently required in Tinnevelly.

'The General Committee having examined the returns of the Cuddalore mission, consisting of 160 souls, are of opinion that the greater part of those persons, from their connection with Europeans, might easily be included under the ministry of the Chaplain of the station;—that a native priest or even a good catechist under the direction of the same minister might be sufficient for the instruction of the remainder of the native Christians'[3] etc.

During these five years Hallewell superintended the mission so far as he could; he kept the property together and apportioned the work of the Catechists and schoolmasters. In 1834 he was relieved of this work by the appointment of the Rev. Edward Jarrett Jones, who came to India with Bishop Wilson; he studied at Bishop's College Calcutta, and was a proficient in Tamil. With great devotion and care Jones ministered at Cuddalore until 1842 when he died. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Guest, who was fortunate in being the contemporary of a Chaplain, Joseph Knox, who was gifted with a devout missionary spirit. Guest was transferred

[1] Despatch, 5 Sept. 1827, 10, Eccl. Do. 20 Feb. 1833, 13, Eccl.
[2] See S.P.G. Report, 1829, on the state of the mission in 1824.
[3] Caldwell's *History of the Tinnevelly Mission.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in 1845. He had no European successor till the appointment of the Rev. F. J. Leeper in 1876.

During these 21 years the mission was in charge of native clergymen, one of whom (Martyn) worked at Cuddalore for 10 years from 1865 to 1875. According to what was considered necessary at the time these looked to the Chaplains for guidance in cases of difficulty; and the Chaplains assisted them to collect money for mission purposes from the Europeans in the station. The Chaplains also supervised the mission accounts, and corresponded with the Diocesan Committee on questions of finance and property.

The Rev. F. J. Leeper was for two years in charge of both the European and the missionary work. He retired in 1881, and had no European successor till 1891 when the Rev. J. A. Sharrock was appointed to do both kinds of work.

The inability of the native clergy to prosecute missionary work, or even to keep from inanition that which had been commenced, was one of the greatest of disappointments to the missionary minded up to about 1890. Since then several have proved themselves able and zealous; and they have been given the authority and responsibility which are their due.

In 1846 the Minister of one of the other mission Churches in the Diocese which were used jointly by Europeans and natives,[1] applied to the Government for the payment of rent and assistance towards repair, and quoted Cuddalore as a precedent. The Council asked for orders; the Directors sanctioned the payment, but called for a report as to the number of Churches thus used and the reason of the arrangement.[2] The report was sent, stating that Palamcottah and Cuddalore were the only two Churches then in joint occupation. The Directors were at this time anxious to break off the connection of the Government with any mission enterprise; and thinking that, as there were only two Churches jointly used, this could be easily done at small expense, orders were sent out to take means to sever the connection as early as possible by erecting separate buildings for the use of Europeans.[3] The Cuddalore Europeans were quite satisfied

[1] Palamcottah. [2] Despatch, 18 March 1846, 1, Eccl.
[3] Despatches, 20 Oct. 1847, 32, and 19 July 1848, 2, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with the existing arrangement. They had furnished the Church with things necessary to their comfort; and adorned it at their own expense with ornaments suggested by their religious instinct; the walls and the floor were covered with memorials of their predecessors and the Churchyard was full of their dead. They did not want a new Church. They could not enter into 'the Court's desire that Government should be entirely disconnected from Missionary Churches.'[1] And so they delayed the matter by failing to fix upon a site. The Directors thereupon ordered the Collector to find a site.[2] After searching about for four years a site was found[3]; and the Directors expressed their satisfaction in their Despatch of the 11th Aug. 1858, para. 44, commencing 'we are glad' etc. But as the rule of the Honourable Company shortly afterwards came to an end, and there was really no need to build another Church, nothing further was heard of the matter.

Across the river Goodalam which separates the cantonment of Fort St. David—now called New Town—from Cuddalore, now called Old Town—bridges have been built from time to time with full confidence in their stability; but when the rains have been exceptionally heavy, and the floods exceptionally high, and the torrent of escaping water exceptionally rapid and strong, the bridges have been swept away. One of these catastrophes occurred in 1885. Like the former ones it separated the Europeans from their Church, so that they could only get to it by boat. In the cantonment there was a small School Chapel belonging to the S.P.G., in which services were held principally for the native Christians of the cantonment. It was not intended for Europeans; and was consequently built without attention being paid to ventilation and the circulation of fresh air. In 1886 the Bishop of Madras condemned it as unworthy of the purpose for which it was used. It was quite impossible for the Europeans to use this building; it was therefore determined in 1888 to build a new Church at a cost of about 5000 rupees, and to vest it in trustees for the joint use of the European and native congregations. The committee chosen for carrying this out

[1] Letter, 13 Feb. 1851, para. 6, Eccl.
[2] Despatch, 2 March 1853, para. 5, Eccl. [3] Letter, 15 Dec. 1857, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

consisted of the Rev. James Sharp, Chaplain ; Messrs. Henry Sewell, R. S. Benson, George Banbury and F. C. Carr-Gomm of the Madras Civil Service; H. Greswell and R. E. Norfor, Civil Engineers, Lt. Col. Whitlock of the Police, and the Rev. S. Pakkianathan the native clergyman.

The project was approved by the Bishop, and a subscription list was opened. The Rev. W. Relton, Secretary of the S.P.G. Committee in Madras, assisted in the collection of money on the ground that the intended building was for joint use. And locally Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Pakkianathan and Samuel Christian Pillay, exerted themselves in the same way. The Government granted a site on the Maidan free of quit rent 'so long as the intended building is used as a Church.' The building was designed by Mr. R. E. Norfor, and was erected under his superintendence in 1890. It was furnished partly by means of personal gifts and partly by means of special funds raised in the station ; it was used for the first time in January 1892, and was solemnly consecrated to the service of God in honour of the Epiphany by the Bishop of Madras in March 1901.

The following list of subscribers recalls the names of many active and earnest Church workers in the Diocese in 1890; it includes only those who gave not less than 50 rupees.

The Bishop of Madras	250	S. Doraiswamy Iyer	75
Henry Sewell, Esq.	300	Robert Morris, Esq.	70
The Hon. Mr. R. S. Benson	200	Col. Hutchins	50
Devasimuttu Nadar	200	The Hon. Mr. J. Grose, C.S.I.	50
R. E. Norfor, Esq.	200	A. Ellis, Esq.	50
J. P. Davidson, Esq.	160	The Rev. W. H. Blake	50
The Rev. J. Sharp	150	S. Christian Pillai	50
The Hon. Mr. W. S. Whiteside	150	The Hon. Mr. Garstin, C.S.I.	50
The Rev. Arthur Bird	150	G. Power, Esq.	50
Duncan Irvine, Esq.	100	G. S. Gouge, Esq.	50
Sir P. P. Hutchins, K.C.S.I.	100	Sir Henry Bliss, K.C.S.I.	50
G. Banbury, Esq.	100	F. P.	50
F. C. Carr-Gomm, Esq.	100	W. F. Grahame, Esq.	50
Col. Whitlock	100	Col. H. Smalley	50

The ornaments and furniture of the new Church were the gifts singly and jointly of the congregation. Among the donors were Col. Whitlock (altar cross), Mrs. H. Sewell

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

HOLY EPIPHANY CHURCH, NEW TOWN, CUDDALORE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(vases), Mr. Bell (lectern), Mr. H. Sewell (Bible and Office books), Mrs. J. P. Davidson (Font), Mrs. Henry Grimes of Coimbatore (frontals).

Cuddalore is one of those stations which are not large enough to occupy the time of a Chaplain; but it is a convenient centre where one may be stationed to visit several similar places within 100 miles of it, where there are European official or non-official residents. When the Chaplain is elsewhere, service is as a rule conducted in these small stations by one or another of the Europeans. This is a praiseworthy old custom which has come down to us from the earliest days of the Company. Where there is a native clergyman, as at Cuddalore, it is pleasing to be able to record that the conduct of Divine Service is entrusted to him by consent,—so great has been the progress of education in the last quarter of a century.

Christ Church in the Old Town contains much handsome furniture which has been given by European residents in past days, sometimes when a Chaplain and sometimes when a Missionary was in charge. The altar cross was the gift of the Rev. J. A. Sharrock. The memorial tablets on the walls recall to memory the unstinted services of Missionaries, Chaplains and others who laid down their lives in the midst of their work; some have been already mentioned; but the list is incomplete without mention of the tablets of the Missionaries Holtzberg, Schreyvogel and Jones, and of the Chaplain Henry Allen who died in 1829.

Christ Church ought to possess both plate and register books of historic interest; but it does not. Until 1749 it possessed no plate. The visiting Chaplain from Fort St. George must have taken what was necessary with him on his visits. After 1746 this was not available. The Fort St. David Council wrote therefore to the Directors, and asked them to supply what was wanting. The Directors replied[1] that they would by the next opportunity send both communion plate and books[2] 'for the use of your chapel.' It is not likely that these survived the destruction of the chapel and the Fort in 1758; the old register books were probably

[1] Despatch, 21 Dec. 1748, 10.

[2] Bibles and Prayer Books.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

destroyed at the same time. If these were renewed after 1761, the renewals were again destroyed at the second capture of the place in 1781. The existing register books were commenced in 1793 when Horst was Lector. The entries of baptism and marriage were written by him in Latin up to the time he left. There is no burial register before 1805. Up to 1899 there was an old register book, said to be a marvel of calligraphy, in the handwriting of an old pensioned soldier named J. Mather, the Church clerk, which was a copy of earlier books. In the year mentioned it was borrowed and not returned. So treasures are lost.[1]

The Church was consecrated by Bishop Spencer in January 1845.[2] By this time there had been 19 burials within its walls. Probably this fact was taken into consideration when the Bishop decided to set it apart definitely for strictly religious use only by the act of consecration. Only one intra-mural burial took place subsequently. The names of those buried in the Church are:—

Henry Eden	1768	Isabella Fraser	1821
Elizabeth Cosby	1771	William French	1823
Elizabeth Davis	1776	Edward William Stevenson	1823
Catherine Woodhouse	1777	Immanuel G. Holtzberg	1824
Martha Chase	1779	Thomas Parry	1824
John Rowley	1805	George Parry Gibson	1824
George Gilbert Keble	1811	John Hart Jollie	1829
Catherine Haslewood	1813	Daniel Schreyvogel	1840
Augusta Spiers	1814	Edward Jarrett Jones	1842
Ernest William Fallofield	1816	William Willis Weston	1847

[1] It was referred to in Murray's *Guide* as a curiosity.
[2] *Missions to the Heathen*, No. ix. S.P.C.K. 1848.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE SURRENDER OF FORT ST. GEORGE TO THE CAPTURE OF PONDICHERRY, 1746–1761

THE Fort and its town underwent some changes between the time when they were seen by Fryer and the time when they were surrendered to La Bourdonnais. Internally the change was not great. The old Fort House was not built sufficiently well to last a century. Within 70 years of its erection it had to be taken down; but before rebuilding it the plan was altered. The nature of the alteration is shown in the 1733 map.[1] Instead of having one large building within the inner walls containing the public offices and official quarters, five separate buildings were erected. The centre one was the official residence of the Governor; it also contained the Council chamber, the Library and the Record room. The other four buildings contained on the upper floor quarters for the senior officials including the Chaplain; the ground floors were probably used as stores. There was a guard room at the west entrance.

The other changes were in the names of some of the streets, and in the position of the hospital and the soldiers' barracks. The names of James Street and James Alley were altered on the establishment of the House of Orange on the throne; but the names of the other streets which were loyally called after various members of the House of Stuart were retained. James Street was called Church Street; and the narrow alley south of the Church which had formerly been called Church Street was called Church Lane.

So things remained until 1740, when the Directors at home as well as their servants abroad began to realise the

[1] This was in the Chief Engineer's office in 1861, when it was reproduced to illustrate Wheeler's *History*. See Mrs. Penny's *Fort St. George*, page 152.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

growing power of the French at Pondicherry, and to see that better fortifications were necessary if they wished to retain their footing on the coast. The Directors sent out an experienced soldier, Major Knipe, to advise as to these. He was apparently told that it was essential that the Black Town and the White Town—that is, in the old language, Madraspatam and Fort St. George—should be included in one scheme of defence. In 1740 the Governor and Council reported that they had resolved to build a wall on the back side of the houses in Charles Street fronting the river; they added their opinion that all that side of the town should be fortified with walls and bastions, and then be enlarged by taking in part of the island. The sale of the freshly included ground, they said, would nearly defray the cost of the alteration. And the boundary line of the White Town would thus square with the west side of the Black Town.[1]

The Directors had this scheme before them in 1741; but did not altogether approve of it; they asked to be informed how Major Knipe was going to get over the difficulty of the river, and recommended a strengthening of the west side of the Fort without enlarging it.

The Council in their reply [2] said that their scheme was to turn the course of the river by digging a new bed for it in the dry weather, and filling up the old bed; which could be done with very little trouble and expense.

The Directors replied to this [3] by giving their consent; they said:—

'As to your proposal of enlarging and making the White square with the Black Town, and turning the course of the river by digging a trench etc. . . . . we leave it to your judgement in consultation with Major Knipe.'

But Major Knipe had died in the previous May. He secured Black Town [4] by building a ditch along the northern boundary from the river to the sea. The ditch was 2080 feet long, 40 feet broad, and from 12 to 20 feet deep, all faced in brick. On the sea side of the Black Town he built a wall

[1] Letter, 30 Sept. 1740.
[2] Letter, 11 Sept. 1742.
[3] Despatch, 21 March 1743-4, para. 63.
[4] Letter, 26 Sept. 1741.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

from the ditch to the N.E. bastion of the Fort (Fishers Point). This wall was 2457 feet long, 12 feet high, and 6 feet thick. It had two bastions; one was completed in 1741 and had 16 guns mounted on it. He also built a wall from Caldera Point in a N.W. direction to meet the west wall of Black Town.

Although the Directors wrote at the beginning of 1744 leaving the defensive arrangements to the judgement of the local authorities, the death of Knipe prevented anything being done till a year later. Mr. Joseph Smith was then sent as Engineer to Fort St. George.[1] In Sept. 1745 the Governor and Council wrote that they had determined to enlarge and fortify the west side of the White Town by building two new bastions.[2] On the 31st Jan. 1745–6 they wrote again that the rains had been so heavy they had not laid one brick since September. It is not likely that they were able to complete their project of enlargement between that date and the following August, when the French fleet arrived with a large French force on board. The work was being done when the fleet appeared. The result of the long delay in carrying out Major Knipe's plan was that when the French appeared the Fort was incapable of defence; so that after a bombardment from the east, south, and west sides, lasting a few hours, it was arranged to surrender it pending the payment of a ransom.[3]

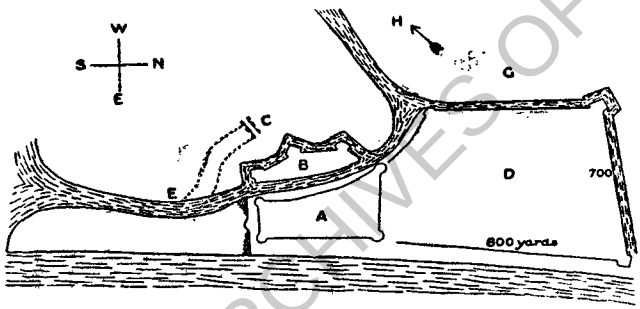
In the British Museum there is a map of 'Madras et le Fort St. George, pris par les Francais, commandés par M. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, le 21 Sept. 1746. La ville gravée sur le plan de Sr. Paradis, et les environs faits de memoire.' It is dated Paris 1750. It was reproduced in the Universal Magazine in that year; and again in 1902 in the Vicissitudes of Fort St. George by David Leighton. It is a valuable representation of the Fort and town as they were in 1746 when the Company lost them. The rest is inaccurate; but if it be compared with a map dated 1733, reproduced in the History of Fort St. George (p. 48), and with a modern map, it is useful in so far as it shows where different buildings

[1] He was the father of General Joseph Smith, who so frequently defeated Hyder Ali and his troops.
[2] Letter, 24 Sept. 1745.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, pp. 157–160.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were. The accompanying map has been produced by a study of all three; it is intended to show how far the defensive works were advanced when the French took possession.

The French authorities destroyed the whole of the Black Town, levelled the houses and walls and filled up the ditches; so as to have a clear space between the walls of the Fort and the nearest building.[1] They also destroyed the houses situated in the space G for the same reason. They completed Knipe's western addition B; they diverted the river according to his plan; but they had not quite finished the filling in of



1746. *Not drawn exactly to scale.—F. P.*

A is the old fortified enclosure.
B is Knipe's design partly carried out.
C is the foundation of the Wallajah Bridge under which the diverted river was to flow.[2]
EC the intended course of the river.
D is Black Town (see the 1733 map).
G is the site of a suburb of regular streets where the weavers and washers lived.
H and the arrow represent the direction in which the Governor's garden house was.

the old bed of the river which passed through the Fort when they had to hand back the whole property to the Company. In the History of Fort St. George is reproduced from an old print a picture of the Fort from the north west soon after its rendition.[3] It shows the unfinished glacis on the north side on the site of the Black Town. The Fort as returned in 1749 was quite different in appearance from that taken in

[1] Letter, 2 May 1747, 97.
[2] The foundations were laid in 1743, but the bridge was not built till 1755.
[3] Page 170. The union jack is flying; the St. Andrew's spire is standing, so it was made between 1749 and 1752.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1746. As a place of defence it was greatly strengthened; and as a place of abode it was greatly improved by the removal of the native town from under its walls.

Ecclesiastically speaking the French did not do very much damage. It is not known to what use the Church was put; the organ was carried away to Pondicherry; the Church plate escaped confiscation—whether it was concealed by a friend or used by the Roman Catholics in their own Church of St. Andrew is not known; it is certain that it was not carried away to Fort St. David; the Register Book was not destroyed; but the Vestry Minute Book and the Account Books of the Church Stock and the Charity Stock were lost. The French Roman Catholics had a burial ground of their own; and so the English 'guava garden' was left untouched. Besides these properties, which were regarded then as belonging to the Vestry, there was also a Church, a Mission House, and two school buildings belonging to the S.P.C.K. Mission. The Church and the School buildings were erected in 1736 after communications between the Society, the Directors, and the local Government; the Mission House was the house of the Missionary Schultz, which he gave to the Mission when he returned to his native country in 1742.[1] William Taylor, the S.P.G. Missionary and historian of the S.P.C.K. Mission in India, endeavoured to ascertain the position of these different buildings. He arrived at the conclusion that the Mission House and the schools were at or near John Pereira's Garden; and he was told in 1840 by an aged native that the Church was near the present Lighthouse. As to the house and the schools, they were demolished by the French with all other buildings within a certain radius of the Fort. And the mission Church was converted into a Magazine.

The French remained in possession nearly three years. Before the rendition they removed the guns to Pondicherry and many other things they had a fancy for; but the Commissioners appointed by Admiral Boscawen for receiving back the Fort—Major Stringer Lawrence, Messieurs Wynch and Westcott—were instructed to ask no questions and to make no difficulties. Robert Palk, the Chaplain, was on

[1] William Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 7–11. Ed. 1847.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

board H.M.S. Namur, which with the rest of the squadron was lying off the Fort during the rendition.[1] Seven days after the rendition he officiated at the funeral of a seaman of the York at the old Cemetery, and registered the event in the Burials Book. During the month of September he buried 9 other seamen and 2 soldiers. On the 1st October he buried an officer, Lieut. James Long, of Lord Torrington's Regiment of Marines, who was shot in a duel with the Commander of the York in Madeiras' Garden—that is, the compound of the present Government House. The fleet then sailed away; and in the month of December George Swynfen the Chaplain arrived from Fort St. David.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. David appointed a Deputy Governor and Council to rule over Fort St. George and sent Swynfen to minister at St. Mary's. The restored inhabitants did not lose much time before looking into their ecclesiastical interests. A Vestry meeting was held on the 3rd January 1749–50; at this meeting there were present the Deputy Governor, the four members of Council, the Chaplain and 15 others. Amongst those present were the two old Churchwardens, the two old Sidesmen, and the old Treasurer of the Charity School Stock. These were all re-appointed. The Churchwardens—Henry Powney and Joseph Fowke—delivered in their accounts for the year 1746, showing a balance in hand of Pagodas 1842 to the credit of the Church Stock. William Percival, the Treasurer of the Charity School Stock, gave in no accounts. The three officials were able to tell the Vestry of the loans that had been made, and to assist materially in the recovery of the Church and Charity Stocks and house properties. A month later another Vestry meeting was held. The Deputy Governor, three members of Council, the Chaplain George Swynfen, and 12 others were present. They continued the discussion of their stocks, their loans, their mortgages and their house property; and were as intent upon preventing loss to their charitable funds as the most charitable of the Directors could wish.

[1] The other ships were the York, the Sheerness, the Eltham, the Swallow the Exeter, the Chester, the Deptford and the Syren; all these are mentioned in the St. Mary's Burial Register in August and September 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

On the 17th Nov. 1750 George Swynfen died. During his short residence on the Coast he won the respect and confidence and gratitude of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. They wrote home to the Society that they had lost a sympathetic friend, a wise and affectionate counsellor, who had freely given them his help, his sympathy and his love.[1]

On Swynfen's death the Assistant Surgeon at Fort St. George offered himself for reading prayers and performing the other Church duties at the usual gratuity, and was appointed by the Governor and Council.[2]

It has been related how Palk left the Coast a month before Swynfen's death, and returned to it immediately on hearing the sad news, and how he was re-entertained by the Governor and Council with much pleasure and satisfaction. He was the only Chaplain on the Coast till June 1752, when Staveley and Colefax arrived. During this time he paid occasional visits to Fort St. George; he was at a Vestry meeting there in August 1751. He was the bearer of a sum of money (Pagodas 1500) which the merchants at the Presidency had subscribed for the benefit of two Miss Somervilles, whose father lost his life in the Company's military service. This sum of money he paid into the Church Stock at the meeting, whilst the Fort St. George merchants paid in Pagodas 425 at the same time and for the same purpose.

In the previous November the Vestry had determined to amalgamate the Church Stock and the Charity School Stock, so as to have one set of trustees and one Treasurer for both funds. The funds have ever since remained amalgamated.

At this same meeting of the Vestry in August 1751 one of the senior merchants, Mr. John Smith, 'paid in and presented to the Church' Pagodas 500 for the purchase of an Organ. Thereupon the Minister and Churchwardens wrote the following letter to the Governor and Council at Fort St. David[3]:—

'There being a balance of Pagodas 3568 due this day from William Monson Esquire to the Church Stock, we desire the favour that you will request the Court of Directors to

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, iii. 414.
[2] Fort St. David Consultations, Dec. 1750.
[3] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

receive the sum with the interest etc. . . . And as a gentleman has been pleased to deposit £300 in our stock to replace the organ carried away by the French, we have ordered Mr. Bridge or Mr. Byfield in his absence, to build us another, and to procure an organist to come out with it. We therefore desire the Court of Directors will give both a passage out on one of their ships in Nov. or Dec. 1752, as well as pay the £300 to the maker when he applies.

(Signed) 'ROBERT PALK, *Minister.*
'JOHN WALSH, } *Churchwardens.*
'JOHN SMITH, }

'Sept. 1751.'

The Governor and Council resolved to do as the Vestry wished [1]; and wrote at once to the Directors.[2]

The money however was not sent; it remained in the Church Stock ready for the payment of the bill after the organ had been supplied. It is impossible to say what the intention of the Vestry was; it looks as if they desired the Directors to order the organ and take the sea risk, and to pay only on the safe arrival of the instrument. But the Directors would not do this. Mr. John Smith 'paid in and presented to the Church' Pagodas 250 in Dec. 1752 to complete the purchase of the Organ. But no reply was received from the Directors about it. At the Vestry meeting held in October 1753 it was resolved to send home £300 for the organ and £20 for the organist, and to ask the Governor and Council to mention the matter again in their next letter home.[3] This was done; the organ was ordered; and it arrived at the end of 1759. The Vestry thanked [4] Mr. Smith for his handsome present; they enquired of him the value of the gift that they might enter it in their 'dead stock' account, and found it to be Pagodas 1000. They desired Mr. John Call, the Engineer, to advise regarding the enlargement of the gallery 'to admit of its being placed in a commodious manner, and to advantage'; and they voted the new organist a salary of £100 a year. Mr. Call reported [5] that the best

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Oct. 1751.
[2] Letter, 24 Oct. 1751, paragraph 24.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, Oct. 1753.
[4] Do. 8 Jan. 1760. [5] Do. 15 Jan. 1760.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

way to enlarge the gallery was to take down the wall of the west end of the middle aisle, and extend the gallery to the steeple by continuing the arched roof to the steeple. This was ordered to be done. The alteration cost Pagodas 900; the Vestry ordered the bill to be paid, and gave the Master Carpenter Pagodas 50 for his trouble, and Pagodas 25 for setting up the organ.[1] This organ was in use in the Church till 1859.[2]

To go back to the Vestry meeting of August 1751 when the subject of the organ was first mooted, it is interesting to note that it was the first Vestry meeting attended by Robert Palk. At this meeting also it was resolved to pay to Shawmur Sultan Pagodas 60 for house rent for the Charity School. It does not say whether this rent was for one year or two years. Anyway at this time a house was being hired for the school in the place of the one pulled down. The hired house was not in the Fort; for it belonged to a Native; and no Native could hold property in the Fort at this period. Eighteen months later the Schoolmaster, Mr. Hubbard, applied to the Vestry for payment for teaching and maintaining charity children since the loss of Madras; and the Vestry ordered payment. It is not stated where the Schoolmaster taught and maintained the children. But it is satisfactory to know that the children were not dispersed; that they were taken care of during the troubled period of French occupation; and that the Vestry repaid the Schoolmaster for his devotion to duty.

In April 1752 the Coast Government was re-established at Fort St. George by order of the Directors. Robert Palk moved with the Governor and Council. At this time there were between 400 and 500 Swiss soldiers quartered in the new barracks—that is, the old Hospital—in the Fort. They were permitted the use of St. Mary's Church for their public worship, and Fabricius ministered to them. In spite of various advantages the Swiss troops were not contented; and there were many desertions to the French. One of the first duties of the Governor and Council was to try and find a remedy for this. They decided to divide the corps into

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 2 July 1761. [2] *History of Fort St. George*, page 227.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

halves, and send one half to Fort St. David.[1] The desertions continued at both places; so that a year later (1753) the men were brought back to Fort St. George,[2] and distributed amongst various corps in the service of the Company at various settlements. Fabricius and Kiernander, who were appointed to minister to them at Fort St. George and Fort St. David, were Lutherans; the men were mostly Calvinists. It was believed that the ministrations were acceptable; perhaps they were not.

In June 1752 the newly appointed Chaplains Samuel Staveley and Thomas Colefax arrived. These arrivals necessitated either the dismissal or the transfer of Robert Palk. But the local Government had been learning to depend somewhat on his prudence and foresight and counsel, and had no wish to lose him. They appointed him therefore in the month of August Military Paymaster and Commissary in the Field, and made this entry in the Consultation Book:—

'The account of the army in camp having been kept in an irregular manner, which creates confusion, 'tis agreed that the Rev. Robert Palk be appointed Paymaster and Commissary in the Field at the rate of 10s. a day salary and Rs. 5 a day batta.'

Besides this he and Colefax were appointed to minister at Fort St. George, while Staveley was sent to Fort St. David. This arrangement did not last long; for on the 26 August Colefax died.

The Governor and Council recalled Staveley a year later from Fort St. David, and made him and Palk the joint-ministers at Fort St. George. Whilst this fresh arrangement was being made a Despatch was on its way to Fort St. George directing Palk to go to Tellicherry as Chaplain; and insisting upon the Company's nominees, Staveley and Colefax, being the Chaplains on the Coast, notwithstanding the re-admission of Palk to the service. And another letter was on its way from the Governor and Council of Bombay, applying for the services of Palk there, in consequence of the death of

[1] Consultations, April 1752. [2] Do. 14 January 1753.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Rev. Mr. Richard Dixie.[1] The death of Colefax enabled the Council to evade both demands and to keep Palk with them.

The objection of the Directors to the local appointment of Palk had been going on now for five years; and the experience of the local Government of his value as a man of sound judgement was of the same age. Without there being any open collision or defiance of authority there was a distinct effort on the one side not to make use of his genius for government, and on the other to do so. When the Directors heard of his appointment as Military Paymaster, they wrote[2]:—

'We observe that the Rev. Mr. Palk acts by your appointment as Paymaster and Commissary of the Army, employments very incompatible with his station as one of our Chaplains. We therefore direct that he be immediately discharged from those military employs, and apply himself solely to the discharge of his duty as a Chaplain.'

Four months before this Despatch reached Fort St. George the Fort St. George Government appointed Henry Van Sittart and Robert Palk to be Peace Commissioners; they were to meet the Commissioners appointed by Dupleix at Sadras, and to discuss the terms on which the country powers, the French and the English could consent to live peaceably. Before this Palk had been employed on political duty; he had been despatched as ambassador to the Court of Tanjore, and had acquitted himself so well that the local Government had presented him with a ring of the value of Pagodas 1000. The Conference with the French representatives came to nothing. Dupleix' claims were founded on forged documents, and were exorbitant. The French Foreign Office was ashamed of Dupleix' unblushing forgeries; and he was recalled. But Palk's civil, military and political employments had to be excused; the Governor and Council therefore wrote[3] that his employments as Paymaster of the Army and Deputy to Sadras arose from his capacity and prudence; that his

[1] He was the Chaplain to H.M.S. Preston, who officiated at Fort St. George in 1746, when his ship was lying in the Madras roads.

[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1753–4, para. 55. [3] Letter, 10 Nov. 1754, para. 85.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

negotiations at the Court of Tanjore were successful without advantage to him; and that with the necessity there was likely to be of his future services they had presented him with a diamond ring of the value of Pagodas 1000.

There was at Fort St. George at this period a Select Committee for the general management of the political and military affairs of the Coast. The establishment of this Committee enabled the Governor and Council to avail themselves of the assistance of officers, whose advice they valued, but who were not members of the Council. Colonel Scott,[1] the Engineer General, was a member of the Committee. When he died, Robert Palk was appointed to the vacancy,[2] and remained a member till he went home in 1758.

Before the letter conveying the intimation of this appointment had reached London, the Directors wrote[3] ordering Palk to proceed to Fort St. David and to reside there; and they added 'it must be a rule in future for the junior Chaplain always to officiate at that station.' 'Although we are thoroughly satisfied of the ability and services of Mr. Palk, we must, without intending the least derogation of them, say that so considerable a present as Pagodas 1000 should not have been given by you without our previous approbation.'

The Governor informed Robert Palk of the Hon. Company's order; whereupon Palk declared his intention of returning to Europe with H.M.'s Squadron; at the same time he requested leave to remain at the Presidency to settle his affairs.[4] This application was complied with; and Palk remained at Fort St. George in the useful exercise of his various offices of Chaplain, Military Paymaster, and Select Committeeman till August 1758.

He arrived in England in 1759, being the bearer of letters from the Nabob of the Carnatic to the King and to the Company.[5] It did not take the Directors very long to understand why the Fort St. George Council so thoroughly appreciated him; they came under his magic spell themselves, and wrote out[6]:—

[1] Col. Scott belonged to H.M.'s 29th Regiment; he was A.D.C. to H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland.
[2] Consultations, 10 Sept. 1755.
[3] Despatch, 19 Dec. 1755, paras. 71, 72.
[4] Consultations, Oct. 1756.
[5] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1760, para. 57.
[6] Despatch, 31 Dec. 1760, para. 63.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We have fixed upon Mr. Robert Palk to succeed Mr. Pigot in the Government whenever it shall become vacant by the resignation or decease of that gentleman, being fully convinced his ability and experience will be of great service to the Company, both before and after his succession to the Government, especially as affairs are at present circumstanced.'

Robert Palk went out in 1761 with Colonel Lawrence as his fellow passenger.[1] He took the oaths of allegiance to the King and fidelity to the Company, and commenced his civil and political life as Export Warehouseman, and Commissary in dealing with the country powers, in October 1761.[2]

The St. Mary's Vestry were accustomed to hold a meeting once a year for the submission of the Church Charity Fund accounts and the election of Churchwardens and Sidesmen. Occasionally there was an extra meeting. The business recorded had principally to do with the investment of the Fund, the relief of the poor, and the repair of the Church and house property. In the early days of the re-constituted Vestry it was decided to lend the trust money only on the security of houses. In 1753 it was decided to lend in addition on double floating security. And in 1755, for the reason that the Vestry could not get out all it had to lend, it was resolved to lend to inhabitants on double personal security, which they thought 'at least as good as double floating security.' In Nov. 1755 the Churchwardens reported that they had Pagodas 7859 in hand, 'with no prospect of employment of it.' In February 1757 this credit balance had increased to Pagodas 12000. It was resolved to offer this amount to the Governor and Council as a loan at 7 per cent. The offer was accepted; and in July 1761 the Vestry offered to the Government Pagodas 4000 more. The Ministers and Churchwardens received bonds in exchange.[3] The careful nursing of this Fund for the benefit of the Church, the poor, and the School reflects the greatest credit on successive Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's. It has been already mentioned how this fund arose and grew; but one source of income has not

[1] Despatch, 13 March 1761, para. 75. [2] Consultations, October 17
[3] Do. 4 Feb. 1757, and July 1761.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been mentioned. The following letter to the Governor explains what it was[1]:—

'We beg leave to remind you that before the capture of this place all boats that were employed of a Sunday used to pay 6 fanams every trip to the School Stock which is now incorporated with the Church stock, the charitable expenses of which are lately increased by the erecting of a public Charity School here under the Rev. Mr. Staveley, and by a monthly allowance to several of the European inhabitants.

(Signed) 'Sam. Staveley, *Minister*.
'Alex. Wynch,
'Charles Bourchier, } *Churchwardens*.'

The Council agreed that this small fine should continue; it was only occasionally necessary to work on Sunday; when, for instance, the Monsoon was threatening, and the ships were in a hurry to get away from the shore as soon as possible. The income therefore from this source was very small; in some years there was no receipt at all.

Mr. Samuel Staveley was a Schoolmaster before he entered the Company's service. In 1753 he offered to keep and superintend the Charity School if the Vestry would grant him an extra salary of £100. The offer was accepted; and one of the houses in Middle Gate Street bequeathed by Mrs. Mary Williams to the Vestry was appropriated for the purpose.[2] The school was thus again brought inside the Fort; and there it remained until 1872. This arrangement seemed so satisfactory to the Vestry and to the inhabitants generally that they proposed to the gentlemen of Fort St. David to amalgamate the Charity Stock there with the Church and Charity Stock at Fort St. George; and to educate the children of the military of both places at Fort St. George under Mr. Staveley.[3] There is no record that this proposal was accepted; but there can be no doubt that it was. The Schoolhouse in Middlegate Street was damaged in the siege of 1758–9; but was ordered to be repaired, together with the Church lodgings and the house in James Street, by the Vestry.[4]

Besides paying in Pagodas 1500 to the Church Stock in

[1] Consultations, May 1754.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, Oct. 1753.
[3] Do. Nov. 1753.
[4] Do. March 1759.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1751 for the benefit of the Miss Somervilles Robert Palk paid in two other sums. One was a sum of money he raised when at Fort St. David for building a Chapel, but which was not used for that purpose; he stipulated that if any of the donors should demand the return of their gift on the ground that it was not put to the purpose for which it was raised, the Church-wardens should pay them.[1] The other was a sum of money amounting to Pagodas 1150 which he collected for Anne Martha Bellamy, one of the children of the Rev. Mr. Bellamy who perished in the Black Hole of Calcutta. Since the collection was made she had married Lieut. Charles Palmer of the Bombay Establishment. But Palk and the other subscribers wished the money to be received in trust for her benefit, in case she should ever need it; or for any similar purpose if she did not.[2] The Vestry accepted the trust. At a Vestry meeting on the 23 March 1759 Mrs. Palmer was reported dead. The Vestry thereupon voted that the money should be used for the benefit of the two Miss Empsons, who were left in indifferent circumstances.

The Vestry Minutes of this period contain records of repairs to the Church, and the burial ground wall,[3] and other Vestry property; the Vestry also supplied new benches for the accommodation of the soldiers and others.[4] But they could not go to the expense of fitting up a seat for the Governor. This matter was discussed in Council, and it was resolved that[5]:—

'The Governor's seat in the Church having been destroyed when the settlement was in the possession of the French, and not having been since replaced, . . . a proper seat be now fitted up at the Company's expense.'

The cost of it was Pagodas 143. In 1762 the Mayor and Corporation applied to the Vestry for 12 new chairs and stools in their seat, and for a broader book ledge. The Vestry, however, informed them[6] that they could not do it, being already at so great a charge in charities; but they gave the

[1] Vestry Proceedings, Nov. 1753.
[2] Do. 19 Dec. 1757.
[3] Do. 5 Feb. 1755.
[4] Do. 5 Nov. 1755.
[5] Consultations, August 1755.
[6] Vestry Proceedings, 11 Feb. 1762.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mayor and Corporation permission to furnish whatever they thought proper themselves.

In 1756 the Vestry ordered that a list of the Church property should be entered in the Minute Book. The list is as follows:—

1 Silver Dish . . .	99½ ounces	82 Pagodas
1 Silver-gilt Do. . . .	46¼ „	38 „
4 Silver-gilt salvers . .	59¾ „	49 „
2 Silver-gilt chalices . .	72½ „	60 „
2 Silver hand mugs . .	72 „	60 „
		291 „

23 Benches . . .	at 12 Pagodas	
10 Do. . . .	„ 3 „	
17 Couches . . .	„ 6 „	
4 Blackwood chairs .	„ 6½ „	
12 Teakwood Do. .	„ 2 „	
1 Blackwood table .	„ 12 „	
1 Do. stand .	„ 3 „	
11 Footstools . .	„ 40 „	501 Pagodas
Church and lodgings valued at . .		5066 „
Total value . . .		5858

One of the most important features of this period was the coming of the King's troops. The 39th came first in 1754. The regimental senior officers did not like the position of subordination to the Civil government of Fort St. George. There were many disputes. Finally the regiment was recalled.[1] All the Field officers were to return; others were to have the choice of entering the Company's service. Arms and equipment were to be left for those who volunteered, as well as the small train of artillery. In Nov. 1757 350 men volunteered to serve the Company for 3 years under Lieutenant Carnac, who was at once promoted Captain; and the rest went home. In December of the same year another battalion came out under Colonel Draper; it was 1100 strong; it had on paper a Surgeon and a Chaplain; but no Chaplain came with it. This battalion was afterwards the 79th. In September 1759 arrived another battalion under Colonel Eyre Coote. This battalion also had a Chaplain on

[1] Despatch, 1 Feb. 1757.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

paper, but not in reality. It was afterwards the 84th. The arrival of the King's troops gave extra work to the Chaplains; for this they received extra allowances, and continued to do so until the end of the century, when their pay was raised to a sum considered an equivalent for every duty they performed. In connection with the soldiers it is interesting to note that the Governor and Council wrote to the Directors at the end of 1758 to say that they had suspended the arrack farm, and prohibited the sale of arrack to the men for two months as an experiment; and that the good effects were soon visible in the decrease of men in hospital.—The Directors, in spite of the loss of revenue, approved of what they had done; and gave authority to the Council to renew or suspend the farm as they thought fit.[1]

The most exciting incident of the period was the siege of Fort St. George in 1758–9. It was anticipated for six months. In the month of June a special meeting of the Vestry was held. The Governor was present as usual, the Churchwardens, six others and Robert Palk. The following is extracted from the Vestry Minutes:—

'The Governor represented to the Vestry that under the present apprehension of a siege it is judged absolutely necessary to convert the barracks into a hospital, in order that the buildings at present used as a hospital in the Pettah[2] may be demolished; that the want of room and convenience in the White Town, as well as of time and artificers to erect proper accommodation for the military renders it necessary to apply to this Vestry for the Church to be used during the present exigency as a barrack until other accommodation shall be provided.

'The Rev. Mr. Palk thereupon acquainted the Vestry that he considered it as his duty on this occasion to recommend to their serious attention the sacred purposes to which that building had been consecrated; at the same time it behoved them to contribute everything in their power to the good of the State; & they ought not to be unmindful of their religion which was inseparable from it.

'It is the opinion of this Vestry that the Church appropriated to divine worship ought not on any occasion but that of real necessity to be applied to any other uses; but as it

[1] Despatch, 23 Nov. 1759, para. 64. [2] This pettah was west of the Fort.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appears to this Vestry upon the representations of the Governor, supported by those of Colonel Lawrence, the times will not permit the raising or providing any fit accommodations for the military without drawing off the artificers from works immediately necessary for the defence of the town.

'Upon that consideration which is deemed a real necessity the Vestry do consent that the Church may during the present threatening dangers be used as a barrack; and thereupon it is resolved that the keys be delivered to the President and Council, and that the Church be put under their direction.

'Ordered that the books be deposited in the Company's Library; and that the seats benches etc. be put in the Admiralty House.'

At the same meeting the Churchwardens asked to be indemnified against loss in the event of the capture of the Fort; and this was done.

It was only a short siege of 3 months; but much damage was done, and many lives lost. Governor Pigot warmly acknowledged the bravery of all concerned.[1] The loss on the British side was 26 officers and 365 Europeans killed and wounded, of whom 250 died. Besides these 122 Europeans were taken prisoners in Draper's sortie; and there were 20 desertions.[2] It gives an idea of the persistent stubbornness of the defence to read the Artillery return when the siege was raised. There were fired from the Fort 26,554 rounds from the cannon, 7502 shells from the mortars, and 200000 cartridges from the muskets. 1990 hand grenades were thrown and 1768 barrels of powder were used. Thirty of the enemy's cannon and five mortars were dismounted.[3] The British Sepoy loss was 114 killed, and 232 wounded.

The French made use of the cemetery wall and the monuments for cover; and, thus protected, fired into the Fort embrasures. It was necessary therefore to level the wall and the tombs when the siege was raised. This was done by order of the Council; the bricks composing the wall and the monuments were carried away; but the inscribed stones were taken and arranged round the Church inside the Fort. Three

[1] Letter, 21 Feb. 1759.
[2] Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, vol. i. 103.
[3] Monograph on Captain Robert Barker by C. Dalton, Esq.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

monuments only were left, commemorating members of the Yale, Hynmers, Powney, Heron, Goodwin, Proby and Lucas families.[1] In the course of the next 150 years it was quite forgotten that that unenclosed corner had ever been the burial ground of the settlement. People wondered why the monuments were there. A local newspaper ventured to guess that they covered the graves of some humble Dissenters, who had been excluded from the St. Mary's Cemetery on account of their religious views. The records of its early use were buried in the Record Office. They awaited exhumation. But before the exhumation took place the Government used the site for building the new Law College. It was a perfectly unintentional disrespect of ground consecrated for the solemn use of burial of the Christian dead.

However, the wall and monuments were levelled in March 1759[2]; and the Vestry agreed at once to apply for another piece of ground for burial purposes. It was not till December[2] 1760 that the Engineer was ordered to select a spot in communication with the Vestry. And it was not till Feb. 1762[2] that the Vestry asked the Governor and Council to enclose the ground with a brick wall at the Company's expense[3] since they had not only levelled the wall of the old ground, but had also carried the bricks away. During this transition period both grounds were probably used. There is no break in the burial register book, nor note, to show when one ground ceased to be used and the other commenced. The oldest monument in the new ground is dated 1763. The names of the officers and men who lost their lives during the siege are not entered in the register book. It is not known where they were buried. It is very certain they could not have been buried in the old cemetery. In consequence of the close investment on the north and west sides the only available place was to the South of the Fort, between it and the mouth of the river, near the Muckwa (fisher) village.

In 1759 the 89th Regiment arrived; a year later came the 96th; and a year later the 103rd. The arrival of so many of the King's troops entirely changed the character of the

[1] *History of Fort St. George.* [2] Vestry Proceedings of those dates.
[3] Consultations, 29 Jan. 1760.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

settlement. Fresh duties were imposed upon the Company's Chaplains as well as upon the Company's Governor and Council—duties which were not anticipated when they were appointed, but which they struggled to perform to the best of their ability. The Vestry met as usual and looked after its property with commendable care. One of the Naval Chaplains, Edward Milner of H.M.S. Newcastle, was left behind by the fleet in 1759 sick. Being in great distress the Vestry voted him Pagodas 50 from its Fund. Other similar cases of distress were similarly dealt with. Money was paid in for the benefit of wives, widows and orphans, and the Vestry accepted the various trusts. Mrs. Anne Westcott and Miss Elizabeth Pigou profited in this way. In 1757 Peter Uscan's legacy—of which hereafter—was taken into the Church Stock. In 1760 Captain Peter Eckman's legacy was taken in, half of which was for ordinary Vestry purposes and half for the benefit of military pensioners. Repairs were ordered, executed and paid for. New coverings for the Altar and the Pulpit and the Kneelers were obtained. And boys were apprenticed to ships' captains and others from the St. Mary's School.

But whilst these ordinary rounds of duty were being performed, the Directors were fuming at their various losses, and bargaining with the King for the loan of troops. Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Devicottah, and other smaller possessions had been taken by the French and temporarily lost to the Company. They wrote angrily to the Governor and Council in 1759[1] and said :—

'If it should be at any time your good fortune to take any of the French settlements, we positively direct that the fortifications be entirely razed.'

They sanctioned Pagodas 18000 for pulling down more houses in the Black Town, so as to have a larger radius of clear space round the Fort. When they wrote in 1760[2] they spoke of the anticipated investment of Pondicherry by sea and by land. And when the fall of Pondicherry and the total destruction of its walls and outworks was reported to them,

[1] Despatch, 23 Nov. 1759, paras. 44 and 59. [2] Do. 31 Dec. 1760, para. 86.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

they were both profoundly grateful and profoundly relieved. They wrote[1]:—

'We are justly sensible of the great share our Governor, Mr. Pigot, has had in contributing to the reduction of this rival and dangerous settlement'; and they conveyed their thanks and acknowledgements to Admirals Stevens and Cornish as well as to Colonels Coote and Monson.

The fall and destruction of Pondicherry would not have concerned this ecclesiastical record, if it had not happened that both officers and men carried away and brought to Fort St. George various ecclesiastical articles of loot. The organ which the French carried away from St. Mary's in 1749 was brought back. It was not wanted at St. Mary's; so, at the request of Henry Van Sittart, President of Fort William, Bengal (formerly and up to 1760 a member of the Fort St. George Council), it was sent to Calcutta for use in the Church there.[2] A printing press was found also; this was presented to the S.P.C.K. mission at Vepery on the condition that it was to be at the service of the Government when required.[2] Captain Hislop, Commandant of the Artillery, took possession of 18 Church bells, and offered them to the Vestry through his agent Andrew Ross.[3] The Vestry inspected them, found them to be of various kinds and sizes; the price asked was very high; so they resolved to refuse the offer. Mr. Call, the Engineer, offered two clocks to the Vestry as a present.[3] This offer the Vestry accepted with thanks; and ordered that one should be forthwith fixed in the steeple.

During the siege of Fort St. George and the use of the Church for military purposes many of the properties, including Prayer Books and Bibles, were lost. These could not be supplied from Pondicherry. At a Vestry held in February 1762 the want of 4 large Prayer Books, 50 small ones, 24 Bibles, and some other 'books of the propagation of the Gospel' was mentioned; and it was resolved to ask the Directors to make good the loss. At the same meeting it was resolved to fix brass curtain rods and pillars in the organ loft at the back of the gallery.

[1] Despatch, 30 Sept. 1761, para. 27. [2] Consultations, June 1761.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, July 1761 and Feb. 1762.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The carrying away of so much property from Pondicherry was partly due to the recollection of what had been carried away from Fort St. George in 1749, and the wholesale destruction of property in Black Town. It may be assumed that the humanity of the French and Irish and German officers at the sieges of Fort St. David [1] and Fort St. George [2] in 1758 was also remembered when Pondicherry fell.

[1] Chapter xiii. [2] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, i. 129.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XV

THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION FROM 1746 TO 1765

Up to 1746 there had been no want of toleration or even kindliness towards the Roman Catholics on the Coast. The Directors and the local Government had insisted upon being supreme in all matters within their jurisdiction, and had therefore jealously preserved their right of patronage. Having secured this they gave the mission a free hand in the management of its own concerns. But after 1746 there was a change. The treachery of a few was ascribed to the whole community; so that the whole community had to suffer from the distrust and indignation which the acts of treachery called forth.

On receiving the detailed reports of the surrender of Fort St. George during the year 1747 the Directors reserved their judgement until the end of the year and then wrote. It is likely enough that they thought the rumours of treachery merely efforts to bring the blame home to some one for an event which was bitterly exasperating to all concerned. But as proofs were forthcoming this is what they agreed to say[1]:—

'Having suffered greatly by the number of priests and popish inhabitants at Madras, who have acted a very treacherous part to us continually in that place, especially when it was attacked, therefore we strictly forbid your suffering any Romish Church within our bounds,[2] or any of their priests to dwell among you, or that religion to be openly professed; and in case any papists have crept into places of

[1] Despatch to Fort St. David, 24 Dec. 1747, 25.
[2] This referred to Fort St. David at the time it was written.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

trust in our service, they must be immediately dismissed; you are not to deem this order to affect the Armenians of the Greek persuasion.'

On the surrender of Fort St. George, Padre Severini retired with his orphans to the Dutch settlement of Pulicat. From that place he wrote on the 7th Sept. 1748 to the Governor of Fort St. David for the repayment of the 6000 pagodas he had deposited in the Company's cash. The Council deferred the matter and wrote home for orders.[1] In the same letter they reported that they had expelled from Fort St. David a man named Barnewall or Barneval, who had been convicted of treasonable correspondence with the French, and enclosed proofs of his guilt. There is no reason to suppose that Severini, who had been raised to his position by the Government, was in any way disloyal to them or their interests. His fellow worker, Padre Renatus, did not accompany him to Pulicat; he remained at the Fort, and assumed the headship of the mission in accordance with the commission from the head of his order in France.

The rendition of Fort St. George and Madras to the English Company was arranged in the Peace of 1748, but it was not carried out until August 1749. During this period of delay both the Company and the local Government had under consideration how they should act towards the Roman Catholics and their property when the rendition took place. The Company had not decided in August 1749 either to confiscate their property or to expel them. Probably the loyal and correct action of Severini made them hesitate to adopt the extreme measures they had already ordered at Fort St. David. The advancement of Severini to the headship of the mission had insured his loyalty, as far as they could see. They therefore seemed to think it sufficient to keep the patronage in their own hands. They wrote[2]:—

'In case the French Capuchins of the province of Tourraine should pretend to any right of presentation of Padres to the Romish Church at Madras, you are to stop such pretence,

[1] Fort St. David Consultations, Sept. 1748. Letter, 12 Oct. 1748.
[2] Despatch, 30 Aug. 1749, 35.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as our Governors have always done, they not having the least shadow of a right to it; and upon any vacancy you are to appoint the persons who are to officiate there.'

Locally the indubitable evidence of treachery created a strong opinion in favour of extreme measures; and the opinion was freely expressed along the Coast. Fabricius and Breithaupt, who had retired to Pulicat with some of their orphans and converts, wrote from that station in July 1749 to the Governor of Fort St. David, setting forth the pernicious consequences that might arise if the Roman Catholics were allowed to exercise their religion openly in Madras when it was again resettled; and requesting that they might have the Romish Churches delivered over to their care; by which if they were assisted by the Government, they would be able 'within a little time to furnish as many Protestant Topasses[1] as may be required, and keep them under a good divine instruction.'[2] The date of this letter is of interest; it was written two months before the local Government decided to adopt a policy of confiscation and partial expulsion. Perhaps Admiral Boscawen had been talking about it; perhaps it was a possible policy that was being discussed generally on the Coast including the Dutch and Danish settlements; perhaps it was their own idea of retributive justice against those who had been instrumental in destroying their own mission house, school, and chapel in the Black Town. At all events they suggested the transfer of the property to themselves in July 1749. In the previous January Fabricius, in writing his report to the S.P.C.K. for 1748 expressed hopes of an equitable restoration of past losses as soon as Fort St. George should revert to the English Company; and he mentioned that he had sent a petition to Admiral Boscawen and the Fort St. George Council on the subject.

The Admiral was invested with high powers. When he received back Fort St. George and Madras from the French in August 1749 he exerted his influence with the Coast Government to have the mission chapel at Vepery, together

[1] Gunners; they were almost exclusively Portuguese Eurasians. The writers were not Englishmen; their knowledge of English was not perfect.

[2] Fort St. David Consultations, July 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with the mission house and garden attached to it, handed over to Fabricius and the S.P.C.K. mission. The Directors had already sent out orders for the confiscation of Romish Churches within their bounds. The only question that remained, therefore, was what should be done with the confiscated property.

The policy of expelling those Roman Catholics from Fort St. George who had been actually treacherous was carried out with as much haste as indignation; but the policy of expelling those who were not actually treacherous was carried out half-heartedly and in some cases with regret. The absence of the name of Padre Renatus in all documents and transactions after the rendition of the Fort attracts notice. Severini retired to Pulicat during the French occupation; Renatus remained; and in assuming the headship of the mission he acted in defiance of the Company's order. On the return of the English and of Severini to power he either retired to some other mission, or was expelled with others who acted as he did.

The names of the expelled were mentioned in one of the letters home[1]; they were described as those 'who went to, and have continued with the French since Madras was lost, and have incurred the directed confiscation.' Francis Barneval was expelled from Fort St. David in October 1748 and retired to Pondicherry. He was a son of Anthony Coyle de Barneval, who was born in the county of Clare, Ireland. Anthony was described in the lists of inhabitants of Fort St. George from 1724 to 1740 as a constant inhabitant; he was not in the Company's service; he was a licensed free merchant. In 1740 he died, and was described on his tombstone as a zealous Roman Catholic. His son Francis married a daughter of M. Dupleix, who was also a god-daughter of M. de la Bourdonnais. The Council sent home proof that Francis Barneval was involved in treasonable correspondence with his father-in-law. M. de la Mettrie, a French friend of Barneval's, was involved with him. M. Bailleau, another Frenchman, had been a constant inhabitant since 1724; his offence was that he wished to remain so, after the departure

[1] Letter, 5 July 1752, 48.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the English. Francis Çarvalho was a supracargo in the Company's service, but a Spanish subject belonging to Manilha. The Governor of Manilha pressed for compensation in his case; and the Council in writing home[1] recommended payment, since the sum demanded was too inconsiderable 'to be set in competition with Manilha trade, and the loss that will ensue to the Company's customs thereupon.' Other foreigners were also expelled; but some were permitted to remain; amongst these were Coja Petrus Uscan and Signora Madeiros on account of their past good conduct. Some of the expelled were guilty of treason, some were not. Padre Renatus may or may not have been guilty; there is no proof of his guilt now on record; but he certainly acted disloyally.

In 1753 Signora Madeiros sold her garden house to the Company for the small sum of 3500 pagodas,[2] perhaps in gratitude for the privilege of remaining; the house was bought for the use of the Governor in the place of the one destroyed by the French; the present Government House stands on the site of it.

It is pleasant to read that at the first meeting[3] of the Fort St. George Council after the rendition some consideration was shown for the feelings of the Roman Catholics who had not been treacherous. Padre Severini was permitted to take away the 'images and other appurtenances' of both the confiscated Churches—of St. Andrew's in the Fort, and of the smaller chapel in the village of Vepery; though he was not permitted to remove the bells and the candle branches. Those expelled were required to depart with their effects within a week; the sole exceptions were those of Coja Petrus Uscan and Signora Madeiros, who were permitted to remain for the reason given above.

Admiral Boscawen wrote to the Governor in September 1749[4] urging the wisdom and expediency of sending Padres Severini and Renatus, and the two free merchants De la Mettrie and Barneval to Europe; and of taking possession of St. Thoma in the name of the Nabob. The Government adopted the suggestion regarding St. Thoma; but contented

[1] Letter, 27 Oct. 1755, 75.
[2] Letter, 29 Oct. 1753, 78.
[3] On the 13th November 1749.
[4] Fort St. David Consultations, Sept. 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

themselves with expelling Barneval and De la Mettrie from their territory; and as they had to live somehow with a number of Eurasian and native Roman Catholics, they allowed Severini and Renatus to remain, and left them in possession of the Church in the Luce or Luz. They had to take into consideration that the Company's boatmen, who were of the Fisher caste and lived in the villages on the coast between Fort St. George and St. Thoma, were mostly Roman Catholics.

When the Fort St. David Council wrote to the Directors to inform them of the arrangements made they said[1]:—

'We have put into execution the Company's orders to expel Romish priests, and have given the Portuguese Church at Cuddalore to the Rev. Mr. Kiernander, missionary. We have given another Roman Catholic Church at a place called Vipary to others of the same mission, and to continue in possession till the Company's pleasure is known . . . . and to prevent Roman Catholics being again masters of such large possessions, we have established an order that none[2] shall be disposed of but to European Protestants.'

By the same ship Padre Severini wrote to the Directors informing them that the R.C. Churches and houses at Madras had been confiscated and given to the Danish Lutheran Missionaries; and that they themselves had been turned out of the White Town.[3]

As soon as the transfer of Viparee Church to the S.P.C.K. Missionaries was ordered Coja Petrus Uscan, an Armenian merchant, wrote the following protest

'*To the Governor and Council of Fort St. George.*

'Sir and Sirs,

'I cannot help acquainting your Honour &c. of my great surprise to find that there is an Order of Council sent there some days ago to deliver up the Chapel and other buildings at Viparee to the Danish Missionaries, notwithstanding the

[1] Letter, 12 Feb. 1749–50, 74, 75.
[2] New grants of houses and lands.
[3] The letter was dated 10 Feb. 1749–50.
[4] Fort St. David Consultations, 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

remonstrance I have made by my letter to the Honourable Governor Floyer to the contrary; and to which, by the bye, his Honour has not vouchsafed me an answer hitherto. It will be a great satisfaction to me if your Honour will please to let me know by what Law or Authority you give away my property at pleasure. It may perhaps be imagined that I have made over Viparee Church etc. to the Romish Priests, and of consequence that it is their property; but I declare I have done no such thing. It was originally intended for the use of the poor beggars of Madras; and how your Government can alienate it to other purposes I must own I cannot conceive, as it cost me over 4000 pagodas, which if you shall please to order to be paid me here I am ready to deliver it up to the Danish Missionaries or whom else your Honour etc. thinks fit; but should your Honour etc. not think proper to do this, nor yet let it remain appropriated to the first use intended it, I in that case desire the favour that I may have the liberty to give it to the Priests of my own nation, who have had their Church rased to the ground by the French in our late calamity. I have no ill will to the Danish Missionaries, and have already wrote the Governor I am willing to contribute something towards the building a Church for them; but to let them have Viparee Church is what I can never consent to; and therefore I humbly desire your Honour etc. will not insist on it, upon consideration that the many troubles I have undergone was with hopes of reaping advantages with your nation, and not to be wronged of my right. Your doing me justice herein will greatly oblige, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

'Your Honour etc. most humble and
'most obedient servant
'PETRUS USCAN.'

This letter is entered in the Consultation Book; underneath it the record continues thus:—

'Which being duly considered, as it is observed that not only the gentlemen at Pondicherry in their letter term it the Capuchins' Chapel, but those Fathers in the petition they sent us a few days past express themselves as if they have some title to it; and as we have already acquainted the Honourable Company that we should deliver it to the Danish Missionaries; it is therefore Resolved that they be put in possession of it, till our Honourable masters favour us with their directions regarding it.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We learn several interesting facts from this letter:—that Coja Petrus Uscan built the Viparee Church; that the building cost over 4000 pagodas; that after handing it over to the Capuchins he retained, or thought he retained, the ownership; and that the Armenian Church, built by the Company for the benefit of the Armenian settlers, was destroyed by the French.

In March 1749–50 occurs this entry in the Consultation Book of Fort St. David:—

'The President acquainted the Board that he had heard privately that the orders delivering Viparee Church to the Danish Missionaries had given great disgust to several inhabitants, especially the Armenians, for whose use we are told it was first intended. As this may prove detrimental to the Company's interest, and is so easily prevented, Agreed that it be kept empty till the Company's pleasure is known.

'The President also lays before the Board a letter from the Danish Missionaries representing their having been destitute of a place to officiate in ever since their arrival at Madras,[1] and requesting to have one appointed them, that they may be enabled to pursue the design for which they reside in India; Ordered therefore that in our next General Letter to Fort St. George the gentlemen there be directed to look out for, and to put them in possession of, any other place that may be convenient for them.'

The Capuchin Missionaries made no protest to the Government on being dispossessed of their property and privileges; but they wrote to the Governor and Council at Fort St. David, as soon as the order was passed, informing them that they had vacated their Church and house at Viparee, and petitioning that they might be allowed to remain near it, where the Churchyard is situated; and for the exercise of their religion towards those of their communion as hitherto.[2] The Council resolved,

'as the papers found at the house of Padre Antonio of Purification at St. Thoma were evident proofs of their having a firmer regard for our interest than that of the French,—and

[1] The letter is entered in the Consultation Book; the Missionaries, Fabricius and Breithaupt, said 'some months since,' not 'ever since etc.'

[2] Fort St. David Consultations, Dec. 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as our boat people, who are of that communion, may probably be induced to leave us should we expel them our limits,—to comply with their request, and that the Romish Church situated at Mile End [1] be delivered over to them.'

In the middle of the year 1750 the Directors received the February letters from the Coast explaining all that had been done as to the Churches and the private property of the Roman Catholic priests and others. With regard to the latter they were not quite certain about the justice of what had been done; so they wrote [2]:—

'It is the custom in Europe to suffer the inhabitants to enjoy their properties upon the restoration of a place taken by an enemy, (notwithstanding they have continued to reside in such a place under their protection) unless they have by any overt acts discovered themselves to be enemies to their first masters'; etc.

As for the confiscations of the Churches they appear to have waited for the return of Admiral Boscawen before declaring themselves. Having seen him and heard his views they were quite decided in the adoption of his policy; and they wrote to Fort St. David [3]:—

'The situation of a Roman Catholic Church in the very heart of our settlement has been very injurious to us; and if continued will be attended with many inconveniences so obvious that there is no occasion to mention them; you are therefore immediately on the receipt of this, without fail, to demolish the Portuguese Church in the White Town at Madras; and not suffer it to stand on pretence of settling the Danish missionaries in it, its usefulness for warehouses, storehouses, or any other purposes whatsoever.'

And they added:—

'You must give all encouragement to the Danish missionaries, that they may be active in the duty of propagating the Protestant religion among the natives and others residing under our protection.'

[1] The Fishermen's Church, one mile south of Fort St. George. The petition was signed by Severini and Bernard.

[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1750–1, 54.

[3] Do. 23 Aug. 1751.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Upon receipt of this despatch arrangements were made for the demolition of St. Andrew's. But before demolishing the building the Governor in Council decreed that as many persons had been buried in the Portuguese Church, whose bodies in demolishing it might be exposed; and as it was expedient to prevent this and to preserve as great a decency in regard thereto as may be; permission should be given to their being removed by such of their relations and friends as should be inclined to do it.[1]

The protest of Peter Uscan in 1749 revealed the fact that he was a Roman Catholic, and that there were other Armenians of that faith as well. On the ground that there might be just as much danger in allowing Armenians to reside in the White Town as there had been in allowing the French and Portuguese, they also were expelled from Fort St. George and prevented from owning house property within its walls.[1] In compensation the Government granted them sites to build their houses on. These sites were northward of the Fort, beyond the cleared space, and sufficiently far away from the fortifications not to interfere with the new plan of defence.

Soon after these arrangements were made Fort St. George again became the seat of Government; and the Governor was able to see for himself what had been done. He reported to the Directors[2] that the Portuguese Church as ordered was pulled down; and he added the opinion of himself and his colleagues that an allowance for the materials to the former owners would not be of ill consequence. He mentioned that there were some military officers unprovided with apartments; and that there were several houses standing in the Square 'which adjoined to that Church,' which would with some alterations be very convenient for them. And he further said that the Danish Missionaries should have the Church at Viparee, and at the proper time be shown the generous indulgence offered.

A great storm took place at the end of October in that year, which damaged the temporary premises occupied by the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. They therefore petitioned the

[1] Consultations, April 1752.

[2] Letter, 5 July 1752, 46, 47.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government [1] to be put in possession of the Romish Church at Viparee. It was agreed that the said Church and appurtenances should be delivered over to them for the use of the Protestant mission, and that the sum of 500 pagodas should also be given them agreeable to the permission etc.—ordered by the Directors.

These letters and proceedings enable us to know exactly when the S.P.C.K. Missionaries were put in possession of their new Church.

In the preceding January Coja Petrus Uscan died, and left his interest in Viparee Church to Padre Severini. By his own desire he was buried within the walls of the Church he had built. As soon as the Government gave possession of the Church to the S.P.C.K. Missionaries the executors of his will protested against the act. The protest was entered in the Consultation Book, and the Council wrote home for instructions without making any comment on the facts or the justice of the case. The Directors replied in their next despatch [2]:—

'You acquaint us that on putting into execution our orders to deliver the Church at Viparee to the Danish Missionaries the executors of Coja Petrus delivered in a remonstrance and protest which are entered on your Consultations. You should have made an enquiry into the allegations of the said executors, and given us your opinion thereupon, that we might be able to form a judgement whether they have a right to any and what relief; and you are hereby directed to make such an enquiry, and to send us your opinion by the first opportunity.'

The question of compensation for the confiscation of the two Churches was thus fairly launched. As to St. Andrew's the Directors replied to the letter of the 5th July 1752 in the following January.[3] They said:—

'The materials of the demolished Portuguese Church are to be sold and brought to our credit. The Square adjoining to it, which you say with some alterations may be made very convenient for the military officers, we had no intentions

[1] Consultations, 6 Nov. 1752. Letter, 3 Nov. 1752, 43.
[2] Despatch, 23 Jan. 1753-4, 48. [3] Do. 24 Jan. 1752-3, 55, 56.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

should be demolished, therefore you are to make use of it for the military officers or any other purposes you think proper. With regard to your opinion that if a gratification was made for the said Church and Square it would be of no ill consequence, we cannot give any directions until you inform us what are the pretensions thereto, and by whom, and whether they are reasonable.'

In the following October the Governor and Council replied to this [1] that the Portuguese Church cost 35000 pagodas; that any gratification to be made for it would properly belong to Padre Severini; that part of the materials had been used and part sold; and that their amount on a just calculation had been brought to the credit of the Church.[2]

It is evident from the records that local sympathy was more with than against the Roman Catholics. In 1753 Padres Severini and Bernard wrote to the Governor and represented [3] (1) that having no salary allowed for their subsistence the Company used to give them every year as a charity 'one garce of paddy and four pieces of cloth for cloathes'; they asked for a continuation of the gift; (2) that as the Company had taken from them their Church and habitations at Madras, so that they and the Roman Catholic Christians were left without any Church or means of building one, they needed a grant of money; (3) that they being old and unable to perform all their duties punctually required a colleague; they asked permission to recall a Piedmontese who had assisted them during the war.

The Council granted the first request; but could not grant the others without reference to the Directors.

On the receipt of the Despatch of January 1753–4 the Council made further enquiries about the Viparee Church. They examined [4] the will of Petrus Uscan, and came to the conclusion that the Viparee Church belonged to him, and that he left it by will to Severini. They reported [5] to the Directors that the claim of the executors seemed to be just; and they enclosed

[1] Letter, 29 Oct. 1753, 76.

[2] This must mean to the credit of the demolished Church; and that they were keeping the sale price of the materials till they had further orders for its disposal.

[3] Consultations, Aug. 1753. [4] Do. Sept. 1754. [5] Letter, 10 Nov. 1754, 123.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

extracts from the will and other papers connected with the case.

Before this letter arrived in London, the Court of Directors wrote [1] again on the same subject :—

'You inform us that if any gratification is made for the Portuguese Church which was demolished by our orders, you conceive it should be to Padre Severini, who has the management of the Religious Fund, and you transmit to us a petition [2] of the same person praying the restitution of the Chapel at Viparee, which was given by our orders to the Danish Missionaries; we very well know that orders were given as before mentioned; but it is impossible for us from any thing we have hitherto seen to form any judgement whether the said Padre Severini or any other persons have any right to those places. You are therefore, if any further applications are made to you thereupon, to make a strict enquiry into the same, and clearly and fully state all circumstances together with your opinion upon the whole; upon the receipt of which we shall give you our sentiments and directions.'

This despatch reached Fort St. George in August 1755. The Governor and Council at once set to work to collect the information required by the Directors. They replied at some length [3] in October. With regard to Viparee Church they said that Padre Severini's pretensions were founded entirely on the will of Coja Petrus Uscan. They gave no further opinion whether they considered the claim good or otherwise; they probably thought that the question was one for the Law Courts; and that if the evidence was clear that the Church was built by and belonged to Petrus Uscan, and that it was within his power to leave it by will to whom he pleased, the case would be brought into the Courts. As to St. Andrew's they said :—

'The Portuguese Church in the White Town was built by subscription of the Roman Catholics; it was rebuilt by the Romish padres in 1721 by contribution of the inhabitants of that persuasion, and kept in repair under the management of the Capuchin fathers till demolished; no legal claim [4] can hardly be made thereto.'

[1] Despatch, 31 Jan. 1755, 41.
[2] This has not been preserved.
[3] Letter, 27 Oct. 1755, 74.
[4] That is by Padre Severini.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Before this letter was received in London the Directors wrote to Madras on the subject of compensation to those whose house property had been confiscated in the Fort. The Council had taken possession of several houses. Barneval's house in Choultry Gate Street was used for stores on the ground floor and for visitors above. In 1754 the house required repair; Barneval asked for the cost of the repair; this was granted; but it was resolved to charge rent to reimburse the outlay.[1] Matters could not be left in this undecided and indefinite way any longer; so the Council asked for orders; and the Directors wrote[2]:—

'We leave it entirely to you to make such recompense or allowances to the owners of all or any of the houses which were confiscated upon your taking possession again of Fort St. George after the capture thereof by the French, as shall according to the best of your judgement be deemed just and equitable; and you are to give us a particular account of your proceedings herein.'

As soon as this despatch arrived, giving them a free hand to do what they considered just and right, the Council resolved to restore the houses to the owners; but they added the condition that the properties must be at once sold to European Protestants residing in the Fort.[3]

The Directors did not leave the question of compensation for the confiscated Churches to be settled locally. They received the full information they required about them in the Fort St. George letter of October 1755 which arrived in London in March 1756. The important events which were then occurring in Bengal obliged them to postpone a reply; and when the reply was given[4] a year later they had come to no decision. They said:—

'The pretensions of Padre Severini to the Church at Viparee, the circumstances of the late Portuguese Church in the White Town demolished by our directions, as likewise what relates to the claims for restitution of the confiscated houses at Fort St. George, mentioned in your general letter

[1] Consultations, Sept. 1754. [2] Despatch, 19 Dec. 1755, 68.
[3] Consultations, July 1756, and Letter, 31 May 1763, 60.
[4] Despatch, 25 March 1757, 54.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

dated the 27th of October 1755, cannot in the present situation of affairs be taken under consideration; our directions thereafter must therefore necessarily be deferred until more favourable times and circumstances of the Company.'

The door was thus left open for future appeals and representations.

At the end of 1752 the Roman Catholics had only a Church in the Luz and one for the Fishermen caste at Mile End. They applied to the Governor in 1754 for permission to build a Church in the Black Town—the new Black Town—on ground used by the mission as a cemetery. The application was refused,[1] not out of ill will but because of the indecency of the proposal; but a site was given them near to their burial place, and they erected a Church on it before the French made their second appearance in 1758.

The Company, acting on the conviction that the loss of Fort St. George in 1746 was largely due to the presence in the Fort of so many Roman Catholics, determined to try and rid themselves of the difficulty by employing only Protestant soldiers. They had the greatest difficulty in raising the necessary number in England; for all the men capable of soldiering were wanted for that purpose in Europe. They therefore enlisted men in Switzerland and Germany. In Dec. 1751 they sent out 230 Swiss for the infantry, and in December 1752 they sent out 120 more; and 60 Protestant Germans for the Artillery. Barracks were ordered to be built for them in December 1751. When the first drafts arrived they found that many of the men were Roman Catholics. The Council wrote to the Directors[2] complaining of this, and added that 13 had deserted, and that they expected more would. They also wrote on the 12 Feb. 1753 that the Swiss soldiers who had been sent to Bengal were deserting, and that they had ordered them to Fort St. George; and they wrote again on the 21st March 1753 that the Swiss soldiers under Captain Polier had arrived from Bengal and had been sent to Fort St. David. In the same letter they reported that Dupleix had seized and was detaining a Company of Swiss as

[1] Consultations, Sept. 1754.
[2] Letter, 5 July 1752, 69, and Despatch, 24 Jan. 1752–3, 99.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

prisoners contrary to treaty and to the law of nations. So that, although the Swiss soldiers were reported by Captain Clive to have behaved very gallantly in action with the French,[1] they gave the Company's officers a good deal of trouble, and were not enlisted after 1754.[2] The enlistment of Germans, especially Hanoverians, went on, however, until the end of the century. The real solution of the Company's difficulty was the employment of the King's regiments in India, the first of which, the 39th Foot,[3] arrived at Fort St. George in 1754.

No record has been found as to the exact date when the Roman Catholics and Armenians rebuilt their Churches in the Black Town; but they were rebuilt before the siege of the Fort in 1758 by General Count Lally. During those three months' siege the buildings used as a hospital on the site of the present General Hospital were greatly injured; it was necessary after the siege was raised to take some other buildings for hospital purposes. The buildings taken were the Roman Catholic and Armenian Churches in Mootal Pettah, the portion of Black Town NNW of the Fort. In 1762 two petitions were submitted to the President in Council, one from Father Severini, Superior of the Capuchins, and the other from Padre Arathoon, of the Armenian Church, praying for the restoration of their Churches.[4] Since there were no other buildings equally convenient, the Government decided to retain the use of them, but to pay a rent of 15 pagodas monthly for each of them during occupation. By degrees the General Hospital was built and came into use. The Armenian Church was restored in Feb. 1764; the Roman Catholic Church continued to be used as a hospital until 1772.

In 1763 Father Severini died. He had been Superior of the Capuchins for nearly 20 years, and had been throughout faithful to the Fort St. George Government. His death made it necessary for the Council to appoint a new Superior. According to the wording in the Consultation book,[5] they set themselves to appoint a 'Superior of the Romish Church at

[1] Letter, 3 Nov. 1752, 42.
[2] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, ed. 1882, page 63, vol. i.
[3] The Dorsetshire Regiment: 'primus in Indis.'
[4] Consultations, 7 Sept. 1762.
[5] Do. 27 Sept. 1763.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Madras.' The Rev. Father Stanton [1] being esteemed a quiet and well disposed man, was recommended by the President to the Council 'as the properest person among the Romish priests to supply the place.' He was accordingly appointed. And the Council ordered that an instrument of appointment be drawn out in the same form as that granted to Padre Severini in 1743–4; that this 'our instrument of induction' be delivered to Father Stanton by the Secretary; and that the Secretary be instructed to attend the Roman Catholic Chapel at the time of the induction to hear the instrument read both in Latin and Portuguese.[2]

It so happened that Father Stanton was a Dominican; the Capuchin community could not recognise him as their Superior; they would not help him; and so he was obliged to resign the appointment. He was succeeded by Father Bernard. Father Stanton was the third Englishman known to have been doing mission work in India. The fact of his not being a Capuchin was quite enough to make it impossible for him to be the head of a Capuchin community; but it was further urged against him that he had not studied the country languages, and was therefore comparatively useless at a place like Madras.

It will be remembered that the Jesuits in China held a Company's bond for 20,000 pagodas, of which the Jesuits could not demand the repayment, but which the Company could pay off when they pleased. In 1755 the Madras Government gave notice of their intention to pay it off. The notice was met by a protest from the Missionaries, who also wrote to the Directors to inform them that the bond was irredeemable. In the meantime the troubles in Bengal occurred, and the money was required; so a notice was sent that it would not be paid off at once. The Directors wrote [3]:—

'The China Jesuits have made representations to us as well as to you against paying off the old Madras bond for 20000 pagodas, which was given at the rate of 6 per cent. But as we do not see any reason to suppose it irredeemable,

[1] In the records the name is sometimes given as Staunton.
[2] Consultations, 11 Oct. 1763.
[3] Despatch, 11 Nov. 1757, 97.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as they alledge, we approve of your determination to have paid it off had circumstances permitted; and we direct that you discharge it whenever you find the most convenient opportunity.'

The Jesuit Superior at Pondicherry was the agent of the China Jesuits for receiving the half yearly interest. On the capture of Pondicherry in 1761 the Jesuits were dispersed and the interest remained unclaimed for three years. At the end of that time the Superior of the Jesuits at St. Thoma requested that payment might be made to him. The Government replied that he must first produce his authority to receive payment.[1] After a further delay of three years he did so; and the interest was paid.[2]

[1] Consultations, 7 Feb. 1764.

[2] Do. 24 April 1767.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XVI

THE PERIOD OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY AS A GOVERNING POWER, 1761–1784

THE fall of Pondicherry in 1761, like the siege of Fort St. George in 1758–9, was only one of the early incidents in the struggle for possession and power which engrossed the attention of the next generation of civilians and soldiers in the south of India. The Portuguese had long before given up the contest. The Dutch were dropping out of it. There remained the French and the English only of the various contending European powers. But at this period of contention there were also three native powers, whose military strength had to be reckoned with: the Moghul Kingdom of the Nizam, the Hindu nation of the Mahrattas, and the military despotism of Mysore, a Hindu nation coerced and led by a Mahommedan soldier of fortune.

The political necessity of taking an active part in the contest was plain enough to the Directors of the Company and to the Government of Great Britain. This necessity resulted in as complete a change in the character and method of the local Government as in the society and mode of life of the Company's settlements. Up to this time the society, the occupation, and the very air of Fort St. George had been largely commercial, and only slightly military and political. The forty years that followed the siege of Fort St. George and the fall of Pondicherry were mostly taken up with political and military affairs and were only slightly commercial. The arrival of the 79th, 84th, 89th and 96th Regiments of the Line at Fort St. George completely altered the tone, the character, and the social life of the place.

Barracks had to be built. The Governor and Council of Fort St. George put up temporary barracks at Vepery, St.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Thomas' Mount, and Pallaveram; the Nabob, grateful for the protection afforded him by British soldiers, built barracks for them at Poonamallee and Chingleput.[1] Hospital accommodation had to be increased; and within a short time a new General Hospital was built for the accommodation of 600 men and 20 officers.[2] An Arsenal had to be provided for the making and repair of military stores and requirements.[3] The fortifications at Cuddalore,[4] Masulipatam,[5] Madras[6] town, as well as at Fort St. George[7] itself, had to be strengthened and put in order. Garrisons had to be provided with accommodation at the frontier stations of Ellore, Arcot and Vellore, as well as at the Forts and fortified towns of Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Cuddalore, and the open camps at St. Thomas' Mount and Poonamallee. The troops at all these places had to be fed. All the building and feeding was done by Contracts, which were taken up by the Company's servants. Contracting for building, feeding and providing transport for a moving force was more profitable than attendance at the Company's offices and go-downs. It is not surprising that the Directors complained[8] that their covenanted servants were neglecting trade—'the most honourable way of making fortunes'—and were making a profit out of war by means of contracts.

The Directors appear to have supposed that the despatch of all the British troops to the Coromandel Coast was intended for defensive purposes only. They did not seem to have realised that generally the best defence is an offensive movement. They saw with alarm the extension of their territory. In 1769 they censured[9] Governor Charles Bourchier and his Council for 'extending our influence and possessions beyond the line,' and they called upon the Governor to resign on the 1st January 1770. Still the territory grew. Trichinopoly remained to them after the first war with the French. Masulipatam and Madura were taken in 1763; the Northern Circars were ceded by the Nizam in 1766; the Nabob gave

[1] Letters dated 14 Oct. 1765, para. 62; and 4 Nov. 1767, para. 24.
[2] Letter, 2 April 1771, and Despatch, 10 April 1771, para. 34.
[3] Letters and Consultations, 1772. Originally known as Call's Laboratory; Desp. 4 Mar. 1767, para. 31.
[4] Letter, 27 March 1765, para. 36.
[5] Letter, 1 April, 1766.
[6] Letter, 31 Jan. 1770, para. 84.
[7] Letter, 29 Jan. 1773.
[8] Despatch, 17 March 1769, para. 44.
[9] Do. do. para. 41.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

up Chingleput to the Company for the support of the British troops; Ramnad was taken 1772; Tanjore and Palamcottah 1776; the Dutch possessions were taken in 1781. No attempt was made to rule these new possessions as we understand rule in the 20th century. They were in military occupation; all owners of property paid rent to the Government of Fort St. George; but the conquered districts, towns, and villages ruled themselves. The Company's servants spent as much time (if not more) over the settlement and collection of the revenues of the new districts as they did over the Company's trade. The coming of the British troops and the acquisition of new territories changed their occupation as well as their status and mode of life.

It was impossible that there should not have been misunderstandings and disputes between the Civil Government and the military authorities. They began when the King's troops first landed at Fort St. George. The King's officers did not understand the position of the Governor as Commander-in-Chief. More than once during this period the Directors, assisted by the British Government, upheld the authority of the Civil power at Fort St. George. In 1766 they wrote[1]: 'The Civil power in all our settlements shall be superior to and command the military.' Generals Sir Robert Fletcher, and Sir John Burgoyne, Bart., Admirals Sir Robert Harland and Sir John Lindsay were amongst those who by insubordination made government difficult for the merchant Governors. Sir Eyre Coote himself disputed with Lord Macartney, who was not a merchant Governor, but the first of a long line of politicians, specially chosen for political ability to preside over the Civil and Military affairs of the Presidency. The military and civil disputes of the period were part of the new condition of existence on the Coast; and they largely helped to make this period different from any that had gone before it.

This period is also answerable for two changes of less importance. The Fort in the town of Mylapore which the Portuguese called St. Thoma, and which was called St. Thoma by the English merchants up to the middle of the 18th

[1] Despatch, 19 Feb. 1766, para. 24.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

century commenced to be written St. Thomé. This was probably due to the arrival there of French in the place of Portuguese Jesuits. The Portuguese called the place St. Thoma (*a* as in *ar*). The English called it St. Thoma (*a* as in *way*). The French seem to have pronounced the word like the English, and written it as they pronounced it, St. Thomé. The other change was in the name of the Company's settlement itself. The Fort in which the Europeans lived had been known for over 100 years as Fort St. George or as White Town; and the native town outside it had been known as Madraspatam or as Black Town. At an early period, even in the times of Fryer and Lockyer, there was an overflow from the Fort to garden houses in the vicinity. At this period there was a considerable exodus. People could hardly describe themselves as living in Fort St. George, when they were actually living in garden houses one or two or even three miles from it. A new term for the settlement as a whole was necessary for ordinary writing and conversational use—a term which would include the whole habitable area, White Town, Black Town, and the surrounding villages where the garden houses mostly were. The word Madras was fixed upon, and has been used ever since. The official designation of the Governor remains the same as in past days; His Excellency is the Governor of Fort St. George and its dependencies; the members of Council are officially the members of the Council of Fort St. George; but the newer officials, whose offices have been created since the middle of the 18th century, like the Chief Justice and the Bishop and Lieutenant General, are officials of Madras. It is not unlikely that the desire and love of brevity had also something to do with the change that took place.

Of all the regiments which have been mentioned only one is known to have brought a Chaplain. The 79th Regiment brought the Rev. Charles Griffiths, who in 1762 entered the Company's service, and was stationed at Fort St. George. The 73rd Regt., commanded by John Mackenzie, Lord Macleod, went out to Fort St. George in 1778[1] with a strength of 1169, including a Chaplain. But his name is not given;

[1] Despatch, 23 Dec. 1778.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and as a matter of fact no Chaplain went with the regiment. The 78th Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Seaforth, went out in 1781 [1] with a strength of 1168, including a Chaplain. His name is given as William Mackenzie; but there is no evidence that he went. There is an entry in the old Trichinopoly register book in 1784 (Burials) which shows that the Rev. Mr. 'Macay' was Chaplain of the 78th Regt. at St. Thoma in 1783. In 1782 went the 101st and the 102nd Regiments, the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, and the 23rd Light Dragoons.[2] But no Chaplain went with any of these regiments. The four last mentioned infantry regiments did not stay very long. They were sent out because [3] of 'France's vigorous preparations for India.' They were recalled in 1783 after the Treaty of Versailles with France and Spain, and the Peace of Paris with the Dutch.

Under the Rules which they made in the reign of Governor Master the Directors had two Chaplains on their Fort St. George establishment, one of whom paid occasional visits to subordinate factories. Although the British population on the coast was at this period so largely increased by the arrival of naval and military forces no Chaplain was added by the Directors to the establishment until 1796. Sir Eyre Coote K.B. had a Chaplain on his staff, the Rev. Westrow Hulse. His Excellency declined to go out to India when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1778 without one. The Directors therefore appointed Mr. Hulse 'to be Chaplain to the 1st Brigade of our troops in Bengal, with the usual allowances and emoluments annexed to that station, and he is to attend the General whenever he shall think fit.' [4] But no arrangement was made for the spiritual charge—the baptism, marriage or burial, let alone the teaching and the exhortation—of the large number of British troops in the pay of the Company, and their families, between 1760 and 1796. It is in many respects a dark period in the history of the Presidency: not only the ecclesiastical history, but the social history too. Thousands of vigorous full blooded young men

[1] Despatch, 31 May 1781.
[2] Afterwards the 19th Hussars; among the Cavalry regiments 'primus in Indis.'
[3] Despatch, 25 Jan. 1782, paras. 58–61. [4] Do. 7 May 1778, para. 16.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were exported to a country where vice is cheap and alcohol untaxed, without a religious guide to warn them of their dangers, and to remind them of God's laws and their own Christian duty. But the period would have been much darker if it had not been for the use made of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. Christian Schwartz accompanied the army as Chaplain to the siege of Madura in 1763–4; to the sieges of Tanjore in 1771 and 1773; he officiated as Chaplain to the troops and the English residents at Trichinopoly from 1764 to 1778; and to the troops and the English residents at Tanjore from 1778 to 1798. For this service he was paid £100 a year by the Madras Government in addition to his pay as a Missionary of the S.P.C.K. When he left Trichinopoly in 1778, his work and pay as the Garrison Chaplain were continued[1] to his successor Christian Pohle till his death in 1817. At Cuddalore Kiernander and his successors Hutteman, Gericke and Holtzberg officiated as Chaplains to the English community, and were paid by the Madras Government for doing so. The Vepery Missionaries Fabricius, Gericke, and Paezold regularly ministered to the Europeans, both civil and military, at all stations which they visited in their missionary capacity. Negapatam, Vellore, Arcot, Pulicat all profited from their ministrations. All the British and German exiles on the Coast were alike saved from the consequences of the Directors' neglect by the ministrations of these faithful and self-denying men. By the terms of the charter of 1698 under which the United Company had all its rights and privileges, there was an obligation on the part of the Company to appoint Chaplains and schoolmasters to each of its superior factories and garrisons, and to each of its ships over 500 tons burthen. For sixty years it evaded its obligations at sea by chartering ships of 499 tons burthen only. And for nearly one hundred years it evaded its obligations on land.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Directors were opposed to mission work in the 18th century, and that they prevented Missionaries from gaining access to the country. They both carried them there and employed them.

[1] Consultations, 29 Aug. 1779.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Primarily the employment of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries to work in garrisons was a local device to get the work done, which it was locally felt ought to be done. It is probable that at first the Directors were not aware that it was being done in that manner. But this ignorance could not have lasted very long. The S.P.C.K. in London knew, and was in regular communication with the Company in Leadenhall Street. The Missionaries themselves were well educated graduates and exceptionally earnest men; they were well versed in the knowledge of the English language; they were loyal to all the authorities; and there was no complaint from any garrison that they did not minister acceptably.

There was one other important factor in the great change that Fort St. George was undergoing at this period, and that was the presence in the roads of a fleet of the King's Navy. This necessitated a naval hospital ashore, as well as houses for the Admiral and some of the senior officers—in short more buildings, more contracts for housing, feeding, and clothing, more work for the covenanted servants of the Company, and more duty in Church and Cemetery for the Company's Chaplains. The difference between Fort St. George and its dependencies in 1761 and 1784 was immense; it was the difference between a village and a town.

When Robert Palk went home in 1758 there was only one Chaplain left in the Fort, Samuel Staveley; but Admiral Stevens brought a Chaplain Samuel Merefield with him on board the flag ship, who applied to the Governor and Council for employment ashore. Being well recommended by the Admiral he was entertained. The Council wrote to the Directors [1] and announced the appointment; and the Directors in their reply sanctioned it.[2]

In 1762 Samuel Staveley went to Fort William, leaving Merefield to conduct all the various duties of the Chaplain at Fort St. George by himself. The 79th Regiment had however brought a Chaplain, Charles Griffiths, who at once applied to be appointed to the vacancy. The Governor and Council appointed Mr. Griffiths until the pleasure of the Directors was

[1] Letter, 18 Aug. 1759, para. 101. [2] Despatch, 23 Nov. 1759, para. 68.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

known, and wrote [1] asking them to confirm the appointment. In the same letter they passed on a request from the Minister and Churchwardens for a supply of Divinity books for the Library, enclosing a list. The Directors sanctioned the appointment and sent the books.[2] In September 1763 Samuel Merefield asked permission to return to Europe with Admiral Cornish on account of his health.[3] Permission was given, and the Council in their next letter home announced his departure.[4]

Whilst Merefield and Griffiths were Chaplains at Fort St. George in 1762 two incidents occurred which throw a side light on the history of the time. The Rev. Mr. Coxeter had come out in the Company's service and brought his family with him. He was not on the Madras establishment; but in this year, owing to some cause which does not appear, he arrived at Fort St. George in a destitute condition. The Governor gave him a passage home in one of the Company's ships, and paid from the Treasury 200 pagodas for the purchase of provisions on the voyage. On reporting the matter to the Directors they did not object [5]—'we observe that you have paid 200 pagodas for the passage of Mr. Coxeter and family, which we shall not object to in this case on account of his function'—but they forbade it being done in future 'without an absolute necessity.' They did not consider themselves under any obligation to pay the expenses of the voyage home of their unsuccessful servants.

In the same year the Rev. Mr. Fabricius was allowed to purchase [6] a pipe of the Company's Madeira at the price charged to the Company's servants. Quite apart from such questions as to whether a Missionary ought to drink Madeira, or whether he ought to spend as much as £40 over laying in a stock of it, the incident is a sign of the good will of the local Government towards the Missionary.

Charles Griffiths was the only Chaplain at Fort St. George

[1] Letter, 17 April 1762, para. 53.
[2] Despatch, 9 March, 1763, paras 62, 63. In the letter home and in the Despatch to Madras he is described as Samuel Griffiths; in the Vestry Minute Book he wrote his name Charles.
[3] Consultation Book, 20 Sept. 1763.
[4] Letter, 7 Nov. 1763, para. 38.
[5] Despatch, 9 March 1763.
[6] Consultations, 9 Aug. 1762.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

during 1764 and half of 1765; but he was not without help; for one of the Calcutta Chaplains, Furnival Bowen, came to Fort St. George at the beginning of 1764 for the benefit of his health, and assisted Griffiths until his departure home in one of the August ships. In return for his welcome help the Fort St. George Council agreed to pay him both the salary and allowances of a Chaplain during his stay.[1]

The Directors appointed the Rev. Mr. John Thomas, 'a gentleman well recommended to us' to succeed Mr. Merefield at Fort St. George.[2] He arrived in the middle of November 1765. Before his arrival, and whilst Griffiths had an undivided responsibility on his shoulders, two important matters were taken up by the Vestry. Andrew Ross, a former Mayor and Sheriff, was one of the Churchwardens. He proposed that the practice of inoculation, which had not hitherto been used in the settlement, should be introduced by getting the children of the Charity School inoculated. The proposal produced a lengthy discussion. Governor Palk, General Lawrence, several covenanted servants of the Company, and a few free merchants like Andrew Ross himself, were present. Eventually the Vestry,[3]

'upon consideration of the happy success inoculation has everywhere met with, the many lives it has providentially been the means of preserving, and the general observation that the best sort of small pox is thereby produced, the danger next to none, and the recovery easy, it is agreed to desire the surgeons who attend the Hospital, when the season is most proper, to inoculate such of the Charity children as have not yet had the small pox.'

A year later the Vestry began to feel the social pressure of the new conditions of life in the Presidency. The military operations of 1761 and 1762, which effected the capture of Pondicherry, Karical, Vellore, Nellore, Gingee and several other forts held by the French; the Manilla expedition under Brig. Gen. Draper in 1762; the explosion of a magazine at Trichinopoly Fort in the same year; the siege of Madura in 1763 and 1764, and the Polygar war of the latter year—

[1] Consultations, 7 June 1764. For an account of this Chaplain see Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 132.

[2] Despatch, 15 Feb. 1765, para. 12.

[3] Vestry Minutes, Jan. 1764.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

largely increased the number of widows and orphans to be provided for by the Church Stock. Besides this, there was an ever increasing number of British Eurasian children to be assisted and educated. In 1762 the following were the military stations and the strength of the garrisons :—

(1) Fort St. George.—Three companies H.M. 79th, Fifty artillerymen, one Company French volunteers, two battalions of Sepoys.

(2) Vellore.—Three companies of European infantry, thirty-six artillerymen and one hundred lascars, one battalion of Sepoys.

There were 500 French prisoners in the Fort.

(3) Cuddalore.—Three companies of European infantry, thirty-six artillerymen and one hundred lascars, one battalion of Sepoys, two companies of Caffres, two troops of English cavalry and one troop of French Hussars.

(4) Trichinopoly.—Three companies of European infantry, thirty-six artillerymen and one hundred lascars, two battalions of Sepoys.

There were 500 French prisoners in the Fort.

A treaty was signed with France and Spain in 1763; and in the following year the 79th, 84th, 89th and 96th Regiments returned to England. But volunteers were left behind from each regiment for the Company's service amounting in all to 25 Sergeants and 545 men. At the end of 1764 the Company had in its own service three battalions of Europeans and three Artillery companies. These were spread about in this way :—

Fort St. George.—Six companies of European infantry, and one company of artillery.

Nellore, Ongole, Masulipatam and Rajahmundry.—Three companies of European infantry, and one company of artillery.

Vellore.—2nd Battalion of European infantry, three companies of the 3rd Battalion, and a quarter company of artillery.

Trichinopoly.—Three companies of the 3rd Battalion of European infantry, and a quarter company of artillery.

Madura and Palamcottah.—Three companies of the 3rd Battalion of European infantry, and a half company of artillery.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In January 1765 the Minister and Churchwardens laid before the Vestry the accounts and represented the necessity of increasing the income of the Fund to meet all the charges on it—there being so many military widows and military orphans to provide for. They asked Governor Palk to assist them in the advantageous investment of their fund, which he promised to do. They also asked him to use his influence to pass an order for the payment of the double boat hire on Sundays by all ships without exception; they wrote this letter to the Government[1]:—

'At a Vestry held lately the Minister and Churchwardens represented that the fund of the extra pay for boats employed on the Sunday (which was intended as an addition to the Charity Stock of the Parish . . . .) did produce but a very small assistance to the poor, now become more numerous by the increase of inhabitants, by reason that this charge has hitherto been levied upon private people only; but on consideration taken by the Vestry that the order for levying this charge seemed to be originally intended for all Sabbath Day boat services, ... it was agreed that it should be submitted to the consideration of your Honour etc., whether it was not reasonable that the service of His Majesty, and that of the Hon. Company, as well as that of private persons, should by this means contribute to the relief of the Poor in general, ... The Minister and Churchwardens do now therefore request that this charge may for the future be levied on all boats employed on the Sunday without distinction.'

The letter was read, and the following resolution passed:—

'Agreed that the extraordinary pay exacted for boats employed on Sundays be levied without distinction as requested for the use of the Church, as their charitable expenses are very numerous, and the charges exceed their annual income; it is but reasonable the Public should contribute to the Church Stock as well as private people; as the said Stock provides diet, clothes and education for the children of the military as well as many distressed families.'

The general result was that the income was increased, and the Vestry was able to continue its good work. Besides making allowances to poor widows, and keeping a school in

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1765.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Fort for 50 orphan and deserted boys, the Vestry supported a certain number of Eurasian orphan girls in the Vepery school; for the Vepery Missionaries had schools for Eurasians as well as for natives. Up to 1765 the Vestry paid to Fabricius, the Missionary in charge, 1½ pagodas a month for each girl they nominated. In 1765 this was increased to 1¾ pagodas; and later on to 2 pagodas. Amongst these girls were the orphan daughters of officers as well as of the rank and file; many of them were natural children.[1]

In 1766 the health of Mr. Parry, the Fort William Chaplain, began to give way. The Government of Fort William thereupon wrote to the Government of Fort St. George, and asked that Mr. Thomas might be allowed to go to Calcutta, and remain there until the pleasure of the Directors was known.[2] The very same month that they wrote, a new Chaplain arrived for them; so that they no longer required Mr. Thomas' services.[3] In the following March [4] the friends of Mr. Thomas asked the Directors to transfer him to Bengal; and the Directors 'as well out of regard to the said application as the merit of Mr. Thomas' complied with their request. But when Thomas heard of the proposal, he declined to go.[5] He was happily placed, and desired no change.

The Governor and Council of Fort St. George made some effort in 1766 to supply further religious ministrations for the troops in the out-garrisons. They sent Thomas to Vellore and to Trichinopoly; but as the health of the senior Chaplain, Mr. Griffiths, was at this time beginning to fail, they wrote to the Directors and asked them to appoint two more Chaplains for the services of the army and the cantonments and the subordinate settlements.[6] The Directors took no notice of this request. In April 1768 Mr. Griffiths died. The Council wrote home[7]:—

'It is with real concern we are to acquaint your Honours that the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, after a lingering and painful illness,

[1] Vestry Minute Book, Nov. 1769, Jan. 1765 etc.
[2] Consultations, 21 Aug. 1766. [3] Do. 19 Sept. 1766.
[4] Despatch, 4 March 1767, para. 36.
[5] Consultations, 28 Nov. 1767, and Letter, 5 Nov. 1767, para. 89.
[6] Letter, 22 Jan. 1767, para. 114.
[7] Letter, 11 May, 1768, para. 69.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

departed this life the 25th ultimo. Mr. Thomas being the only Chaplain at this Presidency, we request that you will appoint another.'

Almost a year [1] later the Directors appointed the Rev. Benjamin Salmon; they added, 'and as he is a gentleman of character in his profession, we doubt not his conduct will be suitable to it.'

Salmon arrived in October of that year, and attended a Vestry meeting in November. He found the pay and allowances of his post less than he anticipated. He therefore complained to the Governor; and when a Board of Police was established for magisterial purposes of all minor kinds at the beginning of 1770, Benjamin Salmon was appointed Secretary of the Board at £100 a year,[2] the motive of this appointment being his very scanty allowance as Chaplain.

In January 1774 Salmon resigned. The Directors were asked to appoint another Chaplain [3]; but Thomas remained in sole charge until his return to Europe through ill-health at the end of 1777 on board the flag ship of Sir Edward Hughes.

During his incumbency the question of responsibility for the repair of the Church roof and steeple, which had been damaged in the siege of 1758–9, was discussed and settled at Fort St. George. The Vestry called for a report and estimate in January 1765; and again in January 1766. In February 1767 the Master Bricklayer was called upon to state why he had not submitted an estimate. He replied that the quantity of materials for the scaffolding would be very great and very expensive, and that he could not give an estimate. It was thereupon agreed to ask the Government for the loan of the materials and the expense of execution. This was the resolution of the Council [4]:—

'As the steeple was considerably damaged in the siege by the enemy's shot and shell, so much indeed that the top is now in danger of falling; and as the Church which was also

[1] Despatch, 17 March 1769, para. 59.
[2] Letter, 6 April 1770, paras. 40–45.
[3] Letter, 5 Feb. 1774, 83.
[4] Consultations, 26 Feb. 1767.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

damaged, has been repaired at the expense of the Church Fund, which can very ill afford it; and as the greatest expense in repairing the steeple will be the scaffolding which the Engineer acquaints the Board may be furnished from the Company's Stores and returned after use; it is agreed that the Engineer be ordered to erect a scaffolding and make such repairs as are necessary at the Company's expense.'

Under ordinary circumstances the repairs would probably have been carried out at once. But the times were unfavourable. We were at peace with the European powers; but Hyder Ali of Mysore suddenly entered the Carnatic with 70,000 men. He had with him a large number of French and Swiss soldiers who had entered his service when the French possessions were taken. He was defeated by Brig. Gen. Joseph Smith at Chengamah on the 2 September, and at Tirumallai on the 3 October 1767. Between those dates his cavalry appeared at Madras, plundered St. Thoma, burnt several villages near, and then as rapidly disappeared. The war continued through 1768 mostly on the borders and within the borders of his own country. In 1769 he appeared before Madras again with his cavalry desiring peace, but stipulating that during the negotiations General Joseph Smith should be ordered to remain stationary at a distance of 25 miles. This war put the Government to a great expense, so that the repair of the Church was for the time impossible.

An attempt to refill the exhausted treasury by compelling the Rajah of Tanjore and the Polygars of Madura to pay something towards the expenses of the war, on the ground that their territories had been successfully defended against the common enemy, led to further trouble; and the war continued till the occupation of Tanjore by the Company's troops in 1776.

The steeple could wait; but the Church and the Church Lodgings could not. In January 1772 the Vestry resolved to repair the roof of the Church at the cost of the Church Fund; this was accordingly done; the bill amounted to 644 pagodas [1]; and 20 per cent. extra was given to the Master Bricklayer for

[1] Vestry Minutes, April 1773.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

superintending the work. At various times repairs were done to the Church Lodgings.[1]

On the conclusion of the Tanjore difficulty the Vestry again approached the Government.[2] The resolution before mentioned was sent in reply and entered in the Minute Book; but the favourable opportunity had not yet come. The Government was upset by dissensions in the Council; and when Sir Thomas Rumbold arrived in 1778 as Governor, a fresh war with France, Holland, and Hyder Ali broke out, which lasted till 1784. This was Sir Hector Munro's and Sir Eyre Coote's great campaign; Munro took and destroyed Pondicherry[3]; Eyre Coote defeated the enemy at Port Novo, Sholinghur, and other places. The possessions of the Dutch were taken from them. But there were also losses, repulses and defeats; and an anxious time for the Fort St. George Government.

In 1780 the Vestry asked the Government to assist in the repair of the Church Lodgings on the ground that all their income was taken up in the relief of widows, orphans and poor persons. But the Board regretted its inability to entertain the request.[4]

To fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. B. W. Salmon the Directors appointed Mr. St. John Browne.[5] He arrived in August 1775. His name does not appear in the Vestry Minute Book as attending a Vestry meeting; nor in the Register Books as performing any sacred duty. Before he had been in the country six months he was in serious trouble. He wrote to the Council on the 24th January 1776 asking for a passage home.[6] This was granted together with £50 for his expenses; but the Council also resolved to write home 'that he be not sent out again in any capacity.' They informed[7] the Directors that one night in punishing one of his servants, the man trying to escape fell from a terrace 20 feet high; that Browne made no attempt to discover if he were hurt, but behaved with inhumanity; that next morning the man was discovered mortally hurt; and that on the following

[1] Vestry Minutes, 1770, 1774, and 1779.
[2] Do. 25 May 1776.
[3] It cost 55,000 pagodas to destroy the fortifications. Letters, 22 Oct. 1778, 3, 4, and 14 Oct. 1779, 3.
[4] Vestry Minutes, Jan. and Feb. 1780.
[5] Despatch, 4 Jan. 1775, para. 5.
[6] Consultations, 24 Jan. 1776.
[7] Letter, 14 Feb. 1776, paras. 11–14.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

day he died; that Browne was brought to trial for murder; that the jury acquitted him, and brought in a verdict of homicide by misadventure; and that Browne was now going home to sue out his pardon from the Court of Chancery. The incident was most unfortunate; and probably none regretted it more than Browne himself. He was new to the country; and did not understand about verandah roofs and their danger. It is much more likely that he assumed the man had climbed down the supporting pillar of the verandah and safely reached the ground, than that he was guilty of the inhumanity of leaving a wounded man to lie in the street all night unhelped and unattended. Governor Pigot and the Council went on to say:—

'The appointment of Chaplains cannot be made with too great caution. We are of opinion that it will be difficult to persuade persons of approved and established characters in their profession to accept the office unless an increase of salary be annexed to it. The present advantages are certainly too inconsiderable; and it is hardly to be expected that any gentleman who is secured in a decent provision at home, would expose himself to all the inconveniences of a foreign climate to receive what is barely sufficient for his maintenance, without any other prospect of advantage whatever. We request your Honours will be pleased to take the matter into your consideration, and make such an addition to the salaries of your Chaplains as upon the foregoing representation may appear to you reasonable.'

The time was ripe for opening this question; all salaries had been increased except the Chaplain's. The Vestry increased it in 1750 by building the Church Lodgings for the free accommodation of one Chaplain; and in 1753 by making an allowance from the Church Fund to the other Chaplain for the superintendence of the St. Mary's School. But even thus the pay and allowances were small compared with those of others in the settlement. The Council recognised the injustice; and adopted various devices to effect the increase which the Directors would not sanction. They made Salmon secretary of the Police Board; they made Thomas Chaplain of Vellore, with a payment of 85 pagodas a month; but to prevent any objection on the part of the Directors Thomas

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was placed on the military establishment and paid out of the Nawab's military subsidy. Later on they put both their Chaplains on the military establishment, and directed their extra payment from this source of revenue. One was called Chaplain of Vellore, and the other the Chaplain of the Army. But these devices were unsatisfactory. The time had arrived for an increase; and the Council took the opportunity of Browne's unfortunate conduct to press the matter with their Hon. Masters. The Directors took no notice of the application. St. John Browne did not go home in one of the February ships as the Council intended. There is nothing in the records to show why. He applied to the Council in June for some subsistence allowance,[1] was granted 100 pagodas, and was told not to expect more. After that his name disappears from Madras history.

The hot weather of 1777 appears to have tried Mr. Thomas very severely; he was single handed and had been so for two years; for the Directors had sent out no successor to their last nominee. A British fleet, under the command of Sir Edward Vernon, was at this time in the Madras roads; and a Chaplain, named William Bainbrigge, was with the fleet. He was willing to take up the work at Fort St. George; and being recommended both by Sir Edward Vernon and by Sir Edward Hughes, the Council appointed him, until the Company's pleasure was known.[2] The Council wrote home informing the Directors of the appointment, and asking them to confirm it, describing Bainbrigge as Chaplain of H.M.S. Rippon.[3] Subject to the Court's approval they gave him the same allowances as Thomas had had.[4]

Thomas was one of the Chaplains who made himself popular with all classes in Madras. The Vestry passed this resolution of appreciation[5]:—

'The Vestry express their satisfaction with the exemplary conduct of Mr. Thomas during his residence in the settlement, and regret his state of health compels him to return to Europe. Ordered that a copy of this minute and the thanks of the Vestry be sent to Mr. Thomas in Europe.'

[1] Consultations, 11 June 1776.
[2] Do. 29 July, 1777.
[3] Letter, 19 Sept. 1777.
[4] Letter, 5 Feb. 1778.
[5] Vestry Minutes, 5 Dec. 1777.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Council agreed that 'as his conduct has invariably been such as to obtain the respect and regard of the whole Community,' 'he be made mention of accordingly in our address to our Hon. Masters.'[1]

This is what they wrote[2]:—

'Chaplain the Rev. Mr. John Thomas proceeds on H.M.S. Salisbury for the recovery of his health; his true piety and exemplary conduct induce us to recommend it to the Court to confer some mark of their favour upon him.

'Mr. Thomas has served you 12 years in the office of Chaplain; his true piety and exemplary conduct have gained him the esteem of every one. After so long a residence in this country, by which he has entirely worn out his constitution, we are sorry to observe that his circumstances are not sufficient to enable him to live in such manner as his indifferent state of health seems to require. We doubt not that in this situation you will, if it can be done with propriety, confer upon him some mark of your favour, to which we heartily recommend him.'

Mr. Thomas wrote a letter of thanks to the Vestry.[3]

When the local Government appointed Bainbrigge they recorded this minute in the Consultation Book[4]:—

'The Board are sensible of the justness of Mr. Bainbrigge's representation with respect to the difficulties he must experience in his present situation. We have upon former occasions observed to the Hon. Court of Directors how inadequate the salary of their Chaplains has ever been to the purposes of maintaining them in a manner suitable to their profession; and since the increase which has of late years arisen throughout this settlement in the price of almost every article of expense, the inconveniences of their situation must have been proportionally augmented. We hope the Hon. Court will see with us the propriety of enabling Mr. Bainbrigge to support himself as becomes the respectable office he holds in their service, which it is agreed to state to them in our next advices; and in the mean time that the allowances formerly drawn by Mr. Thomas be given to Mr. Bainbrigge from the time of the departure of H.M.S. Salisbury.

[1] Consultations, 30 Sept. 1777.
[2] Letter, 3 Oct. 1777, 16.
[3] Vestry Minutes, 5 Feb. 1780.
[4] Consultations, 31 Oct. 1777.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

When there were two Chaplains at the Fort, in accordance with the Directors' own rule, they drew pay as follows :—

	£		
(1) The Senior Chaplain, Government Pay . .	100	0	0
„ Diet Money	76	16	0
	176	16	0

And the Vestry allowed a house, rent free.

	£		
(2) The Junior Chaplain, Government Pay . .	100	0	0
„ Diet Money	76	16	0
„ House rent	33	12	0
And the Vestry allowed for the School Superintendence	100	0	0
	210	8	0

The Junior received more than the Senior; but he had to pay rent for a house, and teach in the St. Mary's School.

When a Chaplain had sole charge he received the regular Government Pay and diet money, the house, and the Vestry allowance for superintending the School, in all £276 16s. and the house.

The Council's devices and plans to increase the pay of the Chaplains did not become regular until 1779. The Directors appointed the Rev. John Stanley in 1778[1]; he arrived and reported his arrival on the 31 July 1778 before the Council had received the Despatch announcing his appointment.[2] He began at once to make enquiry about his pay and allowances; and he wrote to the Council in September about them, and claimed to succeed to the vacancy caused by Thomas going home. In those perilous days letters and despatches did not always reach their destination. The Directors did not apparently know of Bainbrigge's appointment locally. And the Council did not know of Stanley's appointment in London. According to the rules of the Company, Stanley was the Senior Chaplain; but Bainbrigge occupied the Church Lodgings, had charge of the School, and was Chaplain of Vellore; and he had been filling these posts acceptably for nearly a

[1] Despatch, 4 March 1778, para. 9. [2] Consultations, 31 July 1778.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

year. However Stanley's letter obliged the Council to consider and settle his claim.[1] They decided without reference home that each Chaplain should draw the Company's allowances for salary and diet; that Bainbrigge should continue Chaplain of Vellore, and Stanley Chaplain to the Army, with permission to draw the pay of a Captain; that all other allowances should be equally divided; Bainbrigge to have the house and Stanley the house rent. The Military Paymaster wrote to enquire if the Chaplains were to draw these allowances month by month whether they visited Vellore and the Army or not; and the reply was 'Yes' to both questions.[2] It was an intentional device to do what the Directors would not do, raise the pay to such a sum as would enable the Chaplains to support themselves in the social position they occupied. Having made this arrangement the Governor and Council wrote to the Directors announcing what they had done; that in consequence of the representations of the Vestry and the Churchwardens they had ordered[3] an extra allowance of £100 a year to the Chaplains; and they asked the Directors to confirm the order. In September 1780 Stanley went on leave to Bengal.[4] He was employed there as soon as he arrived,[5] and did not return; he resigned his Madras appointment two years later.[6]

The Council appointed the Rev. Benjamin Millingchamp to the vacancy, and wrote home to that effect[7]; the Directors gave no reply.

During the first three years of Mr. Bainbrigge's incumbency the Vestry met no less than twelve times to discuss important matters connected with its interests. In Dec. 1777 it tried to solve the difficulty of the Chaplain's income by voting him an allowance of 500 pagodas a year out of the Church Fund, in addition to his pay. In Dec. 1778, on the arrival of Mr. Stanley, it resolved that this sum should henceforth be shared by the two Chaplains. At this meeting Sir Hector Munro and Stephen Popham were present. But the members of the

[1] Consultations, 11 Sept. 1778, 23 Sept. 1778, 22 Jan. 1779, and 27 Aug. 1779. Letter, 16 March, 1779, para. 13.
[2] Consultations, 3 June 1779.
[3] Letter, 4 April 1780.
[4] Consultations, 8 Sept. 1780.
[5] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, 169.
[6] Consultations, 24 July, 1782.
[7] Do. do. Letter, 31 Aug. 1782, para. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Vestry seem to have had some doubt as to whether this grant was a legitimate application of their funds. They resolved to reconsider it in March 1779; in the following October it was agreed to discontinue it, and to address the Government on the insufficiency of the salaries given to the Chaplains. The Governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hector Munro, and 21 others were present. The result was the placing of the Chaplains on the Military pay list, and the assignment to them of military duty, for which they drew military pay but which they could only fitfully and irregularly perform.

The Vestry at this time had cause for anxiety and were anxious about the condition of the School building. It was situated in Middle Gate Street; it belonged to the Company, and had been lent by the Council to the Vestry for the purpose of the school after the siege of 1758–9. The Vestry's own school house had been destroyed by shot and shell. In April 1778 Mr. Bainbrigge reported that the school house wanted repair; and that more money was required for the school to enable it to take in all the orphan children of the soldiers of the Company; that a new school house was wanted and a larger one. The Vestry resolved to raise a subscription at the Presidency and at the different subordinate stations, and to establish a fund for the purpose, to be under the direction of the Minister and Churchwardens. It was however a time of war, and therefore an unfavourable time; so that this resolution does not appear to have been carried out. In March 1779 Mr. Bainbrigge again reported to the Vestry that the school house needed repair. The Vestry agreed that as the house was the property of the Company, it could not interfere. In Oct. 1779 Mr. Bainbrigge reported that in consequence of the state of the school house, he had removed the children to his own house, that is, to the Church Lodgings. The Chief Engineer reported that the school house was irreparable. The Vestry resolved to rent another house for the present for school purposes. They also addressed the Governor and Council asking for the allotment of another house. In Dec. 1779 the Vestry received a reply informing them that the Government could not accommodate the children

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with any other house. It was resolved therefore to ask the Council to make over the ground of the old house to the Charity, to enable the parish to make provision for the children. In January 1780 it was resolved, as the Council could not assist the Charity by either repairing the old house or giving another, to ask the Civil Architect to examine the old house and estimate the cost of repairing it. On obtaining this estimate a letter was at once written by the Chaplains and Churchwardens to the Government representing that the rent of 60 pagodas a month was very heavy for the present [1] school house; that they desired to repair the old school house and alter it, (the cost being 785 pagodas) at the expense of the Fund; and asking the Government either to give the old building, or to grant a lease of it for 99 years to the Ministers and Churchwardens upon a small quit rent, to enable the parish to make a proper provision for the accommodation of the children. The Council passed the following order; 'The Board have been pleased to grant them the lease of the old building for the use of the Charity School for a term of 99 years upon paying to the Company 5 pagodas per annum.' [2] The Vestry then put the building in repair. It was in use as the Charity School house till 1872, when the St. Mary's School and the Civil Male and Female Orphan Asylums were amalgamated and accommodated at Egmore. The lease expired in 1879. But no one remembered this. The fact was not discovered till 1891, when the Government resumed possession.

In Dec. 1781, whilst the war was still going on with the French the Dutch and the Mysoreans, the subject of the prevailing famine was discussed by the Vestry, and it was resolved that the Churchwardens should open a subscription, and draw up rules for the distribution of the charity. In Jan. 1782 a committee of 15 was appointed by the Vestry to manage the charity to the Poor Native Inhabitants. The committee included 11 Europeans and British Eurasians, 1 Portuguese Eurasian, 1 Armenian, and 2 Hindus. The Chaplain and Churchwardens formed the Executive Committee.

[1] That is, the one they were then hiring. [2] Consultations, 3 March 1780.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Application was made to Government for help[1]; public and private individuals were appealed to for subscriptions; the secretary of the last famine committee (Chocopah Chetty) was called upon for his accounts; several letters were written during the year 1782 to the Governor and Council reporting progress, and seeking co-operation. In May the Churchwardens wrote that they were desired by the Committee to send a list of Black[2] subscribers, to shew how inadequate their subscriptions were, and how irregular in their payments; and to ask the Government to use its influence with the Black inhabitants to contribute more largely and more regularly.[3] From the letter it appears that the Europeans were contributing 800 pagodas monthly, and the Black subscribers 242 pagodas monthly. The famine lasted for two years. Bainbrigge died on the 6th September 1783 just as it was over. Mr. Richard Leslie was appointed to succeed him on the 10th Sept.[4] On the 14 Jan. 1784 the Chaplains and Churchwardens wrote to the Government by desire of the Famine Committee, detailing what they had done in the matter of relief. They added:—'The Committee also resolved that the sum of 8000 pagodas, part of the present fund for the Native poor shall be lodged with Government in the name of the Ministers and Churchwardens'; and they asked that 8 separate bonds of 1000 pagodas each might be made out in the names of the Ministers and Churchwardens for the benefit of the Native poor. This request was granted.[5] The Fund was known as the Native Poor Fund, and was administered by the Vestry until 1809.

An examination of the St. Mary's Register Books makes one wonder how the Chaplains, often single handed, managed to do all the work that they had to do. As early as 1766 Mr. Thomas paid an official visit to the troops at Vellore[6] and Trichinopoly. In 1775 he was at Masulipatam.[7] There is no reason to suppose that these were the only visits paid to the out-garrisons and subordinate stations, even though there is no reference to others in the records. The Vestry Minute Books, the Registers themselves, and the S.P.C.K. Reports

[1] Consultations, 6 August 1782.
[2] This is the term used in the letters and papers.
[3] Consultations, 24 May 1782. [4] Do. 10 Sept. 1783. [5] Do. 14 Jan. 1784.
[6] Letter, 22 Jan. 1767, para. 114. [7] Consultations, 3 Dec. 1775.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

throw some light on the question. Besides the two Churchwardens there were two Sidesmen elected annually. One of the Junior Merchants was Clerk of the Vestry; there was a European Schoolmaster, a European Organist, and a European Church Clerk. Between them these managed the Fund Accounts, the financial affairs of the School, Poor relief, and frequently officiated at the frequent funerals. The S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Vepery managed the Female Orphan School; and being in spiritual charge of the Naval Hospital, they officiated at the naval funerals. There were many helpers; or the two Chaplains—often only one—would never have been able to do what had to be done.

The Fund accounts were intricate, and involved large sums of money. When the Vestry wrote to the Government in 1780,[1] and begged the Government to assist them in the repair and partial rebuilding of the Church Lodgings, they pleaded what they had expended in originally building the Lodgings, what they had expended in their annual repair, and what they were doing in the cause of charity. They said, 'we are desirous that the habitation of the Hon. Company's Chaplain shall be equal to the rank and station of a Minister.' They enclosed a Balance sheet of the Church Cash for the

BALANCE SHEET.

Dr.	Pagodas	Cr.	Pagodas
To Interest 30,000 Pags. at 9 % .	2700	School Charge at 150 p.m. .	1800
Do. 8000 Do. 8 .	640	Clothing	200
Do. 2600 Do. 10 .	260	House rent at 60 pags. . .	720
„ Charitable Contributions .	200	Charity Girls at Vepery at 30 pags. p.m.	360
	3800	Organist at 25 pags. . .	303
Debit Balance . . .	366	Vestry Clerk at 10 pags. . .	120
		Mr. Pybus' children at 10 pags.	120
		Monthly Charities at 44 pags. .	528
		Sundries	15
	4166		4166

year 1779. As showing what the income and expenditure was at that time, it is of great interest. But their appeal was unsuccessful. This was the resolution of the Council:—

'Ordered that as the Board so very lately contributed so

[1] Consultations, 3 Feb. 1780.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

handsomely by an additional allowance granted to the Chaplains, they did not expect another application from them so soon upon the subject of relief to the Charity Fund, and that their request cannot be complied with.'

In March 1782 the authorities of Fort St. George were much troubled about want of store room within the walls of the Fort. A number of buildings had to be appropriated for the use of the French and Dutch prisoners, and for the purposes of the Fleet; the buildings that remained were insufficient for the necessary Garrison and Military Stores. The Council considered it expedient [1] that the stores necessary during a siege should be constantly lodged within the walls of the Fort; and their thoughts turned to the Church, which from its construction (it was built with a bomb proof roof and very thick walls) they esteemed to be a safe and commodious place for them. It was then agreed that with the consent of the Vestry the Church should be allotted to the different store-keepers for that purpose until the warehouses could be spared for them. And it was ordered that the Vestry be informed of the above resolution. At the desire of the Rt. Hon. the President [2] they were offered the Hall of the Government House for the performance of Divine Service so long as the Church should be shut up.

Three days later a Vestry meeting was held.[3] Lord Macartney presided. William Bainbrigge, the two Churchwardens, and five other heads of families were present, including Andrew Ross the free merchant. The Governor represented to the Vestry the reasons for the resolution which the Council had passed, and asked for the Vestry's consent. Mr. William Webb was of opinion that nothing but absolute necessity could justify the act; and that such necessity did not appear from the information laid before the Vestry. Mr. Henry Mitchell thought that the mode of application was unsatisfactory. The Governor having withdrawn such part of the representation as was not agreeable to the Vestry, and having applied on the same footing as Governor Pigot on the 25th June 1758 on the like occasion, the Rev. Mr. Bainbrigge thought it reasonable

[1] Consultations, 1 March 1782. [2] Lord Macartney, P.C.
[3] Vestry Minutes, 4 March 1782.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to give the same consent as his predecessor Mr. Palk. The Vestry thereupon agreed that the Church should be allowed for the purpose desired; and they directed the Minister and Churchwardens to take charge of the Organ, the Altar piece, and the Church furniture.

During the year 1782 there arrived four of H.M.'s regiments of Foot, one regiment of Cavalry, and 500 men for the Company's European Battalions; and Hyder Ali of Mysore died. The danger of a siege consequently no longer threatened. The Vestry therefore resolved [1] to ask the Government to restore the Church. It was not until the end of October 1783 that this was done. The Chaplains and Churchwardens then wrote [2] to the Government, and represented that the inside of the building had sustained much injury during the preceding 12 months, and they asked in compensation for the repair of the Church, the Church Lodgings and the Vestry Room. The Council were good enough to order the necessary repairs; and they further directed the Committee of Works to survey the Church Lodgings, and report if both Chaplains could be accommodated there.

A year later the Minister and Churchwardens reported to the Vestry [3] that the repairs of the Church were still unfinished, and that they could get no reply from the Committee of Works. They added that the stone pavement under the soldiers' seats had been removed, causing a danger that the Church would be infested with vermin. The Vestry having proceeded to the Church for inspection, agreed to ask that the stone pavement be replaced, and to complain that the new venetians were not as good as the old ones.

The stone slabs inside the Church, and the memorial stone slabs which were brought from the old burial ground and laid round it on the outside,[4] had been taken to the ramparts for the purpose of building platforms for the guns. Here they remained until 1807. Many of them were broken in transit to and fro. The loan of the consecrated building was patriotically necessary; the use of the slabs was necessary; but the authorities ought to have been prompt and liberal in repairing all damages, and restoring the *status quo ante* as

[1] Vestry Minutes, 31 Dec. 1782.
[2] Consultations, 28 Oct. 1783.
[3] Vestry Minutes, 22 Nov. 1784.
[4] Do. 17 Jan. 1766.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

soon as ever the danger was over and the necessity gone. Part of the north aisle of the Church still remains unpaved.

The following minute on the subject written by the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, in 1807 shows that the date and the occasion of the removal of the stones had then been forgotten ;[1]—

'During the last siege of Fort St. George many of the tomb stones were taken from the Churchyard within the Fort, and made use of as platforms for the Batteries on the northern face, where they have since remained. The first Chaplain[2] has suggested to me the propriety of these monuments being replaced in the Churchyard. The suggestion appearing a very proper one I recommend the Military Board may be directed to carry it into execution.'

The Council resolved to give orders accordingly; and the tombstones were replaced round the Church; but the stones which were removed from the interior were not replaced.[3]

It will be remembered that when the Church was consecrated burials within its walls were specially excepted. The consecration deeds were registered in London; if there were copies of them at Fort St. George, they were lost during the French occupation of the Fort in 1746–9. There was no recollection locally of any such exception in the year 1777 when the Right Hon. Lord Pigot died. When this event took place, the Hon. Edward Monckton, his son-in-law and executor, applied to the Churchwardens for permission to inter his Lordship's body in the Church. The Minister and Churchwardens consented, 'in consideration of his Lordship's distinguished character, and the essential services he has rendered the public.' They likewise consented to a tombstone being laid over his grave, and his escutcheon being hung in the Church. The burial took place on May 11th; the Minister (John Thomas) and Churchwardens reported to the Vestry what they had done at the next meeting in June.

[1] Military Consultations, 29 Aug. 1807.

[2] The Senior Chaplain, Dr. R. H. Kerr.

[3] The paving of the rest of the Church is with dressed Pallaveram stone (gneiss), one foot square, placed diagonally, the alternate stones being slightly polished to darken their colour. There are stones of this size and appearance in front and in the hall of the house now occupied by the Garrison Chaplain, which look as if they once belonged to the Church. The house was not the Chaplain's quarters till 1827.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Vestry approved of the interment of Lord Pigot's body in the Church for the reasons mentioned; but thought it 'necessary to remark that this is not to be looked upon as a precedent to any future interment.'[1]

However the precedent was made; and when His Excellency Sir Eyre Coote K.B.—the distinguished soldier, the victorious General, the hero of Porto Novo and Sholinghur—died in April 1783, it was impossible to resist the application for the interment of his remains inside the building. The burial took place on the 28 April. The Churchwardens reported what they had done to the Vestry at its next meeting on the 31 Dec. 1783. The following is extracted from the Vestry Minute Book of that date.

'Mr. Vaughan[2] acquaints the Vestry that upon the death of Sir Eyre Coote he received an application from the family, requesting that his remains might be interred in the Church, and a message was sent to him from the Governor at the same time, expressing his wish that this distinction however unusual might be shown to a person of Sir Eyre Coote's high station and character.

'As the same had been done in a former instance towards the corpse of the late Lord Pigot as a mark of gratitude for the eminent services of his Lordship in India, Mr. Vaughan, being the only Churchwarden present, was induced to allow of it on this occasion also for the same reasons which operated then, the services of Sir Eyre Coote having not only obtained him the repeated applause and thanks of his country, but made the most grateful impression on the mind of every individual here, who are sensible that to his great exertions the present situation of this country is principally owing, and honouring him equally for his private virtues as his public abilities.

'Mr. Vaughan therefore hopes that the Vestry will approve of his conduct in having consented to his being buried in the Church, and consider it as a distinction to which he was entitled on every account in a settlement so much indebted as this has been to him both in the former as well as in the present war.

'Mr. Vaughan then delivers in the application from Col. Owen for the interment of Sir Eyre Coote's remains

[1] Vestry Minutes, 21 June 1777.
[2] Hugh Vaughan was the Senior Churchwarden.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

within the walls of the Church. On receiving the above application Mr. Vaughan acquaints the Vestry that he shewed it to the Rev. Mr. Bainbrigge [1] and the Rev. Mr. Millingchamp, who readily acquiesced in the propriety of an immediate compliance.

'The Vestry approve of the Ministers' and Churchwardens' conduct with regard to the above representation.'[2]

Fault could be found with the composition of the report; but there are two notable things in connection with it,—the hearty appreciation of the deceased General; and the fact that the Churchwardens did so much to help the Ministers in those days in matters which were not spiritual. It was the Churchwarden who was addressed in the matter, the Churchwarden who acted, and the Churchwarden who reported.

The body of Sir Eyre Coote did not remain in St. Mary's Fort St. George much more than a year. Colonel Owen, one of the General's executors, then wrote to the Rev. Mr. Millingchamp requesting permission to remove the remains to England. With the concurrence of the Rev. Mr. Leslie and the Churchwardens permission was given, and the body was conveyed on board H.M.S. Belmont for Europe.[2]

When the Vestry agreed to hand over the Church to the Civil authorities to be used as a Store in March 1782, they directed the Churchwardens to take charge of the Organ, the Altar Piece and the furniture. This is the first reference in the records to the Altar Piece. It is a picture measuring about 10 × 8 feet, and is a well-executed copy of Raphael's cartoon of the Last Supper. There are some little differences between the original and the copy; for instance, the elegant hanging lamp of the original is omitted in the copy; and an ordinary bason and jug and towel take the place of the artistic ewer in the right hand corner.[3] But the positions and the attitudes of the figures leave no doubt as to the original of the copy. There is no known record as to how and when the picture came into the possession of the Chaplains and Churchwardens. It was not mentioned with other

[1] William Bainbrigge died on the 6 Sept. 1783.
[2] Vestry Minutes, 22 Nov. 1784.
[3] I am indebted to the Rev. C. H. Malden, Garrison Chaplain of Fort St. George, for observing these differences.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

things which were brought from Pondicherry after the first capture in 1761. It is not likely that it adorned the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort, and that it was appropriated when that Church was demolished; for all the adornments were given up to the Roman Catholics. Nor is it likely that the picture was purchased in England by the Churchwardens—even though the Hanoverian Court had made Altar pieces fashionable—for the Churchwardens had no money to spare for mere adornment. It is most likely that it came from Pondicherry after the second capture in 1778. The picture remained the Altar piece till an east window was pierced in the sanctuary wall in 1795 for the purpose of admitting the sea breeze.[1] It was then placed in the Vestry. Later on it was raised to its present position over the chancel arch. Although it is difficult to make out the detail of the picture where it is, the position is the best possible one for it; for it is safe from injury from the sun, the wind, and the rain.

It has been mentioned that the bell on the roof of the Fort House was borrowed from the Church. In that position it served more than one purpose; it was used to summon Council meetings and give alarms as well as for ecclesiastical purposes. In 1784 it was moved back at the Company's expense from the Fort House to the Church belfry,[2] and thenceforth was used for Church purposes only. The use of a Church Bell for secular purposes was revived in the Fort in the middle of the 19th century. By that time the Government had adopted the policy of building Churches in military stations and supplying the necessary furniture. Bells were imported through the Ordnance Department, which generally had two or three in stock ready for use. Some Ordnance officer determined to make use of one of these bells to summon his coolies to work. The bell ringer only knew one way of ringing a bell; and that way was the Church way. Day by day punctually at eight o'clock it rang for five minutes, and made every dweller in the Fort think of Church service and religious duty. In the last decade of the 19th century it was removed to the Camp Equipage Store a mile away.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 1 April 1795. [2] Do. 22 Nov. 1784.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHAPLAINS AND THEIR WORK FROM 1785 TO 1805

SINCE the recovery of Fort William and the Conquest of Bengal by H.M.'s Fleet and a military force of Madras troops the northern Presidency, relieved of its troubles and anxieties from its country neighbours, had grown very rapidly in wealth and political importance. Similar causes to those which prevented its commercial prosperity and political expansion before 1757 were operating in the southern Presidency a quarter of a century later. Former depressions were due to competition with other European powers on the Coast. The depression in 1785 was due to conflict with the country powers. The strength and the hostility of these—the Mysoreans chiefly—reduced the possibility of the growth of inland trade. The trade was not less than formerly; nor was the revenue arising from the Company's southern possessions; but the expenditure over naval and military establishments grew faster than the revenues and commercial profits; and this caused both anxiety and impatience at the East India House. In 1785 Lord Macartney recommended the recall of the King's troops in order to relieve the financial pressure.[1]

Up to 1785 all the various business of the Government had been conducted by the Council at their daily sittings. In that year it was recognised that the limit of human powers had been reached, and the business was divided amongst different smaller Boards. Besides the Council there was appointed a Military Board, a Revenue Board and a Trade Board. The Council passed or varied the resolutions of the Boards; and administered directly all other matters. This

[1] Letter, 30 Jan. 1785.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

necessary alteration added to the cost of government, and increased the financial difficulty; which difficulty was during the next ten years largely responsible for the Company's neglect of the religious and moral welfare of its military and civil servants on the Coast.

On the other hand there had grown by degrees in the Council a species of Home Rule. The early Governors, with the exception of Streynsham Master, were accustomed to recommend actions and policies to their Honourable Employers, and to await their sanction before carrying them out. Later Governors carried out their own resolutions and reported their action afterwards. When Lord Macartney, the first political Governor, was appointed in 1781, this course became the general rule of procedure. To some extent it counterbalanced the disinclination of the Directors to incur the expense of appointing Chaplains. The Company's servants in the Presidency of Madras, and the Company's Governor in Council, knew what was locally wanted, and supplied the want time after time without reference home. There was grave cause of complaint against the parsimony of the Directors at the end of the century in the matter of the employment of clergy and the building of Churches and the establishment of schools for the benefit of the thousands of Europeans in their employ. There would have been a still graver cause of complaint if the Madras Government had not taken the matter in some measure into their own hands, and supplied the need from their local resources.

The financial embarrassment of the Madras Government at this period not only prevented them from paying their soldiers and Chaplains regularly[1]; but it also prevented them from behaving with that liberality to the poor who were born in their jurisdiction, which had so greatly distinguished the Company in former days; and from doing themselves justice by fulfilling their obligations. The Government had already expressed its intention of restoring the Church to the Wardens after its loan and use as a storehouse, in as good a condition as when they took it over. But the paving remained

[1] Both in 1788 and 1789 the Chaplains had to petition for the payment of their salaries.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

unattended to. Frequent applications were made for the repayment of the cost of replacing the organ; the last application[1] was made by the Senior Churchwarden, William Duffin, in 1791 for the payment of 130 pagodas—'the cost of replacing the organ, it having been taken down for the purpose of converting the Church into a granary during the late war.' It is hardly possible to believe that the Government was obliged to refuse the application. But they said:—

'After such a lapse of time, and the Company having already defrayed a considerable expense in repairing and ornamenting St. Mary's Church, the Board cannot admit of any further charge,' etc.

The Directors were equally disinclined to incur or sanction any expense in small matters in which they had formerly been most liberal. In 1785 the Chaplains complained[2] that no attention had been paid to their indent for Bibles, Prayer Books and other books for four years. In 1787 they applied again[3]; adding that the last supply had long since been distributed to the Company's soldiers at Vellore, Vizagapatam and Fort St. George; and that they had had repeated applications from Wallajabad, Arcot, and from the recently arrived recruits. A supply was sent[4] in 1788 for 'the use of St. Mary's Parish,' after an interval of seven years. In 1791 the Chaplains expressed[5] their disappointment that no supply had been received for two years; and that they were unable to comply with the numerous applications that came to them from every quarter. A supply was sent; but the ship which carried them was lost; and the Chaplains remained without a supply till the end of 1794. In 1793 they applied afresh.[6] It was in answer to this application that the Directors wrote[7]:—

'The letter addressed to you by our Chaplains on the subject of their indents for Bibles and other books for the Church and out-garrisons has been duly considered; and in

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1791.
[2] Do. 4 Feb. 1785.
[3] Do. 19 Oct. 1787.
[4] Despatch, 28 March 1788, 31.
[5] Consultations, 28 Jan. 1791.
[6] Letter, 2 May 1793, 14.
[7] Despatch, 23 April 1794, 58.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

consequence of the loss of the books sent out by the Winterton in the season 1791–2, and the enlarged demand arising from the increase of our military establishment, twice the usual quantity will be consigned to you by the ships of the present season.'

The double consignment was a distinct though tardy recognition of a liberal custom, which would probably have been followed before if circumstances had permitted. The Chaplains wrote again[1] in 1801 saying 'we are in great distress for Bibles and Prayer Books, not having had a supply for several years'; and a supply was sent in the following year.

No doubt it was extremely repugnant to the feelings of the Directors to be obliged to be so illiberal. The financial pressure, which made them so, was relieved in 1799 when Tippoo Sultan was defeated and slain, and his territory annexed by the Company. As soon as the relief came the old spirit of liberality re-asserted itself. From time to time since then there have been periods of strict economy and care; but there has been no period equal to that between 1782 and 1799 for the depth of its commercial depression and for the emptiness of the Fort St. George treasury.

Up to 1785 the office of undertaker was held by one of the junior civil servants, who was appointed by the local Government and paid 25 pagodas a month out of the Company's treasury. In 1785 Mr. H. Michell, who held the office, asked to be relieved of it. The Government thereupon took the opportunity[2] of placing it at the disposal of the Chaplains, with the kindly thought of increasing the allowances of one or both of them. The duty and the pay attached to it remained with them until the Directors were able to arrange for a scale of pay which rendered this and other local allowances unnecessary. The office was held by the Rev. B. Millingchamp from 1785 to 1789, by Dr. Andrew Bell from then till 1794, and by Dr. R. H. Kerr from that date till 1805. After this date the work was left entirely to private enterprise.

In 1789 Benjamin Millingchamp applied for leave to

[1] Consultations, 20 Feb. 1801. [2] Do. 27 August 1785.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Europe with a medical certificate. The leave with a free passage home *viâ* China was granted. Richard Leslie thus became the Senior Chaplain [1]; and Andrew Bell, a Chaplain who came out in the Rose, and was desired in 1787 to remain at Fort St. George because so 'eminently qualified to superintend the education of youth,' [2] was appointed Junior Chaplain. When the Madras Government wrote to the Directors and reported the grant of leave to Millingchamp, they added [3]:—

'Mr. Millingchamp has conducted himself with so much propriety during his residence at this settlement that we beg leave to request he may have your permission to return in case he should apply to you on the re-establishment of his health.'

The door was thus left open for him to return; whilst Dr. Bell was appointed to his place. Though Dr. Bell was originally recommended to the notice of the Government by the Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's,[4] he was one of those men who by their talents and address recommend *themselves*. The Government soon discovered his value; and in order to retain his services, they appointed [5] him Chaplain to one of the Battalions of Europeans 'till the Court's pleasure is known.' Their satisfaction with him as a clergyman and as a schoolmaster continued; so that they wrote again six months later,[6] and strongly recommended him for the first vacant Chaplainship. To this the Directors replied as follows [7]:—

'Although we have received a very respectable character of the Rev. Dr. Bell, whom you have appointed Chaplain to one of the Battalions of Europeans, yet in order to preserve our own consistency, and . . . . to maintain and enforce our repeated orders relative to appointments under the Company being conferred on persons who have no authority from us for remaining in India, we cannot give our confirmation to that appointment, however highly the Doctor's abilities may

[1] Consultations, 14 July 1789.
[2] Letter Home, 17 July 1787, 44.
[3] Do. 27 July 1789, 21, Pub.
[4] Consultations, 9 July 1797.
[5] Letter Home, 16 Oct. 1787, 42, 43.
[6] Do. 1 Mar. 1788, 63, Pub.
[7] Despatch, 8 April 1789, 47, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

stand. In thus putting a negative on Dr. Bell's appointment, you will see that we are determined to preserve the nomination to employments in the various departments of the service exclusively in the Court of Directors, in whom the law has vested that authority. At the same time we think it will operate to the prevention of persons of every description from getting out to India in a surreptitious manner with a view to obtaining employment under the Company; a practise which we are determined to discountenance to the utmost of our power.'

Before this letter reached Fort St. George Bell had been appointed Junior Chaplain at the Presidency. When it did arrive, the Madras Government paid no immediate attention to it. If the Directors had sent out another Chaplain to supersede Dr. Bell, the Government would have been obliged to dispense with his services. But they wanted a second Chaplain; so they retained his services till his successor appeared. In the mean time Dr. Bell's friends in England had been using their influence to obtain the Directors' consent to his appointment at Fort St. George, and were successful; so that in December 1789 the Directors wrote[1]:—

'Since writing Para 47 of our Military Despatch of the 8th April 1789 we have on further consideration thought fit to appoint [*then these words erased* 'in compliment to our late Chairman Nathanael Smith Esquire, who has produced the usual testimonials,'] the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, to be one of the Company's Chaplains at Fort St. George.'

This solved a local difficulty to the satisfaction of the Government of Fort St. George; but this was all the reply they gave[2]:—

'You have been already informed that Dr. Bell was appointed Chaplain on the Rev. Mr. Millingchamp's departure for Europe';

as if they thought that they had nothing particular to be thankful for in so tardy an appointment for work which they knew to be crying out for the doing.

[1] Despatch, 2 Dec. 1789, 7, Pub. [2] Letter Home, 18 Sept. 1790, 7, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

At the beginning of 1791[1] the Government appointed Archdeacon Richard Leslie Chaplain to the 3rd Regiment of European Infantry, until the Court's pleasure was known. This appointment, like a similar one held by Dr. Bell, was a local device to increase the pay of the Chaplains. The Battalions were not at Fort St. George; no regular pastoral duty with them was possible simultaneously with duty at the Presidency; but the appointments enabled the Chaplains to draw some pay in addition to the slender allowance under the Company's rules, and obliged them to visit the Battalions occasionally. For some time past the Government had been anxious about the religious and moral condition of the officers and men of their European Regiments; and had already begun to do what the Directors would not do, appoint Chaplains to stations and regiments outside the limits of the Presidency town. As we have seen, the S.P.C.K. Missionaries were made use of for this purpose and paid. It was a great necessity, though the Directors repudiated the obligation. In August 1790 the Government of Madras appointed the Rev. Dr. Wells, Chaplain to Commodore Cornwallis, to be Chaplain to the 1st Battalion of European Infantry, and wrote to the Directors informing them of the appointment.[2] This announcement caused some commotion in Leadenhall Street. It was not only that an appointment had been made without the Directors' previous sanction—not merely that the Madras Government had usurped their function as nominators and appointers—but it was a new departure in policy in the South of India. Bengal had military Chaplains as well as those at the Presidency; but then Bengal could pay for them. The Madras revenues were hardly sufficient to meet the necessary military and naval expenditure. From the business point of view the cases were not similar. Christian and moral teaching are luxuries, and must be withheld if they cannot be paid for. Consequently the first draft of the reply[3] ran as follows:—'we do not think proper to confirm the appointment of Dr. Wells . . . . he must therefore immediately relinquish that appointment.' But

[1] Letter Home, 21 Jan. 1791, 30, Mil. [2] Do. 16 Sept. 1790, 72, Mil.
[3] Despatch, 6 May 1791, 19, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

better counsels prevailed; and the paragraph was altered thus:—

'We have lately had under our consideration letters from the Revd. Dr. Wells, Chaplain to Commodore Cornwallis, requesting to be appointed a Chaplain at one of the Company's Presidencies, and we came to the resolution not to comply therewith. We do not however object to your late appointment of Dr. Wells to the Chaplainship of the 1st Regiment of European Infantry.'

The month before this Despatch was sent the Directors wrote to Fort St. George to inform the local Government that they had permitted the Rev. B. Millingchamp to return to his duty as Senior Chaplain.[1] He arrived in August. On his arrival Leslie and Bell wrote a joint letter to the Governor in Council, expressing a hope that they would not be affected by Millingchamp's return; but that the rule of other Departments would be followed, by which Millingchamp would be placed below them in rank and appointment.[2] Mr. Millingchamp was called in to state his case. He represented that he took leave subject to the understanding from the Council that he would return as he left. Before returning he consulted some of the senior members of the Directorate as to his returning as he left, and was assured that there would be no difficulty. The Governor in Council decided that as the Court of Directors permitted him to return and to hold his former situation, their duty was to obey the Court's order. As Dr. Bell had been regularly appointed on the Madras establishment, he was retained on it. And the Government made the following appointments.

Benjamin Millingchamp, Senior Chaplain of St. Mary's.
Richard Leslie Junior do. do.
Dr. Bell, Dr. Wells } to be Brigade Chaplains.
The Senior Chaplain to be Chaplain of Vellore.
The Junior Chaplain to be Chaplain of the Army, without interfering with the Brigades.

Having made this arrangement the Madras Government wrote home[3] that they had carried out the Directors' orders

[1] Despatch, 6 April 1791, 2, Pub. [2] Consultations, 30 Aug. 1791.
[3] Letter Home, 15 Sept. 1791, 15, 16, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with regard to Millingchamp, and added ;—'But as Dr. Bell was appointed in addition to Mr. Millingchamp and Mr. Leslie, who then composed the establishment, we do not consider it to be your intention to interfere with that nomination.'

The arrangement of the Government was not altogether satisfactory. The Senior Chaplain asked that the position, rank, and duties of the three Chaplains should be defined. Dr. Bell's position on the establishment must be recognised ; as well as the necessity of his living in Madras to carry on the superintendence of the Male Asylum, which had been his work since his arrival on the coast. As a Chaplain on the establishment it was necessary also that he should have a share of the allowances and the duties reserved for Chaplains, including the duty of ministering at St. Mary's Church. Accordingly the Government defined the position, rank, and duties thus [1] :—

B. Millingchamp,	Senior at Fort St. George and Chaplain of Vellore.
R. Leslie,	2nd at Fort St. George and Chaplain of the 3rd Battalion of Europeans at Vellore.
A. Bell,	Junior at Fort St. George, Chaplain of the Army, and Superintendent of the Undertaker's department.

Mr. Torriano, the Paymaster at Vellore, declined to give Archdeacon Leslie his Vellore pay without direct orders from Government. Leslie therefore wrote a dignified letter [2] to the Governor in Council, asking that he might either receive the pay of his new appointment or else be restored to his old appointment now held by Dr. Bell. The Council agreed that Mr. Leslie be allowed to draw the pay ; and they also agreed to state to the Court of Directors the impropriety of the custom 'which has long obtained' of providing for their Chaplains at the Presidency by nomination to garrisons and corps where they cannot perform any duties ; and to represent how much more eligible it would be that they should have their present or any other allowances the Court might think reasonable as fixed salaries.

They reported the arrangement they had made about the

[1] Consultations, 16 Sept. 1791. [2] Do. 28 Oct. 1791.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

duties and rank of the Chaplains in their letter home[1]; and represented the impropriety of nominations to garrisons and corps as they resolved. Archdeacon Leslie sent a memorial to the Directors through the local Government on the same subject, asking that the pay should be consolidated, and the various allowances abolished. The Government forwarded the memorial and recommended it to the consideration of the Court.[2] The Directors considered the matter, and replied as follows[3]:—

'As you have stated to us the impropriety of the custom which has long prevailed of providing for our Chaplains at your Presidency by nominations to garrisons and corps, where they cannot perform any duties, we direct that in lieu of such nominal appointments the Chaplains do receive the following salaries,

Senior Chaplain	. .	165 Pagodas a month.	
2nd do.	. .	160	do.
3rd do.	. .	150	do. and 25 Pagodas a month for the direction of the undertaker's employ.

'We further direct that upon the death or resignation of either of the present Chaplains, the establishment of Chaplains at your Presidency shall consist only of two persons as formerly.'

The Government communicated the new arrangement as to pay to the three Chaplains in August 1793. Probably through ignorance and without intention the Directors had actually largely reduced the pay of the Chaplains; they had abolished the nominal appointments without raising the pay in compensation to their equivalent. The Chaplains were aghast. Archdeacon Leslie applied for permission to join the army in the Field; but was refused. They then wrote and asked the Government to give the most liberal interpretation possible to the Court's orders; and allow them to draw their old pay as Chaplains, and in addition the fixed allowances mentioned by the Directors in lieu of their former nominal appointments.

[1] Letter, 16 Jan. 1792, 34, Pub. [2] Letter, 25 May 1792, 29, Pub.
[3] Despatch, 19 March 1793, 11, 12, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The order was clearly capable of this interpretation; and the Government decided to adopt it.[1] By this decision each Chaplain received £100 a year together with the fixed allowances. Reduced to rupees the monthly pay was this :—

Senior	.	Rs. 650 + the Church Lodgings free.
2nd ,	.	Rs. 583 + £100 a year for superintending the School.
Junior	.	Rs. 548 + Pags. 25 a month for superintending the undertaker's work.

At the end of 1791 there were three Chaplains at the Presidency, and one, Dr. Wells, with one of the European regiments. When Millingchamp returned as Senior Chaplain at Fort St. George, he wrote[2] to the Churchwardens and Parishioners informing them of his re-appointment by the Board of Directors, and asking for a continuance of their favour. The Churchwardens called a special Vestry meeting, to consider the question of re-appointing him as Senior Minister of St. Mary's, and restoring to him the Church lodgings. There was some opposition to the re-appointment, for the reason that Leslie, who was a general favourite, would be displaced. Consequently there was a larger Vestry meeting on the 22nd Sept. 1791 than there had been for many years. The following attended, the two Ministers Leslie and Bell, the Senior Churchwarden William Duffin, the Junior Sidesman Lawrence Bowden, the Governor Sir Charles Oakeley, and twenty others—of whom two were in the military service of the Company, eleven in the civil service, and the rest were free merchants. It would have been a regrettable circumstance if, by neglect of attendance, the servants of the Company had allowed the Vestry to pass a resolution declining to recognise Mr. Millingchamp as the senior minister of the Parish, after the Directors had permitted him to return to Fort St. George as the Senior Chaplain. The other ministers had no personal feeling against him; they liked him; but they disliked losing their position and their allowances, and they had their friends. So this memorable Vestry, composed of 25 of the leading people in the settlement met, and agreed by a majority of votes that Millingchamp 'should be allowed

[1] Consultations, 17 Aug. and 27 Sept. 1793.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 22 Sept. 1791.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to officiate as first minister of this parish,' and that the Church Lodgings were to be given up to him as such.

Mr. Andrew Ross submitted a minute of dissent.

1. His opinion was that a third incumbent was more than was necessary for the work of the parish; and his experience of the needs of the parish extended to near 40 years.

2. There had never been more than two; two was the established custom, and the law of the parish.

3. That though Mr. Millingchamp had been re-entertained as a Chaplain in the service of the Hon. Company, that re-appointment did not entitle him to become Minister of this parish, nor to supersede the present incumbents; the two positions of Chaplain to the Company and Minister of this parish being distinct and independent of one another.

4. The inhabitants have an independent right to choose their own Ministers, as the Church was erected at their own cost and charges (he quoted Burn's Eccl. Law).

5. The present incumbents ought not to be deprived of their position and rights when no charge is brought against them.

6. The present measure is an infringement of the rights of the parishioners and Vestry; and injurious to the present incumbents who have to share the emoluments between three persons instead of two.

7. As to the Lodgings—although they have always gone to the senior Minister, delicacy to the present occupant should prevent his present removal.

Andrew Ross had served the office of Sidesman and Churchwarden, and had for many years attended Vestry meetings and helped to administer the Vestry funds; he was a man of great public spirit and usefulness; and in this case his intention was good. But his whole contention was a mistake. The appointment and all it involved was one which the parishioners in Vestry assembled could make or not make, as they pleased; they chose to make it.

The Ministers and Churchwardens acquired a 99 years' lease of the ground in Middle Gate Street in the year 1780; and they partially rebuilt the school house. In 1785 their renewed building, which consisted of patches of new work grafted on to old work in a state of decay, collapsed and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

became more or less a heap of ruins. A special Vestry was held on the 15 December to consider what should be done. Colonel Patrick Ross, the Chief Engineer, pronounced it to be 'beyond the power of any artist to ensure the duration of the building by any repair'[1]; and he gave an estimate for rebuilding amounting to Pagodas 2300. The Vestry approved the plan, and resolved to ask the Government to assist to carry it out on the ground that the Charity Fund could not then bear the expense. It was mentioned at the meeting that the Vestry had paid Pagodas 700 for the rebuilding of the front part now in ruins just three years before. They further resolved to borrow Pagodas 1000 if necessary from the Native Poor Fund Committee at 8 per cent. And they sanctioned the arrangements which the Ministers and Churchwardens had made for the carrying on of the school in a rented house in Black Town.

When they made their appeal to the Government the Ministers and Churchwardens sent an extract from the minutes of the Vestry, a copy of Col. Ross' letter and estimate, and added:—'but as various disbursements for the support of widows and orphans, and more particularly the education and maintenance of the children of the Hon. Company's soldiers, render the Fund inadequate to so heavy an expense without breaking in upon the principal, it was resolved to address the Hon. Board for their assistance to enable us to carry the plan into effect, and to acquaint them that the expense would fall particularly hard upon the Fund at present, as it is scarcely three years since the parish paid Pagodas 700' etc. The Governor (Sir Archibald Campbell) and Council were kind; they knew all about the Charity Fund, and the good it was doing; they made no difficulties; they permitted a party wall which was in the way to be pulled down[2]; it was the worst possible time to ask for money, but they cheerfully did what they could, and voted Pagodas 500 from the Cash to assist the rebuilding.[3] By the end of the year Mr. James Stringer, the Company's Master bricklayer[4] had completed the new building, and

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 15 Dec. 1785. [2] Consultations, 12 Aug. 1786.
[3] Do. 6 Oct. 1786, and Despatch, 31 July 1787, 83.
[4] In modern language architect and builder.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

received in payment 2300 pagodas together with a present of 230 pagodas for himself; of which sum 500 pagodas were generously paid by the Government and the rest by the Church Charity Fund. When the Government resumed the land and the building in 1891, no consideration was given for the original expenditure over the latter, nor for the sums periodically expended over its repair. There was no legal nor customary necessity to give any consideration; but the giving would have been a generous acknowledgement of a voluntary charitable effort to benefit the Eurasian class; and it would have further assisted that effort. The trustees were dispossessed just like ordinary leaseholders on the expiry of a lease, as if they had been occupiers in their own interests only, and had personally profited by the terms of the lease.

The St. Mary's Burial Ground was handed over to the Ministers and Churchwardens in 1763. No burial ground in India was in more constant use between that date and the end of the century. During the first eight years, that is to the end of 1770, there were 711 burials of European civilians, soldiers, sailors, their wives and children. During the next ten years there were 1424 burials. During the next ten years there were 2415 burials; and during the next ten years there were 1914. There has never been so great a number since. The necessity of a large naval and military force in the south of India was done away with when Seringapatam fell. The local Government built the walls and handed the ground over to the Vestry. The Vestry took charge; instituted a ground fee for the benefit of the Charity School; and all matters connected with it were discussed and settled at the Vestry meetings. In 1786 the Chaplains and Churchwardens wrote to the Governor in Council, drawing attention to the ruinous state of the western wall, and requesting its repair [1]; but it was a bad time to ask for money, and no reply was given. Six years later another application was made; this time the required amount was mentioned; and the Government were asked to bear the expense of 116 pagodas for the purpose.[2] The reply was :—

[1] Consultations, 6 Oct. 1786. [2] Do. 27 March 1792.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The Company have already incurred a great expense in constructing the wall of the Burying ground; and as the public exigencies require at present every pecuniary resource, the Board hope that the present charge will not subject the Church funds to any inconvenience.'

The Chaplains and Churchwardens replied[1] by again asking for assistance. They pleaded the full use of the fund at their disposal for school, poor, repairs of Church, and repairs of the Marmelong Bridge; they added that upon every former occasion the expenses of repairing the wall had been defrayed by Government. The Council thereupon agreed that the amount should be paid.

At the end of the year 1800 Mr. Archdeacon Leslie represented to the Vestry the need of enlargement; and complained of the picketing of horses close to the Cemetery wall.[2] It was therefore resolved to address the Government on both subjects. A letter was written; application was made for the addition to the cemetery of the contiguous space occupied by a powder magazine; and that some other place than the cemetery wall might be found for the officers' horses, 'which do it injury.'[3] The Government replied on the 9th Feb. that the removal of the magazine would be attended with inconvenience; but ordered the Chief Engineer in communication with the Chaplains and Churchwardens to prepare a plan for extension in some other direction. If one may judge by the dates of the monuments, the first extension of the St. Mary's Burial ground took place on the southern side. It has been extended since then on the west and the north sides.

In the year 1764 the Vestry agreed to entrust the collection of the double Sunday boat hire to the Master Attendant; it was also agreed that he should defray from the fund the cost of healing those boatmen who were injured or disabled in the exercise of their calling; and that he should pay the balance to the Vestry for the purpose for which the fund was instituted. The accounts were annually submitted to the Vestry till 1774, after which time they were dis-

[1] Consultations, 7 April 1792.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, Nov. 12 and Dec. 31, 1800.
[3] Consultations, 6 Feb. 1801.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

continued. In 1784[1] the notice of the Vestry was drawn to the fact that no payment had been made for ten years; and it was agreed that the Churchwardens should find out the reason and report. Two years later the Churchwardens were requested to take measures to recover the old allowance.[2] A year later a similar resolution was passed. A year later the Churchwarden, T. Cockburn, expressed his regret that he had been unable to pursue the question. Mr. Nathaniel E. Kindersley succeeded him in December 1788, and at once began to make the enquiry. He laid on the table at the next Vestry meeting[3] some papers, from which it appeared that the enquiry had been opened by Mr. Churchwarden Josias Du Pré Porcher in the year 1786, and that the matter had been settled (as far as they could settle it) by the Revenue Board in that year without any reference to the Vestry. There were three documents:—

1. An extract from the minutes of the Board of Revenue, dated the 19 Oct. 1786; the Board, having before them the accounts of the Sea-customer, directed that the servants' wages should be reduced till the amount equalled the receipts from the sea customs; so that the Sunday Boat hire, which formerly went to the Church, should not be applied to the payment of the sea-side servants.

2. An extract from a letter from the Boat department to the Board of Revenue dated 31 Oct. 1786. The writer said that what had been called the Church money (the extra hire for boats on Sunday) was really a fund for the maintenance of invalid boatmen; it was formerly in the hands of the Churchwardens, but had lately been managed by the Customs department. He added that the fund amounted last year to 684 pagodas; and that after paying the invalid boat people there was a surplus of 254 pagodas. He suggested that the fund might be reserved for paying the servants of the Boat department till required for the purpose for which it was originally intended.

3. An extract from a letter from the Board of Revenue to the Customs department, dated 4 Nov. 1786. 'As it appears

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 30 Dec. 1784. [2] Do. 29 Dec. 1786.
[3] Do. 31 Dec. 1789.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that the Church money is appropriated to the pay of invalid boatmen, the Board consent to the management of it remaining in your department; a report is to be sent annually of the receipts and disbursements, and the balance to be kept for the expense of the sea side servants.'

The explanation of the Customs department shows what short memories there are of historical events in India. But the Vestry had to consider whether this fund, which was originally intended for the European poor of the settlement, should be applied to its original purpose, or be used for some other purpose. It was not merely a question as to who should manage it, but to what purpose it should be put. The Vestry had of its own accord in 1765 decided to give a portion of it for the care of injured boatmen. They therefore resolved [1] to represent to the Government the origin of the Fund, and to ask the Government to restore to the Vestry what they originally and long possessed, the disposal of it; to inform the Government that the Vestry would continue to pay the invalid boatmen, and would apply the surplus to the original charitable purpose of the assessment. Nothing was done in 1790, nor in 1791, nor in 1792. The money was being used by the Boat department to pay its boatmen; and times were so bad that the Government was glad to have the use of the money for the purpose. The Churchwardens knew all the circumstances and remained quiet, waiting for better times. In 1792 the financial pressure was relieved by the defeat of Tippoo Sultan and the annexation of half his dominions. And in 1793 the Vestry agreed that the time had come to reopen the question, and to address the President and Council signifying their wish that the fund should be managed as at first, and for the purpose originally intended. Accordingly a letter [2] was written, explaining that the Sunday boat money was originally allowed for relieving the poor of the parish, and not for the purpose of relieving invalid boatmen, which was an afterthought; that the first mention of it in the Church Books was in 1754, and that no part of it was applied to invalid boatmen until 1764, when it was done by a resolution of the Vestry.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1789. [2] Do. 14 Feb. 1793.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This letter called forth a reply from the Government without much [1] delay. The Hon. the President in Council admitted that on reference to the records the extra hire for boats employed on Sundays was originally granted by Government to the support of the Charity School; that in 1764 the Vestry consented to admit invalid boatmen to its benefit; that in 1774 it was resolved by the Government at that time to apply the whole to the relief of disabled boatmen. The President in Council was of opinion that the alteration ought not to have been made by the Government without the consent of the Vestry. He was prepared to restore to the Vestry the custody of the fund, provided the Vestry would continue the charity to the boatmen of the Boat department; he would order the money to be paid monthly in future to the Churchwardens, upon an assurance from the Vestry that they would continue the present allowances to disabled boatmen, and admit others as necessity required; the St. Mary's Charity Fund to have the benefit [2] of any increment. A list of 70 boatmen was appended, showing that they drew allowances amounting to 45 pagodas a month. It was agreed to accept the conditions,[3] and to leave the President in Council to fill the vacancies. This arrangement continued for two years; the Vestry giving gratuities and allowances to injured boatmen to the monthly extent of 45 pagodas, and crediting the rest to the Church Fund for the benefit of the European poor and the European school. In 1795 Mr. William Abbott, who was both Churchwarden and Deputy Master Attendant, wrote to the President in Council and expressed an opinion that the whole fund should be expended over the injured boatmen. The request was considered in Council, and the following letter [4] was sent to the Ministers and Churchwardens:—

'I am directed by the Rt. Hon. the President in Council to send for your information a copy of a letter addressed to his Lordship by the Deputy Master Attendant, and to express to you his Lordship's belief that if (as Mr. Abbott states) the fund for the support of invalid boatmen exceeds the monthly

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 28 Mar. 1793.
[2] Consultations, Mar. 1793.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, 12 April 1793.
[4] Consultations, 7 Nov. 1795.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pension granted to the present incumbents you will have no hesitation in extending relief to objects who appear to have unquestionable claims upon humanity.'

A special Vestry was called to consider this letter; and it was agreed that all who appeared to the Council objects of charity should be received on the list of boat pensioners, according to the agreement of 1793 with its limitations.[1] The Vestry accounts show that the Sunday boat money was regularly paid until the year 1800. The Governor then wrote to enquire what the average monthly amount was which was credited to the St. Mary's Church Charity Fund after the payment of all the boatmen's pensions. It was found to be 32 Pags. 27 Fanam 58 Cash. The Government then ordered that this amount was to be paid to the Church Fund monthly from the Treasury; and that the Sunday boat fund was to be put entirely into the hands of the Port authorities.[2] Thus ended the connection between Sunday boat hire and the Church Charity Fund.

As the Company had of necessity to pay the whole cost of a British regiment whilst in their service they exercised the right of sanctioning its strength of officers and men. In their Despatch of the 11 April 1785 they agreed that every European cavalry regiment and infantry battalion should have a Chaplain. When the regiments went out, however, they went without one, one after another. There were two Hanoverian regiments in the service; these were accompanied by Chaplains; for when the regiments returned to Europe in 1791 and 1793 the Rev. Mr. Holscher is named as returning with one of them, and an unnamed Chaplain is mentioned as returning with the other.[3] The appointment of Dr. Andrew Bell as Chaplain of one of the European battalions in 1787, though complained of by the Directors, was really covered by the sanction contained in the Despatch of 1785, unless they sanctioned under pressure a Chaplain for the King's regiments without any intention of appointing one for their own. The same Despatch was reckoned to justify the appointment

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 18 Nov. 1795.
[2] Consultations, 19 Mar. 1800. Vestry Proceedings, 5 May 1800.
[3] Letters Home, 16 Feb. 1791, Mil., and 30 Jan. 1793, 83, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of Dr. George Wells to the Chaplaincy of the 1st European infantry in 1789. Emboldened by the sanction given to their proceedings the Madras Government appointed Mr. R. H. Kerr, another naval Chaplain, to be Chaplain to the European 4th Battalion at Ellore [1]; and Mr. Roger Owen, another naval Chaplain, to a similar appointment with the 3rd European Battalion at Pondicherry in the following year.[2] The Directors on receiving the news of Kerr's appointment, wrote [3]:—

'After the strong disapprobation expressed in our letter of the 8th April 1789 of the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Bell to a Chaplainship under your Presidency, wherein you were advised of our determination to preserve the nomination to employments in the various departments of the service exclusively in the Court of Directors, we feel very much displeased at your recent appointment of the Rev. Mr. Kerr to be Chaplain to the 4th Battalion of European Infantry stationed at Ellore. The necessity of such an appointment should in the first instance have been represented to us. We feel ourselves therefore impelled to revoke the appointment of Mr. Kerr; and shall send out a person of our own nomination to supply his place.'

On receipt of this despatch the Governor and Council put it aside; they communicated its contents to Kerr and Owen, but they kept them working at Ellore and at Pondicherry till further orders. After waiting seven months they wrote the following reply [4]:—

'We are concerned to find that your Hon. Court have expressed your disapprobation of the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Kerr to be Chaplain to the 4th Battalion of Europeans stationed at Ellore; and the more so as we had lately conferred a similar appointment on the Rev. Mr. Owen, who came out Chaplain to the Suffolk, and was recommended by the Commodore.

'The late Government,[5] considering the propriety of not leaving the European Battalions without Chaplains, had

[1] Letter Home, 2 May 1793, 28, Mil. [2] Do. 4 Mar. 1795, 31, Mil.
[3] Despatch, 21 May 1794, 64, Mil. [4] Letter Home, 4 Mar. 1795, 31–34, Mil.
[5] The government of Sir Charles Oakeley; Lord Hobart became Governor in 1794.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

agreed to the appointment of Mr. Kerr, of whose character and qualifications very favourable mention had been made, (having received no intimation of its being the intention of your Hon. Court to fill up the situation to one of the regiments which had been vacant for some years,) under the impression of its being indispensably necessary so to do; and the appointment of Mr. Owen was made from similar motives.

'The President, at the time Commodore Rainier recommended the appointment of Mr. Owen, enquired of the Secretary whether there were any particular objections to the measure; and the Secretary, not at the moment recollecting your orders in the year 1789 respecting Dr. Bell, but having fresh in his mind the appointment of Mr. Kerr, and the strong recommendation of it to your Hon. Court, answered generally that he knew not of any.

'We have in consequence of your orders annulled the appointments of Messieurs Kerr and Owen, but have permitted them to act until persons be sent from England to supply their places, or until the further pleasure of your Hon. Court be known; and you may be assured that we shall be particularly careful that no such appointment be made in future.'

The matter being put in that way, the Directors had to consider not whether the Madras Government had exceeded its powers and usurped their functions, but whether the appointments of Chaplains to military stations ought or ought not to be made. Taking into consideration that a former Madras Government had strongly urged the necessity, they acquiesced, and wrote on the 17 Feb. 1796 appointing Roger Owen and Richard Hall Kerr Chaplains on the Madras establishment.[1]

On the receipt of these orders Kerr was advised. Whilst on their way out Owen fell ill and applied for leave. As Millingchamp and Bell had just gone to Europe, the leave was refused. Owen thereupon resigned the service and took a passage home; but he died at sea on the 13 Sept. 1796.

Two months after sanctioning the appointments of Kerr and Owen the Directors wrote another despatch on ecclesiastical matters, and said[2]:—

'We have taken into consideration the state of the clergy

[1] See also Despatch, 22 April 1796, 7, Mil.
[2] Despatch, 22 April 1796, 10–12, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

at your Presidency and are of opinion that the number should be six, and stationed with the following allowances; two civil Chaplains at the Presidency, one of whom is to perform the duties of the Garrison; the Senior to have 2500 Pagodas per annum; the Junior to have 2125 Pagodas per annum together with the allowance of 25 Pags. a month for directing the undertakers employ; and four military Chaplains for the principal stations of the army.

'It has been suggested to us that the number of Chaplains at your Presidency ought to be increased; we therefore direct that you report to us whether there be any necessity for augmenting the number.'

So in the middle of 1796 Leslie became the senior civil Chaplain, and Kerr the junior; and there was a promise of four military Chaplains besides. A great deal had been said in England to produce this result; part was true, but part was untrue. The Directors neither did all they could nor all they should; they neither built Churches nor appointed an adequate number of Chaplains; but a great deal that was said and written against them and their servants abroad at this period was an exaggeration of the real facts of the case. The Europeans in the Madras Service were not without Churches in the larger stations nor without religious ministrations. Assisted by the local Government they looked after themselves, and supplied their own needs in both respects. The Company was justly blamed for doing less than they ought to have done; their inaction in the southern Presidency was neutralised by other circumstances.

To prevent accidents the spire of the Church, damaged in the siege of 1758–9, was taken down soon after the siege was raised; but the tower remained intact. In 1787 the Government obtained the consent of the Vestry to erect a flag signal staff on the top of the tower,[1] which remained in position till the rebuilding of the spire commenced. The question of rebuilding had to slumber from 1776 till 1792.

At that date the Vestry rightly thought that the question might be reopened. The Governor himself presided at the Vestry meeting when this was done.[2] He reported that he had instructed Major Maule to prepare a design and estimate.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 29 Dec. 1787. [2] Do. 29 Dec. 1792.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

These were submitted to the Vestry; the estimate amounted to 3000 Pagodas; it was resolved to apply to the Government for as large a share of the estimate as possible, since the Church Fund was almost entirely exhausted by the current needs of the Church, the school, and the poor. The application came before the Council a month later[1]; and the following decision was arrived at:—

'It appearing upon reference to have been customary for the Company to defray the expense of repairing the Church, Agreed to inform the Ministers and Churchwardens that as their funds are not adequate to the charge of rebuilding the steeple, Government consent to contribute 2000 pagodas.'

The references made must have been to the expenditure over the repairs ten years before, after the Church had been used as a store-house; for with that exception the Government had neither done repairs nor paid for them. However, it was good of the Governor, Sir Charles Oakeley, and the Council to have made the grant, though the reason given for it was at fault. When the Council wrote home to report what they had done, they omitted the reason given and said[2]:—

'At a late meeting of the parish Vestry it was determined to rebuild the steeple of St. Mary's Church, which had been taken down many years ago in consequence of the dammage it suffered during the siege of Madras; but the funds of the Church not being adequate to this undertaking the Minister and Churchwardens addressed us a letter, requesting our assistance in effecting the wish of the community, estimating the expense of the work at 3000 Star Pagodas.

'As we found on reference to our records that a former Government had agreed to bear the charge of repairing the steeple; and as the present call upon us was to assist in replacing a work that had been destroyed by the effect of war, we judged it reasonable to comply with the solicitation, and resolved in consequence to contribute the sum of 2000 pagodas on this account, which we trust you will approve.'

The Directors replied[3] that for the reasons stated they approved of the resolution to make the contribution.

[1] Consultations, 18 Jan. 1793. [2] Letters Home, 28 Jan. 1793, 48, 49, Pub.
[3] Despatch, 23 April, 1794, 29, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

At the beginning of the year 1794 the Vestry applied to the Government to assist them by giving in advance half the promised grant.[1] This was done. Everything was now in readiness for the commencement of the work with one exception. Major Maule, the Engineer, who had carefully designed and estimated the cost of the work, was no longer alive to carry out the work. He was appointed Chief Engineer at the Siege of Pondicherry in 1793, and promoted to a Lieut. Colonelcy; and was killed by a round shot at the beginning of the siege. Almost his last work in Fort St. George was to compose by request the epitaph on the monument of his friend Lieut. Col. Moorhouse in St. Mary's Church.[2] The Vestry invited [3] Lieut. Col. Gent, his successor as Chief Engineer, to superintend the work; this he consented to; and they formed a committee to confer with him consisting of the senior minister (B. Millingchamp), the two wardens (John Tulloh and William Abbott), and the two sidesmen (Charles Baker and Daniel Ince). Colonel Gent lost no time in preparing a fresh design and estimate.[4] The latter, which amounted to 2552 Pagodas including the scaffolding, is interesting as perhaps laying bare the secret of the hardness and binding character of the cement of that period. The estimated amount of stone and shell chunam necessary was 2400 parahs; and immediately underneath was this item, 'Jaggary 11 candies.' On the completion of the work Col. Gent wrote and informed the Vestry, and asked for some remuneration for his extra work by a percentage or otherwise. It was resolved to present him with the scaffolding, which was valued at 500 pagodas; and the gift was gratefully accepted.[5]

Whilst the rebuilding of the steeple was in abeyance owing to the death of Lt. Col. Maule, and the absence of any competent engineer to carry out the work, it was suggested by some one that instead of rebuilding a steeple, a lighthouse should be built on the Church tower. The suggestion took shape; and being brought to the notice of the Council at the end of 1794, it was adopted by them. Sir Charles Oakeley

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 15 Jan. 1794.
[2] Letters Home, 30 Jan. 1793, 70, Mil.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, 11 and 12 Feb. 1795. [4] Do. 1 April and 17 June 1795.
[5] Do. 3 Nov. and 29 Dec. 1796.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had given up the reins of Government to Lord Hobart. The following letter was written by the Government to the Ministers at the beginning at 1795 [1]:—

'I am directed to inform you that a proposal has been made to the Rt. Hon. the President in Council for the erection of a lighthouse on the steeple of St. Mary's Church; and as many public advantages may be expected from such a measure, his Lordship feels every disposition to adopt it, unless there should be any solid objection of which he is not at present aware. Before however his ultimate sanction be passed, he thinks it proper that his wishes should be communicated to the Chaplains.'

As the letter was addressed to the Ministers only, it was not placed before a Vestry meeting, but was replied to by the three Chaplains. If a meeting of the inhabitants had been called they would probably have had something to say about the Governor's proposal to build upon and make use of a structure which did not belong to the Government. The independent merchants, headed by Mr. Andrew Ross, were very tenacious of their rights in the Church and its concerns. The Chaplains however replied by themselves thus [2]:—

'We have had the honour to receive a letter intimating that a proposal' etc. . . . .

'It therefore becomes our duty to state to your Lordship that at the dedication of St. Mary's when the Rev. Richard Portman received the Church as a sacred charge and free will offering from the Governor of Fort St. George . . . and the other contributors to the expense of the building, the parties respectively promised for themselves and their successors "to refuse and to renounce to put the Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever."

'We beg leave to add that the parishioners assembled in Vestry on the 12th instant requested the Chief Engineer to superintend the building of a spire agreeably to a former resolution sanctioned by the Court of Directors and by Government.'

This was signed by Millingchamp, Leslie and Bell.

Having once commenced the burial of the bodies of

[1] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1795. [2] Do. 27 Feb. 1795.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

distinguished persons in the Church, the Ministers and Churchwardens found it very difficult to stop it. Major-General Sir John Burgoyne, Bart., Colonel of H.M.'s 23rd Light Dragoons, died in September 1785. Application was made to the Chaplains and wardens for intramural interment; after having broken the old rule they were not able to refuse; but they agreed that a rule ought to be established not to bury in the Church in the future. In September 1786 died Lieut. John Dalling, son of Sir John Dalling, the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces. The application in his case was refused.[1] In June 1787 Lt. Col. George Mackenzie, commanding the 71st Reg. at Wallajabad, a son of the Earl of Cromarty, died. The application in his case was refused.[1] In March 1791 the Government addressed a letter to the Vestry,[1] expressing a desire to bury the remains of Lt. Col. Moorhouse in the Church, and hoping that the Vestry would have no objection. The following resolution of the Council was enclosed :—

'Government having received advice of the death of Lt. Col. Moorhouse, who was killed in the assault of the Pettah of Bangalore on the 7th instant, resolved as a testimony of respect to the memory of an officer who has served the Company many years with distinguished zeal, spirit, and ability, that his remains, with the permission of the Ministers and Churchwardens, be publicly interred in the Church of Fort St. George, at the Company's expense, and a marble tablet fixed over his grave with a suitable inscription in commemoration of his merits. Resolved likewise that a letter be written to Lord Cornwallis to inform him of this intention, and to request his Lordship will be pleased to direct that the body of the late Lt. Col. Moorhouse be moved to the Presidency as soon as the situation of affairs will permit.'

At the Vestry held to consider the matter Archdeacon Leslie at first dissented on general grounds, and on the ground of former refusals; but he added that he was fully sensible of the merits of Col. Moorhouse; and that if the Vestry were of opinion that the request should be complied with, he would relinquish the right of refusal which, as

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 24 March 1791.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

incumbent of the Church, he thought himself possessed of. The Vestry agreed to permit the interment and wrote accordingly.

On the 30 Sept. 1791 Lt. Col. Barry Close, Deputy Adj. General, wrote to the Military Board from camp that the remains of the late Lt. Col. Moorhouse had proceeded from Bangalore with a detachment for the Carnatic. The Board appointed a committee to arrange the details of the interment consisting of Colonel Capper, Mr. J. du Pré Porcher, Major Hall and Captain Gomonde.[1]

The Committee's arrangement was approved by the Governor in Council and carried out.[2] The gentlemen of the settlement assembled at the Freemasons' Hall, where the body rested. The Governor, Council and Major General Musgrave were the chief mourners. The members of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, in compliance with their request walked in support of the chief mourners. The pall bearers were six Field officers. All these as well as the three Chaplains wore black silk scarves and hatbands; the rest of the gentlemen present being provided with muslin.

The military funeral party was under the command of Lt. Col. Collins.[3] It consisted of 13 officers and 200 men of H.M.'s 14th Hanoverians, and 6 officers and 100 men of the 2nd Battalion of the Company's European Infantry. The firing party numbered 100 Rank and File with the due number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. When the procession arrived upon the Island near the north angle of the burying ground, a salute of 47 minute guns was commenced at the saluting battery. The solemnity of this craped procession, wending its way across the Island and through the Wallajah Gate to St. Mary's Church, in a hushed silence only broken by the minute guns, can be imagined. The personal sacrifice was acknowledged to be due to the memory of a gallant officer, a brave soldier, and a good man. Civil and military vied with one another in doing honour. And it may be regarded as an act of respectful homage to a consecrated building—a wiping out of the

[1] Military Consultations, 11 Oct. 1791. [2] Do. 29 Oct. 1791.
[3] Garrison orders, 31 Oct. 1791 (A. A. G.'s office, Fort St. George).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

memory of former enforced desecrations—that in the opinion of all at the time, the highest honour they could confer upon his remains was to place them within its hallowed precincts. The Chaplains refused to accept any fee in connection with the burial,[1] and were thanked by the Government. And the Government wrote home[2] and reported that the gallant soldier's remains had been publicly interred in St. Mary's Church with the honours due to his rank and eminent services.

The following are the names of those whose remains rest or have rested in the Church[3]:—

1777. The Rt. Hon. Lord Pigot, Governor.
1783. Lieut. Gen. Sir Eyre Coote, C.-in-C. in India.
1785. Major Gen. Sir John Burgoyne, Bart.
1791. Lieut. Col. J. Moorhouse, Madras Artillery.
1796. Lady Hobart, wife of the Governor, and child.
1807. Lady Gwillim, wife of Sir Henry Gwillim, Puisne Judge.
1808. Jane Amelia, wife of Henry Russell, Member of Council, and sister in law of the Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor.
1814. Vice Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, K.C.B.
1819. Margaret, wife of the Rt. Hon. Hugh Elliot, Governor.
1824. Lieut. Gen. Sir Alexander Campbell, Bart., K.C.B., C.-in-C.
1827. Major Gen. Sir Thomas Munro, Bart., K.C.B., Governor and C.-in-C.
1847. Lieut. Gen. Sir John Doveton, G.C.B.
1860. Sir Henry George Ward, G.C.M.G., Governor.
1875. The Rt. Hon. Lord Hobart, Governor.

Some of the early legacies and gifts to the Ministers and Churchwardens for the benefit of the School and the poor have been noticed. It is satisfactory to find that the early confidence of the community in the trustees continued during

[1] Military Consultations, 3 Jan. 1792.
[2] Letters Home, 16 Jan. 1792, 130, 131, Mil.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, by Mrs. F. Penny.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the second half of the 18th century. The following are the legacies mentioned in the Vestry records :—

1. Nicholas Morse, formerly Governor, left 800 pagodas in 1773.

2. Col. John Wood, the gallant soldier and the kind friend of Schwartz, the designer and builder of Christ Church Trichinopoly, left 200 pagodas in 1776.

3. Robert Hughes left 180 pagodas in 1779.

4. Mrs. Isabella Croke left 150 pagodas in 1780.

5. James Stringer left 240 pagodas in 1781.

6. Samuel Troutbeck left 12,000 pagodas for founding a school and building a hospital in 1787. The executors were Lord Macartney, the Hon. Edward Monckton, Thomas Pelling and Edward Cotsford. Troutbeck had in his mind the Male Asylum, then about to be founded; but the money intended for it was never paid by the executors.

7. George Baker in 1799 left 1500 pagodas—500 pags. for the Church Stock; 500 pags. for the Male and Female Asylums in such proportions as the Vestry thought fit; and 500 pags. for the poor at Madras of any age, sex, nation or religion, to be expended by the Vestry at their discretion.

Larger and more important than all these bequests was that of a free merchant named James Wooley [1] in 1789; but his bequest was not to the Vestry trustees. He left £10,000 to his nephew John Weston Wooley, Ensign on the Madras Military establishment; £5000 to each of his nieces; and he provided for another nephew. These bequests were secured on a landed estate in Ireland. Cork is referred to elsewhere in the will. He left £20,000 to his friend Benjamin Roebuck; diamond rings of the value of £1000 each to his friends General Joseph Smith and Mr. John McPherson. He left similar handsome presents to his three executors, John Balfour, Nathaniel E. Kindersley, and Sir John Menzies. And then he continued, 'and it is my desire that the balance of my fortune after all legacies are paid shall be assigned to and vested by my executors in the hands of the Governor in Council of Madras for the time being, as a Charitable Fund,

[1] This is his own way of spelling his name both in the body and at the foot of the will.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appropriated to the education and provision (in such manner as they may think proper) of the children of distressed Europeans male and female.'

The residue of the estate was very large. The children of Europeans still enjoy the benefit of the legacy in various schools in the Presidency. James Wooley lived in Madras at a time when there was no nonconformist body in the country, and when we had no other relationship to the Roman Catholics but that of benevolent rule. But he did not restrict his bounty to the circumstances of the time; consequently European children who are Roman Catholics share it with European children who are not. The Government have full liberty of action.

Note.—John Balfour, one of the executors of James Wooley, was the great-grandfather of the two distinguished Cabinet Ministers of that name in the present day.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CHAPLAINS AND THEIR WORK FROM 1785 TO 1805—*cont.*

One of the results of paying the Chaplains an inadequately small stipend was the continual attempt on their part to increase it. When Stanley and Bainbrigge were at Fort St. George in 1780 they claimed fees for the breaking of ground in the cemetery. They had before them a bill from the undertaker for the funeral charges of a naval Chaplain,[1] which the Vestry undertook to pay. In that bill there was a charge of 3 pagodas for Churchwardens' fees; they were not aware that any charge was made for graves; but as soon as they discovered there was a regular charge they claimed it as the right of the Ministers. Bainbrigge made the claim at the next Vestry meeting,[2] and asked whether he should apply to the Churchwardens or the undertaker for the fees which had been collected during his incumbency. The Vestry knew nothing about the fees, and had to inquire about them and their origin; and when they found out that they had been originally levied for the benefit of the Church Charity Fund, they agreed that they should in future be given to the Fund. They resolved further that as fees had been collected in the past by the undertaker, and not paid over to the Churchwardens, they should be demanded as belonging to the Charity Fund.

A year later Mr. Bainbrigge renewed his application for the fees, claiming them as his by right; but the Vestry resolved that their last resolution should stand. They fully understood the motive of the application, and acquiesced in the justice of the plea; but thinking that the increase ought to come from surplice fees rather than from cemetery ground

[1] The Rev. Mr. John Cole, Chaplain H.M.S. Exeter; died 16 April 1780.
[2] Vestry Minutes, 15 Dec. 1780.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

fees, they directed Mr. Bainbrigge to obtain from Bengal, Bombay and other English settlements the scale of fees which might have been established for the Chaplains at those places.

The result of this resolution was that the cemetery fees were continued to the Churchwardens; and so remained till the Vestry came to an end in 1805. Bainbrigge died in 1783 without reporting the result of his inquiries; and the surplice fees were left as before to the discretion of individuals instead of being established by the authority of the Vestry. At the end of 1784 the following minute was recorded by the Vestry[1]:—

'One of the gentlemen present suggested that the matter of surplice fees, which are the dues of the Chaplains, appears to require revision from circumstances which have come under his observation at different times; and as he thinks the meeting now being held is a fit time for bringing the matter forward, he submitted what had occurred to him to the judgement of the Vestry.

'The Vestry regard the matter as of great importance to the community at large; and think that a special Vestry should be called for the purpose of giving every parishioner the opportunity of being present; they agree to call a Special Vestry on the 18th January 1785, and to give notice of it everywhere within ten miles of the Fort.'

The minute implies irregularity in the levy of fees; it seems even to hint at extortion. It is quite certain from the evidence of the records that in the ten years preceding this some marriages had taken place in private houses instead of in the Church. It is quite possible that one or another of the Chaplains of the period, Stanley or Bainbrigge or both, originated a system of special license on their own authority, as a means of adding to their slender pay. This process and its accompanying fee could not have formed a subject of complaint; for it must have been entirely a matter of choice and not of compulsion to undergo it. No one could be bound to marry in an unusual way, and pay a high fee for the privilege. The complaint must have been one which concerned the parishioners in general.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 30 Dec. 1784.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A Vestry was called; the notice was taken round and signed by the Governor, two members of Council, the Mayor, eleven Senior Merchants in the Company's service, four Factors, five Writers, ten military officers and three private merchants. The clerk to the Vestry (Mr. C. H. Casimir) reported that the notice had been carried round to the house of every parishioner within and without the Fort according to order. There were, however, only nine persons, including the two Chaplains, who thought the matter important enough for their attendance. The following extract from the Minute Book shows how the question was settled [1]:—

'The matter of the surplice fees being examined into, it is found that donations have been given voluntarily by parishioners to the Chaplains since the establishment of the settlement; and that the same has become an established custom and so a law in the parish; but it is also found that there has been no particular or stated fees, and that the defect has had inconveniences to the Ministers as well as the parishioners; it is thought proper to apply a remedy for the convenience of all parties.

'It is unanimously agreed that in conformity with the law of our country, the custom of this settlement, and the sanction of the Act of Parliament of 1773 entitled an 'Act for establishing certain regulations for the better management of their affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe,' which has a clause permitting a Chaplain, a Councillor at law, a Physician or Surgeon to take fees in the way of their profession; on which ground the Vestry see proper to make regulations for the fees which the clergymen shall have a right to claim on baptisms, marriages, and funerals.

'The Vestry is of opinion that the rates to be established should not be too high for the poor nor too low to recompense the Minister in a country where the expense of living far exceeds what it is in England. And it appears to them that the allowances should be such as to be able to attract clergymen of the best character and education to leave their country.

'It is also considered that the fees should be adapted to the circumstances of individuals in the Society, and should be proportionate to their condition. For this purpose parishioners are divided into two classes, superior rank and inferior

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 18 Jan. 1785.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rank; and it is left to the discretion of the Ministers to determine the class to which the party belongs. If a person is charged the fee of the higher class, he shall have the option of being excused payment at that rate, and of being charged the fee of the inferior class.

'Agreed that the fees be as follows:—

Baptisms,	Superior rank	10	pagodas.	Inferior rank	3	pagodas
Marriages,	„	20	„	„	5	„
Burials,	„	10	„	„	5	„

'In burials the rule shall be governed by this distinction, those who use the best pall shall be considered in the first class; those who do not use the best pall shall be allotted to second class.

. . . . . .

'It is also agreed that on every grave-stone or monument erected in the burying ground a fee shall be paid by those of the first class, 20 pagodas; and by those of the second class, ten pagodas; and that one quarter of such fees shall be given to the English Charity School Fund under the management of the Ministers and Churchwardens.

. . . . . .

'The Vestry record their opinion that soldiers, seamen and others in indigent circumstances should be exempted from all fees; in the case of soldiers in the service of the Company it may be recommended to the Government to make an allowance to the clergyman; and in the case of soldiers and seamen in H.M.'s service the officers commanding the King's forces should see some allowance made to the clergyman.'

It was further resolved

'that the above regulations be submitted to the consideration of the Governor, the Rt. Hon. Lord Macartney, to whose approbation as the head of the East India Company's government, and of this community, the Vestry deem it most proper to refer the establishment of these fees; more especially as it happened that on the consecration of the Church in 1680 the deed, which was transmitted by the Bishop of London for that purpose, was addressed to the then Agent or Governor, Streynsham Master Esquire.'

These regulations were accordingly submitted to the Governor and approved under his signature. In drawing them up

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

reference was made to Burn's Ecclesiastical Law; and the passages bearing upon them were inserted in the Vestry Minute Book for the benefit of those interested.

It must be noticed before leaving the subject that 10 pagodas were equivalent to £4; that the Vestry had retained the ancient custom of owning palls for the use of the parishioners; that the fees for occupying grave space were still payable to the Church Fund; and that the fees for monuments were partly payable to the Church Fund and partly to the Ministers. These regulations remained in force till the great law case of 1805 pronounced against the power of the Vestry either to hold property or to make parish regulations. They were then continued as Government regulations, and the Government took the fees.

It is not surprising to find that within a few years the Chaplains had thought of another means of increasing their incomes, namely by the imposition of a separate fee for registering the baptism, marriage or burial which had been performed and paid for. Millingchamp, Leslie, and Bell brought the matter before the Vestry in 1793,[1] and the proceedings are recorded thus:—

'Many inconveniences having arisen for want of a knowledge of the marriages, baptisms and burials of Europeans which have occurred at the various subordinaries, out-garrisons, and stations under the Presidency of Fort St. George . . . . and as it is usual and reasonable that fees should be allowed for keeping such register, and furnishing extracts, it is agreed

'1. That application be made to the Government by the Ministers and Churchwardens to take measures for the return of all such marriages, baptisms and burials by the Chiefs, Residents, and Commanding officers to the Senior Incumbent of the Parish.

'2. To ask the Government to sanction the following scale of fees;

Marriage,	Superior Class	5	pagodas.	Inferior Class	3	pagodas
Baptism,	,,	3	,,	,,	1	,,
Burial,	,,	3	,,	,,	1	,,

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 10 Jan. 1793.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

There is very little if any doubt that the Chaplains intended that the Chiefs, Residents, and Commanding officers —who were authorised by the Government to perform the acts within their own jurisdiction—should report each such act to the Senior Incumbent, who should register it in books kept for the purpose and receive the registration fee. When the matter came before the Council some months later, they agreed with the proposal, and they added further that those who kept the register books should have the fees for performing the offices as agreed upon in 1784.[1] The order was sent to all out-stations and garrisons[2]; and the effect of it was not only to increase the pay of the Chaplains through registration, but also to increase the number of baptisms and marriages in the various out-stations. The out-garrison register books between 1793 and 1805, kept at St. Mary's Fort St. George, are of great family and genealogical value and interest.

It was most probably owing to the political changes of the time, involving many fresh civil appointments, that the performance, registration and return of marriages, baptisms, and burials in civil stations became by 1800 irregular. The Directors wrote therefore[3]:—

'Having of late experienced much inconvenience by your not having furnished us from time to time with registers of births, marriages and burials, as well those at the subordinate settlements as at your Presidency, we now direct that due care be taken in future to transmit to us annually in duplicate correct registers of all births, marriages, and burials at your Presidency, and also from all your subordinate settlements properly attested.'

On receipt of this despatch the Government wrote to Archdeacon Leslie to inquire the reason of the complaint. Leslie replied[4] that the returns of every event registered in his books had been regularly sent; that since 1793 copies of the military registers had been sent to Fort St. George from the out-garrisons, but not sent home, because there were no orders to do so; he asked that orders might be given to Civil

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 18 Jan. 1785.
[2] Consultations, 22 Nov. 1793.
[3] Despatch, 7 May 1800, Pub.
[4] Consultations, 12 Dec. 1800, and Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1800.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Residents to send him their returns. The Government issued orders accordingly to the Political and Commercial Residents; and ordered that henceforth copies of all were to be sent home; and they wrote to the Directors accordingly.[1]

In 1802 the Directors complained that amongst the returns for 1801 and previous years there were none from Trichinopoly. The Government therefore wrote to Dr. Ball, then officiating at the Presidency, for an explanation. Dr. Ball, who had been stationed at Trichinopoly from 1798 to 1801, explained that when he was Chaplain at that garrison, no orders regarding returns were issued. He pleaded want of official orders. It is easy to understand what actually happened. The orders were doubtless issued to the chief civil and military officers there as elsewhere. But there was a Missionary with them who had been acting as garrison Chaplain for many years, who performed and registered all the offices of marriage, baptism and burial. They therefore paid no attention to the order, assuming that their Missionary Chaplain would see to it. The mistake of omission was corrected by Ball writing to him, and by Government repeating their orders to their own servants.[2] Only once more did the difficulty of obtaining the up-country returns come before the Council, and that was in 1805. After that date the appointment of additional Chaplains to various garrisons made the return of sacred offices a comparatively simple matter.

It is worthy of record that at three principal garrisons outside Fort St. George, Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Cuddalore, the S.P.C.K. Missionaries kept private register books of all marriages, baptisms and burials long before the order of 1793 was published. At these places there were resident Missionary-Chaplains. The other garrisons and subordinate stations were only visited occasionally by either a Chaplain or a Missionary. When the Missionary visited Vellore and other places where there were Europeans he recorded in his reports to the Society so many Europeans married or baptised, so many Portuguese, and so many natives; but it is not known now if he kept a register of them at Vepery, his head

[1] Letter, 18 March 1801, 6, Pub. [2] Consultations, 10 Sept. 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

quarters. Probably he did; but if so, the record has long been lost.[1] The old register book commenced by Schwartz in 1751 and continued by Pohle at Trichinopoly until his death in 1818 still exists. It is a monument of unofficial care. The Tanjore Register Books, also commenced by Schwartz, are in existence; they were begun in 1773. Schwartz also commenced a register book at Pallamcottah in 1780 which exists. The Cuddalore books, if they existed before 1781, suffered destruction in that year, and were not recommenced till 1793.

After the defeat of Tippoo Sultan by Lord Cornwallis in 1792 the inland trade was revived, and general confidence was for a time restored. The Vestry was a lender of money on security, and had profited greatly during the preceding 20 years by getting a high interest on their loans. After 1792 they began to experience a difficulty in getting their money out.[2] They therefore asked the Government to take it over in the same way as they had taken over the money of the Capuchins; this could not be done without the permission of the Directors. The Managers of the Female Asylum and the Male Asylum and of the Civil and Military Funds, the Vestries at Trichinopoly and Tanjore had the same kind of difficulty with their funds; they also asked the Government to do for them what they had done for the Roman Catholics.[3] The Directors replied [4] permitting the reception of the funds mentioned into the Company's treasury 'for which bonds are to be granted subject to such rate of interest as may be from time to time current'; and the Government informed the various trustees and managers of their willingness to grant bonds at the rate of 6 per cent.[5] In 1795 expeditions against the Dutch in Ceylon and Malacca were resolved upon. The Government raised a loan at 8 per cent. The managers and trustees of the various funds mentioned above wrote at once to have their loans at 6 per cent. paid off, or renewed at 8 per cent. Their applications were granted.

[1] The Vepery tradition is that the Rev. W. Taylor took the records from the Church to write his history about 1837 and never returned them.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 10 Jan. 1793 and 15 Jan. 1794.
[3] Letters, 2 May 1793, 23, 24 and 20 Sept. 1793, 57, Pub.
[4] Despatch, 23 April 1794, 69, Pub.
[5] Letter, 7 Sept. 1794, 68, Pub., and Consultations, 6 Sept. 1794.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is interesting to notice with regard to these applications that the letter from the Female Asylum Directors was signed by Millingchamp, Leslie, Bell, Charles Baker, Charles White, Benj. Sulivan and J. du P. Porcher; that from the Vestry by the three Chaplains, John Tulloh and William Abbott; that from the Male Asylum by J. Tulloh, Treasurer, 'by order of the Directors.' The trustees of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Funds commissioned C. W. Gericke to make the necessary application on their behalf. The amounts received were as follows;

Female Asylum . . .	40,000 pagodas
Male Asylum	26,000 ,,
Trichinopoly Vestry Fund . .	3,200 ,,
St. Mary's Church Fund . .	32,300 ,,
S.P.C.K. Missionaries . .	27,600 ,,

Of the Missionaries' money 10,000 pagodas were in the name of Gericke, 13,000 belonged to the George Hutteman estate; 3500 belonged to C. S. John, and 1100 to Christian Pohle.

The S.P.C.K. Missionaries appear to have traded with and used to good purpose the money which the Society left in their hands over and above their salaries. Only two of them were unfortunate in their ventures, Fabricius and Kiernander, and they were greatly blamed for—being unfortunate.

The result of this action on the part of the various trustees was that the Government got the bulk of the trust funds held within their jurisdiction into their possession. The investment was so safe, the payment of interest was so regular, that by degrees the trustees invested all their funds in the Company's bonds.[1]

In 1802 the St. Mary's Church Fund amounted to 62,489 pagodas; of this 57,898 pagodas were invested in Government bonds, and the rest was in cash.[2] The Native Poor Fund had 20,000 pagodas so invested;[2] and the other funds were similarly securely held.

When Bell and Millingchamp left Fort St. George in 1796 the Government of Madras wrote to the Directors to inform

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1800. [2] Do. 28 Dec. 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

them.[1] They strongly recommended Dr. Bell to their notice on account of his high character and his successful management of the Male Asylum. He had obtained leave on medical certificate, and they hoped for his return. They also reminded the Directors that Millingchamp had served them 14 years, and they left the question of his pay whilst absent to their decision. The Vestry showed their appreciation of the work and character of these two Chaplains by causing a letter to be written to each of them expressive of the high sense the Vestry entertained of their conduct and attention during their periods of service, and regretting that the state of their health obliged them to go.[2]

On the departure of these two Leslie became Senior Presidency Chaplain, Kerr was appointed Junior, and the only other Chaplain on the Coast was George Wells.[1] Leslie resumed charge of the St. Mary's School; and Kerr was put in charge of the Male Asylum. When Leslie resigned charge of the school the year before, the Vestry passed a resolution of appreciation of his work in connection with it, expressed in terms of warm acknowledgement.[3]

Besides the troops of the Madras army on the coast there were garrisons of Madras troops at Malacca and at Colombo. When Malacca fell in August 1795 an English clergyman who had held appointments in Bengal was found there, the Rev. A. T. Clarke. He wrote on the 6th September 1795 explaining his presence and asking to be appointed Chaplain to the garrison and to be enrolled on the Madras establishment. The Government of Madras replied to the officer commanding the troops at Malacca that they had no objection to the temporary appointment of the Rev. Mr. Clarke to be Chaplain to the garrison at Malacca with an allowance of 50 pagodas a month, to commence on the 1st December 1795.[4] Here he remained till the end of 1798.

The Madras troops at Colombo remained without a Chaplain until the end of 1796, when one of the naval Chaplains, Rosenhagen, was appointed to do duty there. The

[1] Letter, 16 Aug. 1796, 23, 24 and 72; and 3 Oct. 1796, 6, Pub.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 4 Aug. 1796.
[3] Do. 15 April 1795.
[4] Mil. Consultations, 2 Feb. 1796.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government did not apparently inform the Directors of Clarke's appointment to Malacca. But they wrote and informed them of Rosenhagen's appointment to Colombo,[1] mentioning the Court's orders of April 1796[2] in justification of the appointment. Rosenhagen was Chaplain of the Suffolk. The Directors did not approve of the appointment and ordered it to be revoked[3]; but as they did not appoint any other Chaplain to do the work, Rosenhagen remained at his post in Colombo till his death in April 1799.

In the meantime the Directors appointed the Rev. Charles Ball to fill the vacancy at the Presidency caused by the departure of Millingchamp and Bell. He was appointed to be 'the youngest Chaplain at your Presidency,'[4] meaning most probably 'Junior Presidency Chaplain.' But the unofficial language enabled the Government to keep Kerr at the Presidency and to send Ball as military Chaplain to Trichinopoly. When Ball received his orders on arrival, he asked for the letter of the Directors appointing him. He detailed the circumstances under which he was appointed, and claimed to be civil Chaplain at the Presidency in the place of Mr. Kerr. The papers were sent, and he was informed that he could only be considered 'the youngest Chaplain at this Presidency.' The Gazette appointing him to Trichinopoly had described him as 'the youngest Chaplain on this establishment.' Ball therefore asked if he were 'military and the youngest Chaplain on the establishment,' or 'civil and the youngest Chaplain at the Presidency.' The Government replied that the civil establishment was complete according to the limitation of the Court of Directors, and that he was considered to be the youngest military Chaplain; and they requested him to proceed at once to Trichinopoly.[5] Kerr was making himself very useful at the Male Asylum; the Government did not want to lose his services there; his appointment as Junior Presidency Chaplain had not as a matter of fact been sanctioned by the Directors. Their despatch sanctioning it did not reach Madras till September 1798.[6] This disappoint-

[1] Letter, 20 Jan. 1797, 40, 41, Mil. and Mil. Consult. 1797.
[2] Despatch, 22 April 1796, 10, Pub.
[3] Do. May 1798, Pub.
[4] Do. 30 June 1797, Pub.
[5] Mil. Consultations, 1798.
[6] Despatch, May 1798, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment to Ball was probably responsible for his subsequent hostility to Kerr. He went to Trichinopoly and remained there assisting the Garrison Chaplain, Christian Pohle, until he was recalled to Madras in 1801. Pohle was an older man, and had been officiating as Garrison Chaplain since 1779. All the same it is to the credit of Charles Ball that he fell into the position of assistant so readily.

When Dr. Andrew Bell arrived in England he set about the difficult task of finding a schoolmaster to superintend the Male Asylum. His choice fell upon James Cordiner, a graduate of Aberdeen. The Directors were asked to permit him to proceed to Fort St. George. This they did; but when they wrote their despatch notifying his departure, they added, 'but it is our positive order that he is not to be employed as a Chaplain in India.'[1] He arrived at Madras in June 1798, and was hospitably received by the Rev. R. H. Kerr. Soon after his arrival he was made clerk to the Vestry, and the stipend was increased from 10 to 20 pagodas a month in his favour.[2] His salary was further increased by his acceptance of the Chaplaincy of the 80th Regiment, then at Trincomalee. But he only remained at the Asylum for 10 months; his services were required elsewhere; and in spite of the positive order of the Directors he was appointed by the Hon. Frederick North, Governor of Colombo, to be Chaplain of the Colombo garrison on the death of Rosenhagen in April 1799. He was thus placed on the Madras military establishment, and received the pay of a military Chaplain. He was also appointed Chaplain of the 51st Regiment, then in Ceylon.[3] He remained in Ceylon for six years; and when he retired to England in 1804 with a handsome presentation of plate and a still more handsome address,[4] he was Chaplain to the garrison, principal of all the schools in the island, and the only clergyman of the Church of England in any of its settlements.[5]

At the end of 1798 the Rev. A. T. Clarke, Chaplain to the garrison at Malacca, arrived at Fort St. George, and asked the Government for an appointment in the Presidency. He

[1] Despatch, 18 Oct. 1797, Pub.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 5 July 1798.
[3] Cordiner's *Voyage to India*.
[4] *Madras Courier*, 27 June 1804.
[5] Cordiner's *Description of Ceylon* (Preface).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had left Malacca owing to ill health. The Governor in Council[1] wrote to the Directors explaining his circumstances and strongly recommending that he should be appointed to one of the vacant situations.[2] Before a reply arrived to this letter Clarke asked permission to go to Seringapatam for his health, and to officiate as Chaplain there. This request was granted.[3] Almost a year after his arrival at Seringapatam came a reply from the Directors regarding his appointment to a vacancy in the Presidency. The Directors said that 'in consequence of the peculiar situation of the Rev. Mr. Clarke,' they would appoint him Chaplain of Bencoolen.[4] The offer was made to him ; he declined it on the ground that he was not able to stand the climate of Fort Marlborough, as he knew by experience; and he asked to be allowed to remain at Seringapatam where there was plenty of work among the troops and others of the garrison.[5] The Government allowed him to remain ; and in their letter home again recommended his appointment to one of the vacancies in the establishment. They further urged that he was well placed at Seringapatam where the health of the garrison was very bad owing to the feverish nature of the place. The Directors wrote their agreement with these suggestions nearly two years later.[6] The following extract from the 'Madras Courier' of the 4th Jan. 1804 shows that Clarke was at Seringapatam then. He remained there at work during that year; and died in 1805, probably at sea.

'News from Seringapatam. Yesterday, the 27th Dec. 1803, being St. John's Day, Lodge No. 3 met at the usual hour in the morning, and at half past ten walked in due and ancient order, preceded by the Band of the 1st Battalion of Artillery and the Lodge colours displayed, to the Public Rooms ; where divine service was performed and an appropriate sermon delivered by a Brother, the Rev. Mr. Clarke,' etc.

[1] Before 1798 the Directors always addressed their despatches to 'Our President in Council'; after 1798 to 'Our Governor in Council.'
[2] Letter, 2 Jan. 1799, 130–133, Mil.
[3] Mil. Consultations, 20 Dec. 1799.
[4] Despatch, 22 May 1800, 49, Mil.
[5] Letter, 18 March 1801, 196, Pub. and 15 Oct. 1801, 209, Mil., and Military Consultations, 1801.
[6] Despatch, 17 Aug. 1803, 87, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Directors appointed two Chaplains in 1799, James Estcourt Atwood and Edward Vaughan.[1] The former arrived at Madras at the end of the year, and was ordered to Vellore; the latter arrived in March 1800.[2] Vaughan applied to be allowed to officiate at Seringapatam; but this could not be arranged without displacing Clarke, for which there seemed to be no necessity; he was therefore ordered to Masulipatam, where there had been no Chaplain since Kerr left in 1796.

At the end of the century the Company had the following Chaplains on their Madras Establishment:—

R. Leslie, R. Kerr } at Fort St. George. J. E. Atwood at Vellore.
J. Cordiner at Colombo. E. Vaughan at Masulipatam.
A. T. Clarke at Seringapatam. C. Ball at Trichinopoly.

They were also paying the following Missionaries to minister to the Europeans where they were:—

J. C. Kohlhoff at Tanjore.[3] C. H. Horst at Cuddalore.
C. Pohle at Trichinoply. C. W. Gericke at Madras.

The Directors appointed the Rev. Edward Stanley to be Junior Chaplain in 1801[4]; but he does not appear to have reached Madras. No fresh appointment was made until 1806. Gericke died in 1803. Leslie died in 1804. Cordiner returned home in the same year. So that at the end of the period under review, that is in 1805, there were four Chaplains and three Missionaries receiving pay from the Government for their services.

R. H. Kerr, E. Vaughan } Fort St. George. J. C. Kohlhoff, Tanjore.
I. G. Holtzberg, Cuddalore.
C. Ball, Trichinopoly. C. Pohle, Trichinopoly.
J. E. Atwood, St. Thomas' Mount.

The Rev. R. H. Kerr was appointed Chaplain to the 4th Regiment of Europeans at Ellore in 1793. Before long he appealed to the officers and men of the Northern Division to give

[1] Despatch, 29 May 1799, Mil. [2] Mil. Consultations, 1799 and 1800.
[3] Schwartz died in 1798. [4] Despatch, 26 Aug. 1801, 152, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

money for the building a Church for themselves. His success emboldened him to ask the Government to subscribe 1000 pagodas on behalf of the Company. The Government readily consented, and wrote to the Directors expressing a hope that their action would be approved, as the undertaking was so laudable.[1] The Directors approved.[2] But soon after the Government made the grant, the health of the Division became so bad that the Head Quarters and the 4th Regiment were moved from Ellore to Masulipatam.[3] During 1795 Kerr went on making preparations; so that when he was ordered to Fort St. George at the beginning of 1796, he had lodged in the Company's stores at Masulipatam the following articles ready for use when the Church was built[4]:—

Pulpit	6 Large forms
Reading Desk	4 Small forms
Communion Table	2 Pairs of large folding teak doors
3 Velvet cushions	2 Pairs of small „ „
8 Pairs of large Venetian windows.	

The pulpit, reading desk, and small forms were paid for by the Company independently of their donation. Over the rest Kerr expended 113 pagodas. He also expended 205 pagodas putting in the foundations of the Church at Ellore.

After his departure to Madras the scheme languished. There was the difficulty of obtaining skilled labour; the removal of the Head Quarters of the Division and of the 4th Regiment of Europeans to Masulipatam; his own removal to Madras; and the feeble support of the local subscribers in consequence of these three difficulties. On his arrival in Madras he realised the need of a Church in the Black Town. On the 9th July 1796 he therefore wrote to the Government, forwarding a petition from 107 European and Eurasian inhabitants of Black Town, detailing his expenditure of 318 pagodas over the Ellore scheme, and asking permission to spend the balance and to use the materials already provided

[1] Letter, 25 July 1794, 20, Pub.
[2] Despatch, 10 June 1795, 45, Pub. [3] Letter, 18 Oct. 1794, Mil.
[4] Letter from Kerr to the Government, 9 July 1796, entered in Consultation Book, 9 September 1796.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

over his new scheme. He described it as a work long and anxiously desired by many respectable people of the settlement; and he pledged himself without any view to private emolument to volunteer as the clergyman of the intended chapel.[1] The Government consented that the balance and the materials should be used as suggested, as soon as a sufficient sum had been subscribed by the inhabitants for the completion of the building.[2]

In the first two and half years of his residence at Madras Kerr's time was occupied with the Male Asylum and the collection of money for the completion of the Black Town chapel scheme. He was drawing pay as Junior Presidency Chaplain on the new scale; he had a diet and house allowance; he drew 25 pagodas a month for superintending the undertakers work; he had an allowance of £100 a year for superintending the Asylum; and he lived rent free in the Asylum house built on the old Egmore redoubt. But he was not satisfied. In 1797 he claimed the full allowance as Chaplain of the 19th Dragoons on the ground that his predecessor Dr. Bell had it.[3] But these sinecure appointments were abolished when the fixed and regular pay was raised; so the claim was disallowed. The Directors also refused to sanction the diet and house allowance on the ground that the higher scale of fixed pay was intended to supersede them.[4] Kerr then wrote to the Government representing that the stoppage of his allowances reduced his income by 1000 pagodas a year, and asking for compensation.[5] By the orders of the 22 April 1796 the Junior Chaplain was to draw 2125 pagodas annually and to have 25 pagodas a month for superintending the undertaker's work. By the orders of the 23 May 1798 all extra allowances were stopped, including the undertaker's allowance. In his letter to the Government he admitted that the business of undertaker was highly unbecoming the character which it was his ambition to support. But he claimed all the allowances on the ground that they were part of the emoluments of the post when he accepted it. The

[1] Consultations, 9 Sept. 1796. [2] Letter, 27 March 1797, 30, 31, Pub.
[3] Mil. Consultations, 1797.
[4] Despatch, 23 May 1798, 32, 33, Pub.; and Consultations, 20 Oct. 1798.
[5] Consultations, 23 Nov. 1798.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Governor in Council passed on his demand to the Directors,[1] who recognised the justice of the claim and allowed it.[2]

In 1796 Leslie and Kerr began their joint work at St. Mary's, Fort St. George. Leslie was nearly 50 years of age; Kerr was 20 years younger, and full of all sorts of activities of mind and body. Both were Irishmen. During the 13 years Leslie had been in the country, he had learned to accommodate himself to English ways and prejudices, and to study the likes and dislikes of his parishioners. Kerr was not so careful; and the consequence was that he practically created opposition to some of his best intentions and schemes.

Before the close of the year they were jointly instrumental in removing the altar piece,[3] a picture that has already been referred to, and relegating it to the vestry. In its place a window was inserted in the east wall. This was an undoubted boon to worshippers; but it could have been carried out without getting rid of the picture.

Up to 1798 the Mayor and Corporation had a pew allotted to them in the body of the Church, next in place of honour to that of the Governor. In the beginning of that year they had a space allotted to them in the organ loft; and it was rendered by a few little alterations as airy and commodious as possible for their accommodation. The senior Churchwarden was authorised to provide new chairs and new kneelers and anything else he might deem necessary.[4] The reason of this change does not appear till the following November, when the following minute appears in the Vestry book:—

'The ministers of St. Mary's parish having taken into consideration the present situation of the pulpit, and judging that it might be better placed in the middle of the Aisle [*sic*] both for the purpose of affording more room for the congregation, and that divine service may be better heard; resolved that the pulpit and the reading desk be removed to the centre of the Aisle [*sic*], and that additional seats be placed in the space now occupied by them.'

Up to this time the arrangement of the Church had been

[1] Letter, 9 Aug. 1799, 133, Pub.
[2] Consultations, 5 Feb. 1801.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, 23 Feb. 1797.
[4] Do. 17 May 1798.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

according to the old English fashion—a pulpit on one side with a sounding board,[1] a reading desk with a wooden canopy on the other. When the two were brought together in the centre, the sounding board went with the pulpit; but the canopy could not go with the reading desk without blocking the view of and from the pulpit. It was therefore resolved to place the canopy over the Governor's seat.[2]

Whether these alterations were an improvement or not is largely a matter of opinion, taste, and sentiment. The fact that they were alterations was sufficient by itself to call forth the opposition of some of the senior inhabitants who had worshipped in the Church for over 30 years. Amongst these were some men of either official or social importance or both; such as George Westcott, who entered the service in 1763 and had served for a time as a member of Council, and Benjamin Roebuck who served the office of Mayor as long before as 1781. These afterwards led the opposition against Kerr, and were instrumental in destroying the Vestry, and in taking the administration of the Church Fund out of its hands.

Beside the alterations there was another cause of annoyance to the sober minded, steady going, methodical merchants; and that was the continual claim Kerr made upon their time and attention. They had been brought up to look upon one Vestry meeting a year as necessary, for the passing of the accounts and for the election of Churchwardens and sidesmen. The principal people, including the Governor himself,[3] made a point of attending this meeting if they could. If there was any important and pressing business there was more than one meeting in the year; and it was generally understood that a meeting would not be called unless the business was really pressing and important. Having elected the wardens and sidesmen, appointed a Vestry clerk, and examined the accounts, the inhabitants considered that it was the duty of the chosen officials to carry on the affairs of the Church, school, and cemetery during the next year without further troubling them. During the ten years preceding Kerr's

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1800. [2] Do. 17 May 1798.

[3] The last Vestry meeting attended by a Governor was held in December 1792. The Governor was Sir Charles Oakeley, Bart.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appointment there had been 24 vestry meetings. During the first ten years of his ministry—that is, from 1796 to 1805—there were 47 ordinary vestry meetings and 46 special ones. He made too great a demand upon the time and the attention of his parishioners. His intention was excellent; but he wearied his people with his restless activity.

When the Directors wrote their approval of the building of the chapel in the Black Town, and of the appropriation of the Ellore balance to that object, they said [1]:—

'We have perused the letter from the Rev. Mr. Kerr of the 5 Sept. 1796 together with the address of the protestant inhabitants of the Black Town, and highly approve of your determination to appropriate the balance of the Company's subscription to the erecting of a Church at Ellore to the building of a Church in the Black Town.

'We are here naturally led to express an earnest hope that our servants high in station will set an example to their inferiors and others of a regular attendance in public worship on the Sabbath day; and we think it incumbent upon us at the same time to direct that if any public diversions have been tolerated on that day the same may be from henceforth discontinued.

'To preserve the ascendancy which our national character has acquired over the minds of the natives of India, must ever be of importance to the maintenance of the political power we possess in the East; and we are well persuaded that this end is not to be served either by a disregard of the external observances of religion, or by any assimilations to Eastern manners and opinions, but rather by retaining all the distinctions of our national principles, character, and usages. The events which have recently passed in Europe point out that the present is, least of all, the time in which Irreligion should be countenanced or encouraged; for with an attachment to the religion which we profess is found to be intimately connected an attachment to our Laws and Constitution; besides which it is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects on society,—to maintain in it the peace, the subordination, and all the principles and practises on which its stability and happiness depend.'

There were five other paragraphs deprecating gambling, luxury, dissipation, improper amusements, and general laxity

[1] Despatch, 25 May 1798, 51, 52, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of manners; but it is unnecessary to reproduce them here. Evidently the Directors had heard something to the disadvantage of the European community in Madras. But the authorities in Madras knew nothing about such things. They wrote in reply[1] rebutting the charges of luxury and dissipation; they said that these were not so prevalent as the Court of Directors seemed to suppose; that they knew of no mode of reducing private expenditure except by a curtailment of salaries, which measure it would not be expedient to resort to; they said that there was no gambling. And they added that should these vices be renewed the President would cooperate with the Court to suppress them. They also directed the Secretary to write the following letter to the Chaplains[2]:—

'I am directed by the Rt. Hon. the President in Council to transmit for your information the enclosed extract of a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors under date the 25th May last, and to request that you will assist the Government in pointing out the existence of any improper amusements, in inculcating the necessity of attendance on public worship, and in reforming the general manners of the society where they may appear to require it.'

No reply to this letter from the Chaplains has been found. It must have caused them as much surprise as the letter of the Directors caused the Governor in Council. For although there probably were some who were leading lives of luxury, dissipation, and moral laxity, neither they nor their vices were typical of Madras society. The Reminiscences of Captain Elers of the 12th Regiment[3] show that there was some high gambling amongst some of the officers of the King's Regiments. On the other hand the Lives of Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm, the Reminiscences of Colonel Welsh, the Letters from Madras by Mrs. Fay, and other similar books dealing with this period do not show that Madras society was then sunk in wickedness and dissipation.

Cordiner in his Voyage to India speaks of the neat English Church with a handsome spire, and regrets that it is not

[1] Letter, 9 Aug. 1799, 30-33, Pub. [2] Consultations, 20 Oct. 1798.
[3] Published in 1903 by Heinemann.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

large enough to contain one half of the garrison; as to Church going he adds, 'the people live in the country; every gentleman has a villa; the ladies seldom approach the Fort; very few even attend Divine Service there on Sundays; the gentlemen use it only as a scene of business.' This testimony was written between June 1798 and April 1799 when Cordiner was living in Madras; he explains the difficulty of Church going; by this time the suburbs of Madras were safe both from Mahrattas and Mysoreans; the bulk of the officials had left the insanitary confines of the Fort and built themselves houses along the Mount Road and in Egmore; they had put a distance between themselves and the Church; the distance made no difference to those who like to keep up their good habits, but it was an excuse for those who wanted one. The time was manifestly approaching when a new Church within reach of the new houses was required; but it is too much to say that Madras society was plunged in wickedness in consequence of the want.

It was at about this time, 1798, that the Directors instituted their system of deferred pay pensions in their military and medical services. They were not originally intended for their Chaplains, because the Chaplains had always been regarded as civilians. In 1799 Archdeacon Leslie addressed the Government, soliciting a pension, on the ground that his pay and allowances had been insufficient to admit of his saving a competency therefrom for his future support. The Government sent his request to the Directors[1] with a recommendation; he had served them 16 years; and they bore testimony as honourable to themselves as to him 'to the exemplary piety of Mr. Leslie, to the uniform propriety of his conduct, and to the respectable character which he has maintained during his long residence at this Presidency.'

The application was sanctioned.[2] Nearly a year before Millingchamp's application to retire on half pay was sanctioned[3]; so that Millingchamp was actually the first Chaplain who obtained a pension under the rules of the 25th July 1798. On the receipt of the March despatch, Leslie was informed of

[1] Letter, 19 Oct. 1799, 50, 51, Pub. [2] Despatch, 18 March 1801, Pub.
[3] Do. 28 Aug. 1800, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Directors' consent; he at once applied for 3 years furlough, which was granted, and informed the Vestry, thanking them for their uniform kindness and forbearance. The Vestry expressed their regret at his departure, and recorded their testimony to the unremitting attention he had paid to the duties of his station during the long period he had been with them; they acknowledged the rectitude of his conduct, which, from his unaffected piety and correctness of manners, sets an example worthy of imitation; they thank him for his care of the Charity School; they wished him happiness; and they expressed a hope that he would resume his duties in due course.[1] The whole resolution was most kindly and most handsomely expressed, and was published by general consent in the Government Gazette. Leslie then handed over to Kerr the Church property. The plate was exactly the same as that recorded in the Vestry Minute book of 1756—1 silver dish, 2 silver hand-mugs, 1 silver gilt dish, 4 silver gilt salvers, and 2 silver gilt chalices—and the Vestry furniture was much the same as in the 1773 list, the year when it was first bought, and in the 1783 list, when certain missing articles were replaced by purchase, including the two silver candlesticks. Upon these candlesticks were engraved in relief the emblems of the Passion of the Lord. This leads one to suppose that they were originally intended for something more than Vestry use. It is not mentioned where they were purchased; they are placed in the 1783 list with other articles which were to be purchased locally by the Churchwarden; they were of European manufacture; if they were acquired locally and not imported, the inference is that they were part of the Pondicherry loot of 1778, which was sold for the benefit of the naval and military forces engaged in the siege.

In 1801 H.M. the King in Council ordered the necessary changes in the Prayer Book consequent on the union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Government of Madras enclosed a copy of the order to Archdeacon Leslie, desiring him to circulate the necessary orders to the several Chaplains under the Presidency, and to the persons performing divine

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 7 Oct. 1801.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

service at the subordinate stations. In his reply Leslie reported that he had transmitted the orders to the several military Chaplains and to the Residents at the stations mentioned.[1] This fact is only worthy of notice because the incident shows us that the heads of the different small factories, and the commercial and political Residents at the larger ones were still expected, as in the earliest days of the Company, to perform divine service for the benefit of themselves and their subordinates. These Chiefs and Residents inherited from their predecessors the responsibility and the duty of baptising, marrying and burying according to the form of the Church of England. In 1802 Kerr, Ball and Atwood addressed a joint letter to the Bishop of London,[2] which seems to have been a complaint that these, being only laymen, should venture to baptise. No reply can be found; if one was sent, it was probably a gentle rebuke; and an exhortation to be duly grateful to the civil officials who had not shrunk from the performance of so solemn a duty.

As soon as Kerr took over the superintendence of the Male Asylum from Dr. Bell, he threw himself heartily into the work of it, and maintained his energy as Superintendent until his death in 1808. In 1798, when James Cordiner was the Head Master, Kerr persuaded the Directors[3] to establish a printing press at the school, with the double object of adding to the funds of the Institution, and of teaching the boys a useful handicraft. By order of the Directors he wrote to the Government[4] asking to have its printing done at the school press. The Government approved the establishment of the Press; but declined to transfer any part of its business to it. The Press was set up on a small scale, and prospered during the year 1799 by answering all expectations of it. At the end of the year the Government began to think that they had refused a good offer. The Secretary was therefore directed to write to Kerr and ask him to consider the practicability of establishing a sufficiently large press at the school to do the work of the Government, such as the printing of gazettes,

[1] Consultations, 14 July 1801.
[2] Letter, 20 Oct. 1802, 74, Pub.; Despatch, 27 June 1804, 25, Pub.
[3] The Directors of the Asylum. [4] Consultations, 28 Dec. 1798.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

orders, reports, and other business. He was also asked if the Directors would allow the boys to do the work; and to give his opinion as to how a commencement should be made.

Kerr replied [1] that a press on a small scale already existed at the Asylum with a prospect of considerable benefit to the Charity, and that there would be no difficulty in enlarging the establishment; that it only remained to discuss the principles upon which the arrangement ought to be made between the Government and the Directors. He went on to say that he considered the Asylum a public institution, its chief support being derived from the funds of the Government [2]; and that therefore the Government had a right to direct the occupations of the boys. As to making a commencement, it was a matter of cost; Kerr considered that the Government should bear all the initial outlay, and then have its printing done free. Finally he assured the Government that there would be no difficulty about confidential printing.

The Government approved of the suggestions, and resolved that the Governor should write to the Directors. They also requested Kerr to prepare plans and estimates. The estimates being prepared, 'Kerr [3] was authorised to alter the buildings and buy the necessary type for the establishment of the Government Press at Egmore Fort.' Thus by the end of the year 1800 the Press was set up at the School.

It is to be observed that the preliminaries were arranged entirely between Mr. Kerr and the Government. The Directors were informed of what was going on by a letter from the Governor; but their opinion and consent were not asked. The Asylum itself, of which they were Directors, was even referred to as if it were not an Asylum at all, but merely a Government Fort. No arrangement was made as to the keeping of the accounts, nor as to the allotment of profits. Kerr apparently was to manage everything connected with the scheme.

But this invasion of their rights did not of course please the Directors, who felt that their rights and their duties and their responsibilities had been betrayed and given away to others. And so before the end of the next year a new

[1] Consultations, 2 May 1800. [2] This was not strictly accurate.
[3] Consultations, 16 May, 1800.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

arrangement was arrived at, the nature of which can be seen by the terms of a minute written by the Governor, Lord Clive.[1]

1. He announced that he had made an arrangement with the Directors of the Male Asylum, and proposed that the Government Gazette might be immediately established on terms equally advantageous to the charity and economical to the public.

2. He stated that previous to this arrangement Mr. Kerr had at his own expense set up a small press for the benefit of the charity, which had added considerably to the funds; and that this plant was then being made use of as a public press.

3. 'Although I have reason to believe that Mr. Kerr has not calculated on any reimbursement of those expenses; yet when it is considered that the establishment of this experimental press was the means of effecting a considerable reduction in the charges of the Government at the other printing offices; and that I hold myself indebted in a very considerable degree to the exertions of this gentleman for the completion of an arrangement which absolves the Government from all future expenses of printing excepting the value of the paper; it appears no less equitable than expedient that in the appropriation of the profits to be derived from the Government Gazette an occasion should be taken of marking in a particular manner the sense which the Government entertains of the services rendered by the Rev. Mr. Kerr to the charity and the public.'

So the matter was put on a right footing. The Directors were brought into the arrangement; and rules were drawn up which received their sanction as well as the sanction of the Government. One of these rules provided that one third of the profits should go to the Male Asylum, one third to the Superintendent as remuneration, and one third to the Government to be held as a renewal fund. And the next rule declared that the third reserved for the disposal of Government should for the first year be presented to the Rev. Mr. Kerr, as a particular testimony of the sense which the Rt. Hon. the Governor in Council entertained of the services rendered by that gentleman to the charity[2] and the public.

When Leslie went home on furlough at the beginning of

[1] Consultation Book, 25 Sept. 1801. [2] That is the Male Asylum.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1802 Charles Ball from Trichinopoly was brought to the Presidency as Junior Chaplain. Kerr became Senior Chaplain and took charge as such of the Church Lodgings; he also took charge of the St. Mary's school on the ground that Leslie the senior Chaplain had had it before him. He did not relinquish the superintendence of the Male Asylum, nor the house he had there. Beside these advantages he drew allowances for diet, for the superintendence of the undertaker's work, and had one third of the profit of the Male Asylum Printing Press; so that he enjoyed quite a large income and had two houses.

Ball wrote to the Government and said that it had been customary for the Senior Chaplain to take the Church Lodgings and the St. Mary's school, and for the Junior to take, reside at, and superintend the Asylum. Ball made a mistake. If he had looked up the Vestry Proceedings he would have found that the senior took the lodgings and the junior took the St. Mary's school and the superintendence of the undertaker. There was no rule about the Asylum, though it was true that from its commencement one of the Chaplains and Churchwardens had been on the directorate, and one of the Chaplains had been Superintendent. What he ought to have done was to have asked the Vestry to give him the lodgings and the school. It was not in the power of the Government to grant those things.

The Government were not sure of the facts either; they valued Kerr highly as the business Superintendent of the Press, who was saving them so much money by his good management, and they did not want to lose him. They therefore replied[1] that the application appeared to be founded on defective information.

1. The original Superintendent of the Asylum was not on the establishment of Presidency Chaplains; the present Superintendent at the time of his appointment was also not a Presidency Chaplain; it is by no means a matter of course that the office should be held by a clergyman at all; in fact the Asylum 'is absolutely unconnected with the Church and its establishment.'

[1] Consultations, 7 May 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

2. The Church lodging and the native school[1] are both the property of the parish ; the appropriation of the buildings and the application of the funds rest with the Vestry and not with the Government.

3. The only Church lodging at the disposal of the Governor is a Captain's quarter, always until Mr. Ball's arrival allotted to the Junior Chaplain, and still reserved for that use.

And they resolved to reject the application, and to inform Mr. Ball that the Quarters usually allotted to the Junior Chaplain were at his disposal.

When the Government said that the Asylum was unconnected with the Church, they meant St. Mary's Church ; but they were not quite correct in that statement ; for one of the Presidency Chaplains was an *ex-officio* Director. However, Kerr was wanted where he was ; he was a difficult man to dispossess ; he had made himself extremely useful to the Government. At the next Vestry meeting,[2] however, he resigned the charge of the Charity School, and the Vestry requested Mr. Ball to undertake the superintendence. He did not resign the Church Lodgings ; and so a sense of injustice was kept alive in the mind of his colleague.

[1] The St. Mary's School is meant.

[2] Vestry Proceedings, 10 May 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHAPLAINS AND THEIR WORK FROM 1785 TO 1805—*cont.*

During the year 1801 Mr. Kerr was in correspondence with one of the Calcutta Chaplains, Claudius Buchanan, on the subject of a new scheme for the relief of the European poor in that Presidency. The Calcutta Vestry passed ten resolutions regarding ways and means, which were submitted to and sanctioned by the Most Noble the Governor General.[1] The first resolution was that a permanent fund should be formed by gradual accumulation of a certain portion of the Church collections made at the three festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. The others were briefly this; that the fund should be managed by the Vestry; which should meet once a month; that subscriptions should be invited from the public; and that the Most Noble the Governor General should be asked to be Patron. When the resolutions were submitted to the public it was stated that the object was to relieve those of our own countrymen who might be suffering from poverty in this foreign land; and the managers proposed to search out cases of distress, enquire into them, and relieve them.[2]

Kerr wrote a letter to the Churchwardens recommending the establishment of a similar fund at Madras. The Churchwardens considered and approved the proposal and undertook to commend it to their friends.[2] And when the next Vestry meeting was held, a resolution was passed highly approving the plan of a Charitable Committee, and requesting Mr. Kerr to solicit the patronage of the Rt. Hon. the Governor,[3] and then to call a full meeting of the Vestry. The Governor

[1] The Marquis of Wellesley.
[2] St. Mary's Vestry Proceedings, Fort St. George, 2 Jan. 1802.
[3] Lord Clive.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

readily consented. A Select Vestry was nominated to carry the institution into effect, and to serve as the Committee of management during the first year, 1802. These were the names of the first members :—

The Rev. Mr. Kerr.	Will. Webb.
„ „ „ Ball.	Will. Jones.
James Connell, Ch. Warden.	Cecil Smith.
John Chamier.	Charles Baker.
John Mitford.	Ben. Roebuck.
Will. Harington.	Francis Lautour.

A month later this Select Vestry met and passed a series of nineteen regulations for their own guidance.[1] The executive Committee was to consist of the Ministers, the Churchwardens, the sidesmen, and three others out of twelve annually chosen. Of these nine persons five were to form a working Committee, a Presidency Chaplain being one of them. They were to meet once a month at the Church Lodgings. The fund to be administered was to be derived from four Church collections during the year, and from any surplus monies arising from the interest of the Church Funds. The regulations laid down the rate of assistance for European men, women, and children ; for Eurasian women and children ; and for native women who were widows of Europeans or the mothers of their children. Pensioners were to attend in person, to receive clothes twice a year, and were forbidden to beg. In cases of drunkenness or immorality the pensions were to cease. Casual relief was to be afforded at the discretion of the Committee ; as well as relief to persons in the debtors' jail.

This detail is mentioned because the Charitable Committee was the parent of the Friend-in-Need Society. When this Committee came into existence there was already a Committee of the Native Poor Fund, consisting of the Ministers and Churchwardens and two other gentlemen. The new Committee wrote to the older one offering to manage their fund and appropriate its interest to the native pensioners. They undertook to keep the capital of the Native Poor Fund intact in case of any great calamity, such as another famine.

[1] Special Vestry Proceedings, 25 Feb. 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The *personnel* of the Native Poor Fund Committee was almost the same as that of the new committee. It did not seem necessary that poor relief should be done by two committees when it could easily be done by one. And so the Native Poor Fund Committee transferred its functions to the Special Vestry.[1] From this time and during the next few years the care of the native poor and of the European and Eurasian poor was managed by one committee at one time. The Government was asked to countenance and support the new scheme; the regulations were considered in council and were approved; and a letter was written saying that the Government would have much pleasure in affording every support to the Committee.[2]

The Native Poor Fund Committee was originated during the famine of 1782. When the famine was over there remained in the hands of the Committee 20,000 pagodas. With the consent of the Committee this was invested in Government bonds and held in trust by the Ministers and Churchwardens. The Executive Committee continued to relieve the native poor with the income of the investment. During the famine the poor natives were relieved and some were lodged at a choultry near Washermanpettah. Apparently the choultry was assumed to be a public building without any particular owner; the Committee therefore made use of it. They appointed a superintendent, a cook and a waterman; and they continued thus to relieve the poor and to exercise the rights of trust ownership long after the famine was over. The choultry was even called the Monegar[3] Choultry after them. The real owner asserted no claim to it during his life; probably he was satisfied that the place was being put to the best possible use, certainly the use for which it was built, and said nothing. But when he died his heir, Puttaby Pillai, wrote to the Vestry and complained that they had taken illegal possession of his house and choultry; and he asked for arrears of rent and restoration.[4]

This claim was put aside for a time for consideration.

[1] Special Vestry Proceedings, 25 Feb. 1802 and 5 April 1802.
[2] Consultations, 2 April 1802.
[3] Muniam kara, equivalent to endowment holder, or fund holder, or trustee.
[4] Vestry Proceedings, 2 Jan. 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Within a few months of its being made a firm of Calcutta lawyers wrote to the trustees of the Native Poor Fund, and claimed payment of a sum of 1700 pagodas, presumably for value of some kind received—the records do not say what. The justice of the claim was admitted and the amount was paid by the new Charitable Committee out of the St. Mary's Fund, the amount being regarded as a loan to the Native Poor Fund.[1]

It is evident that the whole resources of the St. Mary's Fund were intended to be used in order to carry on this new scheme, after the ordinary payments for the current expenses of the Church and school had been made. If the fund increased the increment was to be spent in poor relief; no provision was to be made for repair of buildings or for the expansion of the school. Kerr accentuated his intention by resigning into the hands of the Charitable Committee the right to distribute the sacramental alms; he gave to them the balance in hand, and his list of pensioners; and they accepted the trust.[2]

This intention of the Special Vestry, as it was decided the Charitable Committee should be called,[3] was made evident at a general Vestry meeting held on the 10th May 1802, when it was decided to investigate the state of the Church Fund to see how far it could carry out their purpose; and to raise what else was necessary by a voluntary rate of one pagoda a month on the principal inhabitants.

Kerr went home on leave in August 1802. Ball and Atwood became the Presidency Chaplains. The Special Vestry continued its appointed functions during Kerr's absence; and the intention of the new scheme was not forgotten. At the end of the year the Churchwarden, William Harington, presented the accounts. And the Special Vestry, seeing that there was a balance of 3000 pagodas, agreed to spend 115 pagodas more each month over charitable allowances.[4]

Kerr's going home was for the purpose of obtaining priest's orders. It had come to the knowledge of Ball that

[1] Special Vestry Proceedings, 3 May and 7 June 1802.
[2] Do. do. 5 April 1802. [3] Do. do. 8 March 1802.
[4] Do. do. 7 March 1803.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Kerr was only a deacon; and being a priest himself, he resented Kerr's presumption in executing the full office of the priesthood in his presence. According to ecclesiastical law it was and is a grave ecclesiastical offence involving penalties to pretend to execute the office of a priest without being one. Kerr had a paper signed and dated the 18th Nov. 1793—that is 18 months after his arrival in Madras—in which the Bishop of Sodor and Man professed to grant him a license to execute the office of a priest. Kerr refused to show this paper to Ball; but he showed it to others, and submitted it to Sir Henry Gwillim, one of the judges of the Supreme Court, for his opinion.

It is evident from the tone of the letters[1] which passed between the two men that Ball still felt the resentment of his original supplantment by Kerr in 1798, and the indignation which Kerr's selfishness awoke at the beginning of the year. It seems from what followed that Ball must have suggested that the papers on which Kerr relied should be submitted to an independent judge; for the opinion of the judge was sent to Ball, and a copy to Kerr. Sir Henry Gwillim wrote as follows to Ball:—

'I have received a letter from you desiring my opinion of the papers which Mr. Kerr has laid before me, and upon which he rests his title to act in this country as a clergyman in full orders. It is due to you, to Mr. Kerr, and to the settlement to state that opinion distinctly.'

He then pronounced in favour of the validity of Kerr's orders as deacon; and he proceeded:—

'Mr. Kerr does not pretend to call himself a regular Priest; but he produces a paper which purports to be an authority to him from the same Bishop who ordained him deacon to perform the priestly offices. I have no copy of that paper; but the operative part of it is in the following words, or in words to the same effect, "We give and grant full leave and license to our dearly beloved in Christ Richard Hall Kerr, Clerk, A.B., to perform all the offices of priest, and to discharge all the duties of his function according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England as by law established."'

[1] Consultations, June 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sir Henry then criticises the form and wording of the document, which was dated 18 Nov. 1793, and the character of the episcopal seal, and remarks on the unofficial character of both seal and document. He then continues:—

'I have no conception that this instrument can be of any validity; it gives a general power exerciseable anywhere; and as authorising a man to perform all priestly offices is pretty much the same thing as making him a priest, it would (if allowed) at once set aside the ordination ceremony, repeal all the statutes of uniformity, and elude the guards which the law has thrown round the Church to secure it an able, an orthodox and a respectable ministry.

'Such is my opinion of the paper in point of law. But as coming from a Bishop it is entitled to respect; it is not to be lightly blown away; and it justifies Mr. Kerr in what he has done; for the Bishop, not Mr. Kerr, is responsible for its efficacy.'

Sir Henry then mentioned that Kerr requested to have credit given him that the paper was received by him from the Bishop whose signature it bore; he added that Kerr would submit the paper to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, or both; and if they were of opinion that no such power as that which the paper affects to give can be so conveyed, he would go to England and apply for regular ordination; but that if the instrument is defective only in point of form, he would request the Bishop of Sodor and Man to send out at once a more formal and regular authority.

In reply to Ball's question whether he was ecclesiastically censurable in permitting Kerr to perform priestly functions in his presence, Sir Henry Gwillim said that the paper purported to come from a Bishop, and must be so taken; and that submission to it not only could not be censured, but was what in his opinion decency required. And he added 'I cannot find that our Church has ever granted authority to administer the Holy Sacraments otherwise than by prayer and imposition of hands.'

Sir Henry sent a copy of this opinion to Kerr dated the 25th May 1802. It seems almost incredible that a well

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

educated graduate who had been ordained a Deacon should be so ignorant of the English Ordinal as to suppose that a signed paper could be of equal validity with the apostolical laying on of hands. It is equally incredible that the Bishop of Sodor and Man intended by his paper to confer Holy Orders, or to do away with the necessity of them. It is not possible to find out what he meant. Kerr was at Ellore when he wrote to the Bishop. He may have represented that he had no immediate prospect of being able to visit England; that he required authority as garrison Chaplain of Ellore to perform certain acts; and he may have asked for a general commission or authority or license to do what was necessary until he was able to present himself for regular ordination. Any way he knew he was not a Priest; it would have been better if he had admitted this at once. Four days after the receipt of the opinion he wrote to the Governor in Council:—

'I deem it my duty to submit to the consideration of your Lordship in Council the enclosed opinion of the Hon. Sir H. Gwillim on a reference from the Rev. Mr. Ball regarding my competency to perform certain duties of the Church.'

. . . . . .

He complained of Ball's conduct towards him when he arrived in the country in 1798, and again when he arrived in Madras in 1802. He said 'the gross rudeness with which Mr. Ball continues to assail me on this subject has become truly grievous.' He begged the Government to testify to the Directors of his moral and professional character; how far his moral conduct had tended to support the cause of religion and the peace and good will of society; his zeal and attention to his ecclesiastical duties; and his promotion of the interests of society in superintending the Male Asylum. He continued:—

'The Rev. Mr. Palk performed the functions of a Priest for nine years on no other authority than the possession of Deacon's orders. The Rev. Mr. Millingchamp,—a name which will not be remembered in this settlement without respect,—exercised the same functions for seven years under the same circumstances. The Rev. Archdeacon Leslie, whom the united voice of the whole society and of the Government has distinguished by a spontaneous tribute of the highest

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

approbation, thought it not improper to act under him, allowing him without question to perform all offices in his presence. Mr. Leslie also, during a period of more than five years that we officiated with perfect unanimity as colleagues together, though well acquainted with the nature of my orders, never once objected to my performing all the offices of priesthood.'

Kerr concludes with this statement:—

'It is manifest that the distinctions[1] which prevail in England, where the presence of episcopal authority renders it easy to comply with established forms, have not hitherto been considered to apply to this country where that local authority does not exist, and cannot be resorted to without an expensive voyage' etc.

In reply to this letter and the papers enclosed the Government wrote both to Kerr and Ball on the 3rd June 1802. Kerr was informed that the Government highly disapproved of Mr. Ball's proceedings, as tending to disturb the order of society, and calculated to produce a distressing inconvenience to the frequenters of public worship. The letter proceeded thus:—

'The Governor in Council experiences great satisfaction in being able to record his perfect approbation of the correct manner in which you have performed the important duties entrusted to you, with his Lordship's testimony to your exemplary behaviour in private life, and to the zeal and attention you have uniformly paid to the interests of religion and society. These sentiments will be communicated by an early opportunity to the Hon. Court of Directors.'

Ball was informed that the Governor in Council highly disapproved of his conduct as inconsistent with the respect he owed to the Government as it was with the respect he owed to his own office. He was told that his method of procedure only disturbed the tranquillity of society without curing the defect he complained of; and he was directed to refrain from any future agitation on the subject.[2]

The immediate result of the agitation was that Kerr asked

[1] That is, between a Deacon and a Priest.
[2] All the papers are entered in the Consultation Book, June 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for leave for thirteen months to go to England to obtain Priest's orders.[1] The Governor in Council granted the leave in a letter very handsomely expressed, and dated the following day. And so that the Directors might have both sides of the question before them, Ball asked and obtained permission to send to them by the same mail a letter explaining his conduct.[2]

Kerr wrote his resignation to the Vestry; Ball was permitted to occupy the Church Lodgings; the Government appointed J. E. Atwood Junior Chaplain of Fort St. George; the Vestry appointed him junior Minister of St. Mary's; but no resolution of appreciation of Mr. Kerr was passed by the Vestry as had been done in former years when a popular Minister resigned his post. The inference is that the settlement was divided about him; and that though the Government was with him in grateful recognition of his Press work, society was divided in its sympathies.

The Government of Madras transmitted all the letters and papers connected with the discussion to the Directors,[3] including the memorial from Mr. Ball. They ventured to think that the conduct of Mr. Kerr entitled him to protection. The Directors replied to this[4] approving of the censure of the Rev. Mr. Ball's conduct as disrespectful to the authority of the Government, in bringing the question of Mr. Kerr's capacity to discharge the functions of a priest under the decision of one of the Judges; and directing that Mr. Ball should resume his former station at Trichinopoly.

Archdeacon Leslie only remained at home about one year. He had not been prosperous with his ventures like some others; his pension was not sufficient for his needs; and so after spending a year at home he asked permission to return to his old post at Fort St. George. This was readily granted.[5] He arrived in August 1803, and received a warm welcome. The Vestry expressed their pleasure and satisfaction.[6] Mr. Ball resigned to him the lodgings and the school. Mr. Atwood was sent back to Vellore. During his absence the Chaplains

[1] Consultations, 27 July 1802.
[2] Do. 30 July 1802.
[3] Letter, 20 Oct. 1802, 62-69, Pub.
[4] Despatch, 27 June 1804, 22, Pub.
[5] Do. 30 Mar. 1803, Pub. and 17 Aug. 1803, Mil.
[6] Vestry Proceedings, 16 Aug. 1803.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had found it necessary to recommend to the Vestry the enlargement of the Church.[1] A committee was appointed; but nothing further bearing on the subject has been found in the records.

It was in this year that the Governor, Lord Clive, wrote his celebrated letter to the Court of Directors, drawing their attention to the necessity of important alterations in their method of government. He pointed out that the change in the conditions of India 'required the adoption of a plan adequate to the administrations of such possessions . . . comprising at present an extent of 300,000 square miles and a population of 50 millions.' And he went on to say, 'the principles upon which this vast empire can now be preserved are not referable to the zealous restraints of a commercial intercourse, nor consistent with the limited policy of a mere mercantile interest.'

Lord Clive was thinking more especially of political matters; but his letter had the effect of causing the Directors to look into the whole question of their establishments; and it was doubtless the cause of the subsequent enlargement of all of them, including the ecclesiastical, to meet the new needs.

On his arrival in England Kerr at once set about the accomplishment of the intention of his visit. He was ordained Priest; he appeared before the Directors; he was interviewed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; he obtained a Doctor's degree in Divinity[2]; and in April 1803 he obtained permission from the Directors to return to Fort St. George. The Directors wrote to the Governor in Council as follows[3]:—

'We have permitted the Rev. Dr. Richard Hall Kerr to resume his former situation and rank as a Chaplain at your Presidency; he having been approved of by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

'Dr. Kerr states to us that he has received from the Archbishop of Canterbury an instrument empowering him to consecrate the Black Town Chapel on his arrival at Madras.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 2 May 1803.

[2] All effort to discover where and by whom this degree was conferred has proved fruitless.

[3] Despatch, 1 June 1803, 2, 3, 4, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We rely that the form of consecration will be supported by the countenance of your Government; so that the sacred office may be discharged with becoming solemnity and decorum.'

On the 20th October his ship arrived at Bombay, its destination having been suddenly altered; Dr. Kerr made his way to Fort St. George by a coasting vessel, and arrived on the 5th December. He wrote to the Governor on that date announcing his arrival; he enclosed two letters from the Court of Directors, and one from the secretary of the Archbishop of Canterbury about the consecration of the Black Town Chapel; he reported that he had received Priest's orders, and had graduated as a Doctor of Divinity. The Government accordingly permitted him to resume his rank and station, and directed Mr. Ball to return to Trichinopoly.[1] Dr. Kerr then wrote to the Vestry asking permission to resume his duties as junior Minister of the Parish, enclosing the letter of Government appointing him junior Chaplain of Fort St. George. Permission was granted.[2] At the same Vestry meeting was read a letter from the Rev. Charles Ball expressing his regret at leaving; thanking the Vestry for their civility and attention and confidence; and acknowledging their friendliness and unanimity. He also assured them that if he should be called to be their minister again, he would endeavour to do his duty, etc. In their reply the Vestry thanked Mr. Ball for the correct manner in which he had performed his parochial duties; and added that if the Government again nominated him a Chaplain at the Presidency, the Vestry would repose the same confidence in him as he had hitherto experienced. It is to be observed that there was no welcome of Kerr, as there had been of Leslie four months before.

Dr. Kerr took out with him a colleague for the work of the Male Asylum. This was a Mr. John Kerr. The Directors permitted him to go, and he entered into a penal bond with them to conform with the rules of the settlement in the same way as if he had been a free merchant. The bond was signed on the 5th May 1803. Two days before

[1] Consultations, 10 Dec. 1803. [2] Vestry Proceedings, 19 Dec. 1803.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dr. R. H. Kerr had entered into his covenant with the Company as a Chaplain. A Mr. John Macdonald, India agent, of St. Mary Axe, was one of the sureties for both the men. This leads one to suppose that they were in some way connected or related. Neither bond helps one to discover their identity. John Kerr was described as 'of London, gent.,' Richard Hall Kerr was described as 'of London, D.D.' Dr. Kerr resumed his superintendence of the Male Asylum; Mr. John Kerr managed both the school and the press under him. This continued for two years, until the end of 1805.

The Chaplain's covenant was a license to proceed to the East, and to reside within ten miles of one of the Company's principal settlements for three years. Under it he was obliged to conform with the rules of the rulers; he was pledged not to trade in the Company's monopolies; he was pledged to consent to dismissal and deportation if he broke his covenant, and not to bring any action for damages. And if he did not break it, the Company covenanted that he should not be disturbed. Two sureties for £500, the penalty of breaking the covenant, were necessary in all cases.

At the beginning of 1806 John Kerr returned home, and was ordained by the Bishop of Limerick. In January 1807 he was appointed a Chaplain by the Directors,[1] with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. He then entered into a covenant with the Company as a Chaplain, and Mr. John Macdonald was again one of his sureties.

On the 16th December 1803 Dr. Kerr wrote to the Government asking permission to consecrate the Black Town Chapel. He had opened it for divine service on the first Sunday in January 1801, and was anxious to consecrate it on the first Sunday in January 1804. In his hurry to push matters forward he omitted all reference to his senior, Archdeacon Leslie. The Government replied on the 24th December that there was no objection to the consecration of the chapel on the day proposed; and assured Dr. Kerr that his Lordship the Governor desired to afford such assistance and countenance in the execution of the service as might be

[1] Court Minutes, 31 Dec. 1806 and 7 Jan. 1807.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

suitable to its solemnity. On the same day [1] the Government wrote to Archdeacon Leslie informing him of Dr. Kerr's proposal that the ceremony of consecration should take place on Sunday the 1st January 1804; desiring that the morning service on that day should be dispensed with in Fort St. George; and requesting that he would personally assist in the performance of the solemnity in the form laid down for Dr. Kerr's guidance by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Then Dr. Kerr wrote to Archdeacon Leslie asking him to assist. A Vestry meeting was held on the 30th December, at which these letters were read; Dr. Kerr expressed his trust that the Vestry would make no objection; and obtained permission to use the Church plate for the celebration of the Holy Communion on the occasion.

This was two days before the proposed ceremony; the Vestry made no objection; indeed they resolved to give notice by means of handbills. But Archdeacon Leslie did not consider that enough time had been given to work out the details of so important a function; nor that enough notice had been given to him to carry out his part in it, that of preaching the sermon on the occasion. And the result was that the ceremony was postponed until the first Sunday in February.

Since the year 1793, when Wilberforce introduced into Parliament his famous proposals to send out not only more Chaplains for the Europeans in India, but schoolmasters and approved persons for the religious and moral improvement of the native inhabitants, there had been much talk as to what might be done for their benefit. The Directors recommended a hospital in Madras. Surgeon John Underwood in 1798 carried out the suggestion under the patronage of the Government and opened a hospital in Washermanpettah near the Monegar Choultry. In 1799 he asked for assistance from the Vestry; and was voted 500 pagodas from the St. Mary's Fund.[2] The fund was not intended for the purpose; it was exclusively for the benefit of the poorer Europeans and Eurasians of the settlement; so that when Surgeon Underwood asked for a renewal of the grant in 1800, the Vestry felt bound to refuse him.[3]

[1] Consultations, 24 Dec. 1803. [2] Vestry Proceedings, 1 May 1799.
[3] Do. 31 Dec. 1800.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

When Kerr launched his Charitable Committee or Special Vestry in 1802, both he and the Vestry who sanctioned it intended it for the relief of 'our own countrymen and those connected with them.' In reply to a question the Committee stated that they could not extend their charity to all denominations; they were dealing with trust money, and the money was raised and given and bequeathed for Europeans and Eurasians connected with St. Mary's only.

Kerr's visit to England produced a change in his opinion on this subject. It is not likely that he was excused from having a private interview with Mr. Charles Grant, the director of the Directors, the trusted formulator of their ecclesiastical policy and the nominator of their Chaplains. Charles Grant was an honoured and honourable Christian gentleman who saw no reason for trying to separate and keep distinct the business of God and the business of man.[1] The Sierra Leone Company, of which he was a Director, combined trade with Christian instruction. He did not see why the East India Company should not do the same thing. If, as is highly probable, Kerr visited Grant at his house in Russell Square, and met and talked with his friends Thornton, Wilberforce, Venn, and Lord Teignmouth, his change of sentiment with regard to the natives of India is easily accounted for. He returned to Madras with the intention of pulling down if possible the partition wall which divided the native from the European, and giving the former in religious and charitable matters a share of the latter's privileges. The idea was right enough; the mistake he made was in trying to carry out the policy at the expense of the St. Mary's trust funds.

It will be remembered that a Calcutta claim on the Native Poor Fund to the extent of 1700 pagodas was paid by the Vestry from the St. Mary's fund in June 1802, and that the payment was regarded as an advance to and a debt from the Native Poor Fund trustees. At the first Vestry attended by Dr. Kerr after his return[2] the subject was brought up; the Vestry was reminded that when the Native Poor Fund was transferred to the Special Vestry, a promise was made that

[1] *Life of Charles Grant*, by Henry Morris, S.P.C.K. 1898.
[2] Vestry Proceedings, 30 Dec. 1803.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the principal should remain entire; that the Fund was at that time in debt to the Church 1700 pagodas. The Vestry in consideration of the promise resolved that the Native Poor Fund should be exonerated from the debt.

The claim of the native owner of the Monegar Choultry and the land on which it was built was renewed on Dr. Kerr's return. It was submitted to the Collector of Madras, Mr. J. H. D. Ogilvie, for his opinion. After enquiry the claim of ownership was found to be correct[1]; and the matter was referred to the Special Vestry.[2] The claim amounted to 2192 pagodas, being rent of the Monegar Choultry from January 1782 to October 1804. The Vestry resolved to pay it[3] (the Churchwarden being directed to make as good terms as he could) out of the St. Mary's Church Fund.

The hot weather of 1804 was very severe; Archdeacon Leslie fell a victim to it on the 28th June. The day before he died he wrote a letter to the Vestry saying that the state of his health obliged his sudden departure—he was contemplating a voyage to England—and hoping that the Rev. Mr. Atwood might assist Dr. Kerr in his duties during his absence. The Vestry resolved to invite Atwood to officiate at St. Mary's if the Government appointed him Junior Chaplain of Fort St. George. In the mean time they gave Kerr the Church Lodgings, and Atwood the School; they resolved to erect a monument to the memory of their 'late revered and beloved pastor'; and they asked the Ministers to draw up a suitable inscription. The Vestry not only erected a monument over Leslie's grave in the St. Mary's cemetery, but they also erected a tablet to his memory in the Church itself. Col. Trapaud, Chief Engineer, designed the monument in the cemetery.[4] The tablet in the Church was ordered in England by Mr. N. E. Kindersley, then at home; it was designed by Flaxman, and erected in 1808.[5] Both were paid for out of the St. Mary's Fund. Dr. Kerr preached the funeral sermon.

The Government allowed Atwood to officiate as Junior Chaplain until October. They then appointed the Rev.

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 19 Nov. 1804.
[2] Do. 12 Dec. 1804.
[3] Do. 7 Jan. 1805.
[4] Do. 19 Oct. 1804.
[5] Consultations, Oct. 1804, and Letter, 16 Oct. 1804, 303, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Edward Vaughan, who had been at Masulipatam since 1799, to the vacant post.[1] Atwood had found the dry heat of Vellore to disagree with him. He therefore wrote and begged to be appointed to St. Thomas' Mount, pleading that he could also officiate at Poonamallee. When at Vellore he proposed to build a new Church in the place of the Mission Church erected by Mr. Torriano; but the Government declined to assist in the undertaking.[2] Edward Vaughan arrived at the end of November 1804; and Atwood became the first Chaplain of St. Thomas' Mount.[3]

Before Atwood left there were held at the Church lodgings three Vestry meetings, two in October and one in November, at which Dr. Kerr unfolded a plan for the establishment of a workhouse for paupers of all classes at the expense of the St. Mary's Church Fund. On Oct. 19 he represented the necessity of a Poor House; he said that,

1. There had been complaints of the feeding and accommodation of the native poor at the Monegar Choultry.

2. That a dispute had arisen regarding the ownership of the choultry and its compound.

3. That it was difficult of access, so that the gentlemen of the Vestry could not go and see how it was conducted by the sergeant in charge.

He therefore proposed that,

1. The Native Poor Fund should be incorporated with the Church Fund, and a general charity established; provided that in case of famine the whole principal of the Native Poor Fund should be separated again from the General Fund, and appropriated to the relief of the native poor, as was originally intended.

2. That a house be built for all descriptions of poor; the Junior Chaplain to be Superintendent with a salary from the parish.

3. Such of the inmates as could work to be employed under a sergeant living in the compound.

4. The house to be built as near as possible to the Native Hospital.

[1] Consultations, Oct. 1804, and Letter, 16 Oct. 1804, 303, Mil.
[2] Letter, 23 March 1804, 385, Mil.
[3] Letter, 8 March 1805, 150, Pub. Despatch, 9 April 1806, 37, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Vestry which consisted of the two Ministers, a Churchwarden, a Sidesman, and one other, resolved to call a special meeting to consider the question. It is to be observed that if the workhouse had been established, and a famine had taken place, and the Native Poor Fund withdrawn to meet it, the St. Mary's Church Fund would have had to provide the total cost of the institution.

On the 25 October the special Vestry was held; there were present the two Ministers, a Churchwarden, a sidesman, and three other gentlemen. A letter was read from Dr. Kerr giving details of his scheme. He inclosed a plan of it; a 'Black Man's' estimate of its cost amounting to 6000 pagodas; and his own estimate of maintaining the house when built amounting to 292 pagodas a month. He gave his opinion that the House would enable the Special Vestry to know the circumstances of the poor they relieved; and that when collected together they would be under observation as to morals. He submitted 11 draft regulations, laying down the duties of the Special Vestry, the Visitors, the Superintendent, the Master and the inmates. Other regulations dealt with the work, exercise, meals, diet scale, punishments, sickness and clothes. In case of sickness the paupers were to be sent to the Native Hospital. As to clothes every male pauper was to have a red handkerchief to tie round the head, a jacket, and a cloth. And every female pauper was to wear a long cloth.

The Vestry approved the plan and the regulations; and resolved that the Ministers, Churchwardens and Sidesmen should form a committee to carry out the scheme. There is no room for doubt that the intention was to treat alike all poor (Eurasian and Native) in the matter of dress, food, work and accommodation. In his letter Dr. Kerr said, 'probably some now relieved, not really poor, will cease to require relief under the new system, and that there will be a saving in consequence.'

On the 19 November another Vestry meeting was held. There were present the two Ministers, the two Churchwardens, the two sidesmen and 10 others. The question was beginning to excite interest. Dr. Kerr read the draft of a letter to the Government. This letter set forth,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1. The desirability of the scheme.

2. The fact that the Vestry would have to pay a long arrear of rent and interest for the Monegar Choultry; and was at that time engaged in a law suit for the recovery of a debt.

'But the Vestry trust that the reduced state of the finances of the Church will not frustrate the accomplishment of this laudable undertaking. . . . The Vestry doubt not of receiving the most cordial support from individuals from whom it is intended to solicit subscriptions. . . . Assistance from the Church Funds will be afforded by the Vestry to the utmost extent of their ability. . . . Yet without the aid of Government the Vestry are apprehensive that their efforts will prove insufficient. They hope therefore that the same liberality etc. which has been extended to all institutions which have for their object the alleviation of human calamity, will not be withheld to the establishment now in contemplation, which is intended as an Asylum for paupers of all nations and descriptions, who from age, infirmity or otherwise are unable to subsist themselves' etc.

Then followed an appeal to the Government either to contribute towards the building of a Poor House; or towards defraying a portion of the current expenses of the institution.

A copy of the Vestry proceedings of Oct. 19 and 25 accompanied the letter; also a copy of the proposed regulations, the estimate of the cost of building, and Dr. Kerr's calculation of monthly expenditure.

The Governor in Council read the letter and its inclosures[1]; and they ordered it to lie on the table for further consideration. The relief of poor Europeans and those connected with them was a matter within the power of local charity; but the relief of poor natives—nobody knew how many millions would claim the relief—was quite another matter. And to back up a scheme attempting the feat with money given and intended for another purpose was not what the Government of Lord William Bentinck were prepared to do.[2]

The sixteen members of the Vestry who were present on the 19th did not oppose the sending of the letter; but one of them introduced a new idea. If all the money in the Church

[1] Consultations, 30 Nov. 1804.

[2] The members of Council were William Petrie and John Chamier.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Fund was to be spent over the relief of native poor, perhaps before a beginning was made it would be well to get as much as possible out of the Fund for the repair and enlargement of the Marmelong Bridge, a matter which concerned the interests of the Europeans in the settlement. Kerr and his party opposed. But at a Vestry held on the 28th Nov. 1804, at which 34 gentlemen of the settlement were present, the motion to widen the bridge was carried by 23 votes to 11.

The result was an amicable suit in Chancery, a verdict against the right of the Vestry to keep the Bridge Fund and spend it over poor relief, and an order of the Supreme Court to pay over 8780 pagodas to trustees appointed by the Government to hold the Bridge Fund in future.

The confidence of the settlement in the administration of the Church Funds by Dr. Kerr and his party in the Vestry was completely upset. The Vestry of the 25th October put on record that they wished it to be understood 'that the St. Mary's Charity School was not and is not intended only for the children of soldiers, but that children of all descriptions are eligible to it.' What did Dr. Kerr mean by children of all descriptions? The School was intended for the children of Europeans, soldiers and civilians; but there was a suspicion that Dr. Kerr meant to admit native children to a school that was never intended for them, and to spend trust money over them that he held in trust for children of a different kind.

The judgement in the Bridge case involved an enquiry into the status of the Vestry; the adverse verdict necessitated the giving up of the whole fund and placing it under the direction and control of the Supreme Court. So the workhouse scheme came to an end; so did the Vestry.

The disputes in the Vestry did not destroy the confidence of the Government in Dr. Kerr. If he was wrong in his parochial policy he was still serving the Government faithfully as a Chaplain, as Superintendent of the Male Asylum, and especially as Superintendent of the Male Asylum Press. Beside this there was reason to believe that he possessed the full confidence of Mr. Charles Grant and the Directors. Whilst the disputes were going on the Government called

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

upon him to report[1] for the information of his Lordship in Council the number of clergymen which he deemed necessary for the service of the Presidency; and to add suggestions of his own for the improvement of the ecclesiastical part of the Madras establishment, 'upon the respectability of which depends not only individual comfort, but also the maintenance of the national character in the opinions of a religious people.'

Kerr replied that he would endeavour to procure the necessary information for drawing up such a report as might seem best calculated to answer the good purpose in the contemplation of the Government; and he asked to be furnished with information as to the number of Europeans of all descriptions in each district. The Government thereupon authorised him to obtain from the different public officers the information he required.[2]

The sanctioned establishment then was six clergy, two civil and four military. Kerr recommended the addition of nine Chaplains, naming the places where they ought to be stationed, and the pay they ought to receive. His report was considered in Council, and was sent to the Directors with the Council's own recommendations.[3] Lord William Bentinck proposed and the Council agreed that the augmentation should be limited to three: that is, that three additional Chaplains should be appointed for work in the new garrisons. The Governor contributed a minute on the general subject of the character and the pay of Chaplains; he expressed a fear that the Directors would not be able to get Chaplains of high standing, University education, and character unless some greater inducement were held out to them than was then done. His proposals were briefly these:—

1. Clergymen on arrival to receive Captain's pay and allowances.

2. After five years salary to be increased to 150 pagodas.

3. After ten years salary to be increased to 300 pagodas, with the option of retiring on Captain's pay.

4. After fifteen years no increase of salary in India, but the option of retiring on £300 a year.

[1] Consultations, 18 Nov. 1804. [2] Do. 27 Nov. 1804.
[3] Letter, 8 March 1805, 185–189, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

5. The Senior Chaplain to receive 500 pagodas a month, with the option of retiring after 15 years on £500 a year.

6. The Junior Chaplain to receive 400 pagodas a month, and to have the same pension rules as the other clergy.

7. Periodical increases to depend upon the approbation of the Governor in Council.

The Government concluded their letter by recommending these arrangements to the Court's attention and decision.

Whilst this letter was on its way home the Directors were themselves considering the question. They finished their deliberations and sent off a despatch before the letter reached them. This is what they said[1]:—

'We have taken into consideration the state of the establishment of Chaplains under your Presidency, and being of opinion that in consequence of the increased acquisition of territory by cession and conquest of late years, it is not sufficient for the due performance of religious duties, which we must always be anxious to provide for in all the settlements subject to the British administration in India, we have resolved that the same shall be augmented.'

Paragraph 8 mentioned that by the orders of 22 April 1796 the number of Chaplains was fixed at six—two at the Presidency and four at the military stations.

Paragraph 9 announced their resolution to increase the number to nine, two at the Presidency and seven at the military stations; these being Masulipatam, Trichinopoly, Vellore, Seringapatam, Canara, Malabar, and the Ceded Provinces (Bellary).

Paragraphs 12–16 dealt with the subject of pay and pensions. Though not so liberal as those proposed by Lord William Bentinck, the new rules were liberal, and prescribed the following pay:—

Senior Presidency Chaplain . .	3500 pagodas a year.
Junior Do., being also Chaplain to the Garrison	3000 „ „
(All extras, including that for superintending the undertaker's employ were abolished.)	
Each military Chaplain	2250 „ „

[1] Despatch, 5 June 1805, 7–18, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Paragraph 18 ordered that a separate ecclesiastical department was to be formed, and that the Chaplains on the ecclesiastical establishment were to be graded for pay and appointments.

Soon after this despatch was sent, the letter of the Madras Government of the 8th March 1805 arrived, together with Dr. Kerr's report, and the Governor's Minute. The Directors took them all into consideration and replied.[1] Unfortunately the minute and the report do not now exist; but it is possible to form a judgement of their contents by the reply of the Directors.

They began by applauding the motives of the Governor; they agreed with him that the minds of the governed should be impressed with respect for the virtues of those who govern; and they also agreed that without a due sense of religion and the constant practise of religious duties they could not hope to implant or support those sentiments in the people. Then they dealt with Dr. Kerr's criticism of his parishioners and of other Europeans in the Presidency; he complained that the Christian religion was ill understood, its forms much neglected, its principles little felt; 'the happiness,' he said, 'the purity and integrity of the European inhabitants have been lost or impaired by the want of a proper establishment of good clergymen.' He said that few opportunities were offered to Europeans at a distance from the Presidency of attending divine worship.

The Governor endorsed Dr. Kerr's remarks and complaints as to the neglect of public worship; he said that the fact was too obvious to be questioned; and he added that as regards the performance of religious duties 'perhaps some discouragement has been added from the want of respectability on the part of the profession in this country.'

The Court of Directors replied that if these charges were true there could be little expectation that the British character would be held in estimation by the natives. They drew attention to their warning letter of 1798, and expressed a fear that it had not been attended to. They agreed with the Governor in attributing the general neglect of religious duties

[1] Despatch, 9 April 1806, 104–118, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to habit; and they regretted that 'the insufficiency of the clerical staff had not been brought to their notice before. At the same time they reminded the Government of Madras that by their orders of 1796 four military Chaplains were appointed to do duty at the principal garrisons[1]; and that the latest military statement showed that they were actually attached to the principal divisions of the army. Besides these, their military despatch of the 17th August 1803 para. 87 allowed the Rev. A. T. Clarke to officiate as Chaplain to the garrison of Seringapatam; and the latest military statement showed him to be still there; and there was a Chaplain also at Malabar, though he was on the Bombay establishment. 'We are uncertain,' they said, 'if Dr. Kerr had these appointments in recollection when he penned his report.'

The Court of Directors refused to admit that there was 'a want of respectability' in its Chaplains. 'The Chaplains,' they said, 'have to produce testimonials of character before appointment, and to be approved by the Bishop of London'[2]; and they added that if any Chaplain deserved dismissal he could and would be dismissed in the same way as a Civil servant.

In reply to the Governor's fear that the pay and retiring allowances were insufficient, the Court referred him to their despatch of the 5th June 1805, and made the retiring allowances after 18 years' service a little more liberal.

The creation of a separate ecclesiastical department, with an increase in the number of Chaplains, serving under new rules of residence, furlough, pay and pension, marks the close of one period and the beginning of another. It only remains to mention the following interesting incidents which took place before the period came to an end.

In the early part of the year 1805 Dr. Kerr wrote to the Government announcing that he had advertised his intention of issuing from the Government Press religious tracts and sermons twice a month for the purpose of disseminating religious instruction[3]; and he asked that as the plan proposed

[1] Ball, Atwood, Vaughan and Cordiner.
[2] This was the rule when they were appointed in London; but some were appointed in India, like Kerr himself.
[3] Consultations, 29 April 1805.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was entirely for the public good, he might be authorised to transmit numbers up country free of postage. The Government resolved to exempt his packets from postage in order to promote the success of the commendable object. Hough says [1] that the sermons were by various English divines; and that the Chaplains and many others thanked him.

In August 1805 Dr. Kerr asked for leave for a month or six weeks to go to Mysore in consequence of ill health. The leave was granted; Mr. Vaughan undertook to do the whole clerical duty during his absence; and Mr. John Kerr undertook to superintend the Male Asylum Press.[2]

Soon after Dr Kerr's return to the Presidency from the Mysore country occurred the death of the Governor General, the Most Hon. the Marquis Cornwallis. Kerr preached the funeral sermon at St. Mary's, Fort St. George, on Sunday the 3rd November. Three days after Dr. Kerr received the following flattering resolutions from the Chief Secretary [3]:—

'Resolved that the thanks of the Rt. Hon. the Governor in Council be conveyed to the Rev. Dr. Kerr for the excellent sermon preached by him on the mournful occasion,' etc.

'Resolved that Dr. Kerr be requested to take measures for printing the sermon delivered by him on that occasion at the public expense; and that when printed a sufficient number of copies be circulated to the principal military stations under this Presidency.'

St. Mary's Church was hung with black cloth on the day when the funeral sermon was preached; and the Government passed an order for the payment of the expense of the cloth amounting to 196 pagodas.

It is difficult to understand the exact position of the Chaplains between 1796 and 1805. When the British regiments began to arrive for continuous service in the East, a Chaplain was borne on the strength of each regiment. Sometimes these appointments were filled up, sometimes not. Sometimes they were given to the Company's Chaplains, and sometimes to others. When they were given to others, as in

[1] *History of Christianity in India*, vol. iv. chapter iii.
[2] Consultations, 9 August 1805. [3] Do. 5 Nov. 1805.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the cases of Dr. Bell and Dr. Kerr, these men were not regarded by the Company as being in their service, but as holding a military appointment with the King's troops. In 1796 the Directors sanctioned the appointment of four Chaplains to four different garrisons; so that the new men were not regimental but garrison Chaplains; and they were besides in the Company's service. Their position was partly military and partly civil. Consequently their affairs were sometimes the subject of discussion by the military Board, and are recorded in the military consultations, letters and despatches; and were sometimes discussed by the Council, and are recorded in the public consultations, letters and despatches. After 1805 their position became stereotyped by their departmental gradation. They became ecclesiastical: neither military nor civil; but sometimes doing military work and sometimes civil work, and sometimes a combination of both. The first local army list was printed at the Male Asylum Press and published in 1804. In this list the only Chaplain mentioned was Richard Hall Kerr, as belonging to the staff of the Madras European Regiment. At this time Pohle and Ball were the garrison Chaplains at Trichinopoly, Atwood at Vellore, Vaughan at Masulipatam, and Clarke at Seringapatam; but Kerr did not apparently consider any of them to be military Chaplains.

The appointment of Vaughan to the Presidency over the heads of two seniors, Ball and Atwood, was communicated to the Directors in due course.[1] The Directors replied,[2]—

'You will observe by our public despatch of the 5th June 1805 that we have established a gradation of rank and succession of the clerical establishment; whenever you shall find it necessary to deviate from this rule, as in the instance of Mr. Vaughan, it will be proper that we should be furnished with your reasons for the same.'

The Government of Madras explained their reasons for choosing Vaughan; and their action was justified and approved by the Directors.[3] When Kerr went on leave in 1806

[1] Letter, 16 Oct. 1804, 303, Mil. [2] Despatch, 30 July 1806, 394, Mil.
[3] Do. 7 Sept. 1808, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a junior Chaplain, William Thomas, was appointed to officiate at St. Mary's in his absence. This second supersession of two seniors was explained by the Government in their next letter home; and the Directors wrote in reply,[1] after approving the appointment,

'It was not the scope of the Regulation in Para 18 of the 5th June 1805 that the appointment of Chaplains to the Presidency should be governed by seniority merely without attention to other qualifications. That station is pre-eminently important; . . . we therefore desire that men of the first character for talents and conduct be always selected for it' . . . etc.

This then was the declared policy in making promotions; it was to be the same as in other departments, a system of seniority tempered by selection.

Hough says[2] that in 1805 Kerr refused to allow a new Chaplain to preach at St. Mary's on the ground of a difference of religious view between the new man and himself. He says that the Commander-in-Chief, who was a friend of the new man, and the Governor both asked the favour; and that Dr. Kerr refused unless an order in Council was published. He says that the matter was dropped; and that the Governor honoured Kerr's principles by continuing his friendship. The only new Chaplain in 1805 was William Thomas. The story sounds incredible without any mention of Thomas; when his name is associated with it, it sounds more incredible still.

On the other hand Dr. Kerr's name is associated with the introduction of the London Mission agents into Madras, who introduced confusion into the little native Church at Vepery by their depreciation of what had been already done in the Christian cause, and their hostility to what was being done. He appointed Mr. Biss, a Baptist Missionary, to teach the St. Mary's boys to sing in the Church.[3] He engaged Mr. Loveless, a London Missionary, as a schoolmaster at the Male Asylum. He assisted to build the chapel in Popham's

[1] Despatch, 11 Jan. 1809, 87, Pub.
[2] *History of Christianity in India*, vol. iv. chapter iii.
[3] Vestry Proceedings, 1 May 1805.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Broadway for the use of Mr. Loveless[1]; he was greatly helped in this scheme by Mr. W. H. Torriano of the Company's service. He not only assisted the London Missionaries Cran and des Granges to go to Vizagapatam,[1] but he obtained for them a Government grant[2] of 10 pagodas a month for reading the English service at that station. And in other ways he showed his sympathy with the new comers rather than with the old Missionaries of the S.P.C.K.

The following was the prayer for the Right Hon. the East India Company in use at their different settlements at this period. It is said by Cordiner in his Voyage to India to have been composed by a late Bishop of London; but he does not say by whom, nor when it took the place of the older prayer for the English Company prescribed by authority 100 years before.

'O Almighty and most merciful God, who art the Sovereign Protector of all that trust in Thee, and the Author of all spiritual and temporal blessings; we Thine unworthy creatures do most humbly implore Thy goodness for a plentiful effusion of Thy grace upon our employers Thy servants the Right Hon. the East India Company of England; prosper them in all their public undertakings; and make them famous and successful in all their governments, colonies and commerce, both by sea and land; so that they may prove a public blessing, by the increase of honour wealth and power, to our native country as well as to themselves. Continue their favours towards us; and inspire their Generals,[3] Presidents, Agents and Councils in these remote parts of the world, and all others that are entrusted with any authority under them, with piety towards Thee our God, and with wisdom fidelity and circumspection in their several stations; that we may all discharge our respective duties, and live faithfully and virtuously in due obedience to our superiors, and in love peace and charity one towards another; that these Indian nations among whom we dwell, seeing our sober and righteous conversation may be induced to have a just esteem of our holy profession through the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour

[1] Hough, vol. iv. chapter iii., and Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 128.
[2] Letter, 3 Oct. 1805, 94, Pub. Despatch, 10 Feb. 1807, 122, Pub.
[3] General Commissioners, having authority over the local Presidents and Agents and Councils.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Jesus Christ, to whom be honour praise and glory now and for ever. Amen.'

The reference to the Generals seems to show that the prayer was composed before the middle of the 18th century; for no general commissioners were appointed by the Directors after 1750.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XX

THE COMPANY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSION FROM 1765 TO 1805

On the 30 March 1767[1] the Fort St. George Council had before it a petition which Father Bernard, 'Superior of the Romish Church,' had sent home to the Directors, and which the Directors had referred back to them. He besought compensation on account of the destroyed and confiscated Churches and houses. The Council agreed to reply:—

1. That the reason of the destruction was valid; that the question of compensation rested with the Directors; that the value of the buildings was perhaps 10,000 pagodas before the siege; but as they were greatly damaged by the siege the value was not more than 6000 pagodas after it; and that this might be deemed adequate recompense for the rights of the mission.

2. That the Viparee Church and garden were given to the Danish Missionaries by order of the Directors.

3. That the necessity of the times obliged the Council to take the Romish and Armenian Churches in the Black Town for a hospital; that the same necessity obliged them to make barracks of the English Church before Madras was invested; that the Romish Church had received rent at 15 pagodas a month for their building since it had been used, and that it would be restored as soon as possible.

4. That Padre Stanton had been appointed to the Parriar and Fisherman's Church at Chepauk by Mr. Pigot.

5. That it was good policy to allow the Roman Catholic inhabitants ministers, and to give the ministers protection, and to do justice to them as to all others under the British Flag.

[1] Consultations of that date.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The petition itself has not been preserved; but it is easy to see from the nature of the replies what the various complaints were. When Father Bernard was asked about the petition, which had been sent home direct, over the heads of the Governor and Council, he wrote and explained that the petition was not his, but a copy of one that had been sent to the Directors several times—the first having been sent in the time of Governor Floyer. Now Charles Floyer was Governor from April 1747 to July 1750. The Roman and Armenian Churches in Mootal Pettah were not taken for use as hospitals before the siege of 1758. It is plain that a document containing a reference to an event of 1759 could not be the copy of one composed ten years before. But the Council took no notice of the disclaimer or its discrepancies. Father Bernard added that the Church and houses in the Fort were erected by Father Thomas out of his own funds; that in 14 years Thomas, by means of commissions on money sent from France and from Pondicherry amassed 70,000 pagodas; 'thus, Sir, you may see how this father was enabled to raise these edifices in the Fort.'[1] The Fort St. George Council probably knew better than this also.

In the year 1769 the Madras Capuchins determined to send a deputation to the Directors to represent their grievances. Mr. John Baptiste Saur de Colmart was selected for the purpose. He was to try and get compensation for the confiscated and destroyed buildings; he was to urge the restoration of the Mootal Pettah Church, or the payment of a lump sum down as compensation to enable them to build a Church elsewhere; he was to ask for the restoration of the St. Andrew's bells; he was to claim for them the privilege of nominating their own Superior, and of adding such members to their body as they chose.

The name of the intermediary is not known in Madras; it is probable that he was a French official of some importance at Pondicherry; and that his application was backed by the British Government at the instance of the French Ambassador. Nothing less than this supposition can account for the immediate acquiescence of the Directors in his demands, which

[1] Consultations, 30 March 1767.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

they granted without consulting the Madras Government as to their justice or expediency. They wrote[1]:—

'Mr. John Baptiste Saur de Colmart having lately made an application to us in behalf of the Capuchin Friars at Fort St. George on account of some losses and damages sustained by them there, we have agreed to compensate the same in the following manner, which you are hereby ordered and directed to make good accordingly.

'That the Society of Capuchins be allowed the sum of 15,000 pagodas as a Compensation for their being dispossessed of the Church, house, and garden at Viparee, now occupied by the Danish Missionaries; for their house in the Fort now in possession of the Company; and for their Church there which was demolished in 1752 in consequence of our order.

'That the rent of 15 pagodas a month now paid for the Church, house, and garden near the glacis be continued to be paid till the Company's hospital is built, or till they have no further occasion for them; and that the Church, house, and garden be then restored to the Capuchins; or in case you may not think this advisable, that you pay to the Superior of their Order, who shall be duly authorised to receive it, the sum of 1000 pagodas, and permit them to carry away the old materials to build another Church.

'That the sum of 12,000 pagodas be advanced and paid out of the Company's cash at Fort St. George to the Superior of the Capuchins for erecting and building a new Church and dwelling in such a situation as shall be settled by you; and that the said sum be advanced from time to time as the works may require. And you are to observe that the said 12,000 pagodas with the 3000 pagodas paid by us here are in full for the 15,000 pagodas above mentioned for the general compensation.

'That the bells belonging to the Church which are said to be at Madras be delivered to the Capuchins.

'That the Capuchins have the privilege of nominating their Superior and other members of their Body; but that the President and Council have a negative upon such choice; and we hereby enforce the orders which were given in the year 1716 in favour of the Capuchins.

'And it is necessary that you should be informed that we have paid Mr. Baptiste £500 for his travelling and other expenses; and that when he returns to India, we have agreed that the Company shall pay the expense of his passage thither.'

[1] Despatch, 23 March 1770, para. 76.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

This despatch must have reached Fort St. George in August 1770. Major General Coote arrived as Commander-in-Chief in India the previous month. The Council was busy with certain military reforms and other matters. The year 1771 was occupied with the disputes with the Rajah of Tanjore, which led to war with him before the year was out. The year 1772 was a year of war with the maravas and poligars of the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts. And so the Despatch had to be laid aside till a more convenient opportunity for its consideration. At the end of 1772 the Capuchins petitioned for payment of the settled compensation, and for the enforcement of the Directors' orders of 1716 with regard to the liberty of the Capuchins to choose their own Superior. This petition was considered in council.[1] First a search was made for the 1716 order; but without success. Then an effort was made to discover among the records the terms under which the Capuchins were originally allowed to settle at Fort St. George. This also was unsuccessful. There were, however, two facts well known to the Council; (i.) the Capuchins had always been dependent upon the Government, and not independent of it, and they had always sought the confirmation of the Government in the choice of Superiors; (ii.) but at the present time the Superior, a Pondicherry priest who succeeded Father Bernard, was dependent on a Society at Pondicherry; and this had been so since the capture of Pondicherry, when the Pondicherry Capuchins came to Fort St. George. Taking these facts into consideration the President and Council resolved:—

That before the directions of the Hon. Court be enforced, the Capuchins should be called upon to renounce dependence on the Pondicherry Society or any other college in India; and that they should be obliged to conform themselves to all orders and regulations of the Government.

And lest an improper use should be made of the money to be paid them, 'it appears necessary that Churchwardens be appointed to the charge of it, who shall report half yearly to us in what manner it is disposed of'; and that the property of

[1] Consultations, 20 Nov. 1772.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Church, present or future, should be administered by the Superior and Churchwardens.

That these regulations should be substituted for those of 1716 referred to, and be recommended for the Court's approbation.

That if the Superior consented, he was to call together a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the Romish Faith, and appoint Churchwardens, or leave it to the Government to appoint them.

That the Government would then pay the money to the new body of trustees, who would use it for building a new Church.

That the old Church in the Black Town be handed back.

That the Capuchins should be allowed to build on the same spot, unless the Engineer objected; in which case they were to receive another 1,000 pagodas.

The Engineer, Col. Patrick Ross, examined the site and made no objection on military grounds.[1] Indeed, objection was hardly possible unless the position of the Armenian Church was also objected to; for the latter was between the Esplanade and the Roman Catholic Chapel.

Having passed these resolutions the Governor and Council wrote to the Directors,[2] explaining what they had done and why they had done it. They said that Father Bernard was the last of the original mission; that when one of the Pondicherry Capuchins, 'an inoffensive and quiet man,'[3] succeeded Bernard, a new order of affairs commenced; for he was actually subordinate to the Capuchin Society at Pondicherry. 'But we were of opinion that it would be improper for them to enjoy your indulgence so long as they were subordinate to others elsewhere. So we determined to call upon them to conform themselves strictly to our orders before paying.' And they concluded by explaining what they had done regarding the appointment of Churchwardens to prevent any improper use of the money which was to be paid.

In 1764 the Jesuits were expelled from France and their property confiscated. By the same law it became equally illegal for them to exist or to hold property in Pondicherry. It

[1] Consultations, 5 Feb. 1773. [2] Letter Home, 29 Jan. 1773, 56–59.
[3] Padre Victor.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was well known on the coast that the Jesuits had deposited 20,000 pagodas with the Fort St. George Government for the benefit of their China Mission. In 1769 the Governor and Council of Pondicherry applied to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George for payment to them of the 20,000 pagodas, which they looked upon as confiscated to the State. The Madras Council applied to the Directors as to what they should do. The Directors wrote [1] that the claim was probably made on behalf of the French Crown; that they were trying to get their own claims satisfied by the French Court—payment for expenses on account of French prisoners—but that these claims were persistently put aside by the French Ministry. They therefore ordered the Governor and Council not to comply with the request to pay the deposit to the Pondicherry Government, but to hold it against their own claims. This was done.[2]

In 1773 Pope Clement XIV. abolished the Society by a special Bull. This action made it necessary for the Madras Government to deal with the ownership of the real and personal property of the Order within their territories. For there were two aged Jesuit priests who served the Church of Madre de Dios without the walls of St. Thoma, and lived in a house next to the Church, to whom Bishop Bernard of Mailapore (formerly the Capuchin Superior at Fort St. George) wrote and requested that the Church, house, and garden should be given up to him. One of the aged Jesuits, Father da Costas, laid the case before the Madras Government, and sought its protection. The Government had before them Bishop Bernard's letter to da Costas; Father da Costas' statement of the case; a declaration of the Bishop of St. Thoma, dated 1613, that the Church of Madre de Dios, without the walls, was the property by gift of the Jesuits; and a letter of Bishop Bernard to the Government explaining that he wished to expel the Jesuits from his jurisdiction and take their property in accordance with the Bull.[3]

The Government was in a difficulty. They did not want the property themselves; they did not want to upset the

[1] Despatch, 10 April 1771, 22. [2] Letters Home, 28 Feb. 1772, 60.
[3] Consultations, 15 May 1775.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Pope's decree, if it gave satisfaction to their Roman Catholic dependents; but they could not understand how the Pope could take away from one and give to another property which was held under their laws and jurisdiction. They therefore agreed that the Bishop might appoint a Curate to serve the Church; but that the old Jesuit priests should be left in possession of their house. Father da Costas within a week of this decision [1] wrote to say that he was threatened with ecclesiastical penalties, and that he wished to give up the Church, house, garden and all. In this decision the Government acquiesced, esteeming that the principle involved was not worth their while to trouble about.

However they asked the Directors for orders [2] regarding the payment of the interest on the 20,000 pagodas belonging to the Jesuit China Mission, deposited in 1727. Up to that date they appear to have paid the interest to Father da Costas of St. Thoma. But when he, to save himself ecclesiastical penalties, expressed a desire to give up all Jesuit property to Bishop Bernard, the Government asked for guidance. Probably the thought crossed the minds of the Council that, if the property were to be perverted from the use intended by the givers, they had as much right to pervert it as anyone else. The Directors, however, would have nothing to do with it. In effect they said 'pay the money to the person to whom the Bond is made payable; you will then have done your duty; as to what becomes of it afterwards leave others to do their duty.' They wrote [3] that they had perused the 32nd para. of the letter of the 14 Oct. 1775; that they approved of the paying of the interest up to the date of the letter; and they added 'the extinction of the Order of Jesuits can by no means give the Company a right to the detention of the monies paid into their Treasury on certain stipulated conditions. . . . We therefore direct that the interest do continue to be paid to the person or persons to whom the Bond is made payable . . . till such time as the principal shall be discharged.'

Besides the money invested in Madras Government Bonds on account of the Jesuit China Mission, the Roman Catholics

[1] Consultations, 22 May 1775. [2] Letters Home, 14 Oct. 1775, 32.
[3] Despatch, 4 July 1777, 23.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had 30,000 pagodas invested in the same way on account of the Capuchin female orphan school. They continued to draw interest on these bonds periodically and regularly until 1786, when the Roman Catholic inhabitants began to complain of the maladministration of the funds by the Capuchin Superior. They carried their complaint to the Governor, Major General Sir Archibald Campbell K.C.B. It happened that at the time the complaint was made the Governor and Council were considering the probable political effect of the missionary work of the French priests in the territories of the Company and of the Nabob their ally. The work might be purely religious; and if so, they had no more objection to it than they had to the missionary work of the agents of the S.P.C.K.; but their experience led them to suspect that it might also be political. They therefore took the opportunity of this complaint to draw up rules for the regulation of Roman Catholic missionary effort within their territories. They placed all the workers under the jurisdiction of the only Roman Catholic dignitary within their borders, the Bishop of St. Thoma; whom they knew to be well affected towards the government of the East India Company. He was to report the presence or the arrival of all Roman Catholic Missionaries within the Company's limits, and if no objection was made by the Council, he was to administer the oath of allegiance to them, and license them to carry on their work.

These were the rules submitted to the Council by the Governor and passed[1]:—

1. 'The names of eight Roman Catholic inhabitants,—persons of property and character,—to be selected by the Vicar General or Bishop of St. Thomé, Diocesan of this coast, are to be laid before the Governor, who will appoint four to act as Syndics or Churchwardens for the management of the temporal affairs of the Roman Catholics established at Madras, to whom the actual Superior shall give an exact account of all the funds in his custody, legacies and other property.'

2. 'The spiritual affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in all places belonging to the English shall be immediately under the superintendence and direction of the Bishop of St. Thomé

[1] Consultations, 3 March 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

or Vicar General, subject to the control of the Governor of Fort St. George. All Roman Catholic priests, whether regular or secular, before they exercise any of their duties or their functions shall obtain permission from him. They shall also make an affidavit before the Vicar General that they will in no respect act contrary to the interest of His Britannic Majesty or that of the English East India Company.'

3. 'That every priest, regular or secular, arriving in any of the English settlements on this coast shall as soon as possible inform the Bishop of St. Thomé or Vicar General of his arrival, and produce to them his commission or patent from the Superior in Europe or Goa; and the Bishop or Vicar General shall make a report thereof to the Governor of Madras; nor shall any priest, regular or secular, be allowed to officiate until all these forms have been duly observed.'

4. 'The interest arising from the funds of the Church shall be regularly paid into the hands of the Superior of the Convent for the maintenance of the Fathers, the expense of the house, the support of the poor, and for other purposes specified in the wills of those who have made any bequest or donation to the Church; nor shall any property belonging to the Church be alienated therefrom either by the Syndics or the fathers of the Convent without the consent of the Governor for the time being having been likewise previously obtained.'

5. 'In case the Bishop or Vicar General should think it necessary to send away or remove any priest who is settled or resides for a time in any of the English settlements, the cause of complaint must be laid before the Governor of Madras, and his consent be previously obtained. But in case of any irregularity in the conduct or behaviour of the priests it shall be in the power of the Bishop or Vicar General to suspend such priest from the temporary exercise of his function agreeably to the rights and tenets of the Roman Catholic religion.'

The Council approved of these regulations, and of the following letters, which they requested the President to despatch.

1. '*To the Bishop of St. Thomé or Vicar General.*

'Sir, Complaints of a very serious nature against the Superior and fathers of the Capuchin Convent having been

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

laid before Government by several respectable Roman Catholic inhabitants of Madras, and great abuses being supposed by them to exist in the administration of their finances, Government have thought proper to draw out the accompanying regulations, by which it is expected that no such irregularities can happen in the future. And they trust that all the spiritual affairs of the Church will be conducted with decency, good order, and firmness under your immediate superintendence and direction. Government entertain no doubt of your ready compliance with these instructions, and that you will endeavour to have them carried into execution without delay; for which purpose your visits to the Madras Church will henceforth be regular and frequent.[1]

'2. *To the Superior and fathers of the Convent of Capuchins.*

'Gentlemen, In order to put a stop to the dissensions that have lately subsisted between you and the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Madras, Government have thought proper to form certain regulations to prevent such irregularities in future, a copy of which has been sent to the Vicar General, desiring him to carry them into immediate execution. A copy of the same regulations are also enclosed for your use; and from the confidence reposed in your discretion and ready compliance with the orders of this Government, it is also expected that you will pay the most implicit obedience thereto.

'In all cases where the protection of Government is necessary for you and your parishioners you may be assured of receiving it to the fullest extent for your persons and property. But as it is contrary to the rules of your order to be personally engaged in temporal or pecuniary concerns, and you yourselves having required the aid of the laity for these purposes, Syndics will be selected by the Vicar General and confirmed by Government. Great care will be taken to choose persons of known abilities and approved integrity for the discharge of these important services.'

When Sir Archibald Campbell received the complaints of the Roman Catholic laity of Madras that the funds of their Church were being wrongly administered he began to make enquiry about the funds and about the numbers of Roman

[1] The Vicar-General promised obedience. Consultation, 13 Mar. 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Catholics in the Company's jurisdiction. He found[1] that there were about 100,000 Roman Catholics on the Coast; and that there were about 17,000 within the walls of Madras.[2] He rightly esteemed it of great consequence to attach them to the interest of the East India Company; and he rightly judged that this could best be done by leaving them the free exercise of their own faith and by giving them all the protection and the support which good subjects deserve. Although the French power in the south of India had been more than once broken, it had not been crushed. It still exerted a direct and indirect influence through the kingdom of Mysore and through the Jesuit missionaries. It was not long since the Roman Catholic authorities had sent out to India three consecrated Bishops who owed no allegiance to the King of Portugal, like all their episcopal predecessors of the Roman Communion. They were called 'Bishops in partibus infidelium,' or briefly 'Bishops in partibus.' They were Frenchmen by nationality, like most of the Jesuit missionaries at that time; and, as far as could be seen by the Fort St. George Governor and Council, their intention was to establish French influence from one end of the Company's dominions to the other. It was not to the advantage of the Company that these French missionaries should possess a paramount influence over the Company's Roman Catholic subjects. Within the last few years the Fort St. George Council had seen the Madras Capuchin community come under the authority of a similar and larger community at Pondicherry. The only way to stop the growth of French influence was to interpose the authority of a Goanese Bishop; and one was ready at hand for the purpose at St. Thoma. As Sir Archibald Campbell said, 'His nation is in alliance with ours; he resides among us; hence I recommended the regulations of the 7th March[3] by which the power of the Bishop is restored in all places belonging to the Nabob or the Company; and by which all working priests in those dominions must be licensed by him.'[4]

[1] Consultations, 30 Oct. 1787.

[2] The word is used here, as in Sir Archibald Campbell's Minute, in the old sense, meaning only the Black Town.

[3] Passed in Consultation, 3 March 1787.

[4] Sir A. Campbell's Minute; Consultations, 30 Oct. 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Council by passing the regulations annulled the power of the Bishops in partibus; and they made the Bishop of St. Thoma 'the first link in a great chain on which depends 100,000 useful and valuable people.' The appointment of four merchants of character and fortune to act as Syndics or Churchwardens or Lay Trustees, with the power and responsibility of managing the finances of the Capuchins in Madras, helped to eradicate the power of the French in the convent. At first the French were refractory; but the prudence and the good sense and the firmness of the Syndics prevailed; so that before the end of the year 1787 all the money belonging to the Capuchin Church and convent, amounting to 50,000 pagodas, was lodged in the Company's treasury. Sir Archiball Campbell recognised that it would not be wise to expel the French from the convent; his plan was to fill up vacancies from time to time with Portuguese and Italian priests, and so ultimately to exclude Frenchmen.

Colonel Capper was the judicious officer to whom is due the credit of carrying on all the above negotiations both delicately and successfully.

The year before these regulations were made the Madras Government assisted a Roman Catholic Missionary, who was well known to be loyal to them, to place some thousands of his converts under their protection and jurisdiction. As part payment of the expenses incurred in the protection of the territories of the Nabob against the Mysoreans, the Nabob had made over to the Company a tract of country, South of Madras now known as the Chingleput District.[1] It was in this new territory that the concession was made. The act was in itself a fresh proof of the good will of the Government towards the Christian Missionaries working loyally under their protection. For many years Padre Manenti, an Italian, had resided in India and worked in the neighbourhood of Cuddapah and Guntoor within the dominions of the Nizam.[2] It is probable that he required a more assured protection for his converts than the Government of the Nizam afforded. He

[1] Being of the nature of a grant for military services, it was known as the Company's Jaghire.

[2] Cuddapah District was ceded to the Company in 1800.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

therefore asked the Government of Fort St. George to allow him to introduce 4000 of his converts into the new Jaghire. The proposal was readily embraced; the Board of Revenue was directed to point out the places which were most suitable; and allotments were made for these Christians between Tripassore and Conjeveram.[1] The scheme, which was approved of by the Company, was the first of several similar schemes carried out in the 19th century by the benevolence of the Government, either for the protection of a body of industrious people, or for the purpose of raising the depressed classes of non-caste people to independence and self-respect.

To return to the Syndics:—the first four were John de Fries, Antonio de Souza, Edward Raphael, and Miguel Joannes. The Capuchin Superior, Ferdinand, gave an account of the Church property to the Syndics; the Syndics reported to the Government; and the Government wrote to the Vicar General and to the Syndics recommending them to work in harmony. Although Sir Archibald Campbell frequently referred to the Vicar General as Bishop of St. Thoma he was not really at this time consecrated. He was nominated Bishop of 'Mailapur and its dependencies' by the King of Portugal in 1787.[2] The appointment was confirmed by the Holy See at Rome. He went to Goa the following year, 1788, and returned at the beginning of 1789 with authority to exercise his new office; bringing with him letters of greeting and good will from the Archbishop and Captain General of Goa to the Governor of Fort St. George.[3]

The new arrangement made it impossible for any Roman Catholic missionary, Jesuit or not, to work in the Company's territory without the permission of the Madras Government and the license of the Vicar General of St. Thoma. The Vicar General was not long in asserting his authority. The French Bishop in Pondicherry had a coadjutor (with the right of succession) who exercised his functions at various places in the Company's territories. The Vicar General, or as he called himself, Grand Vicar of the Diocese of St. Thomé, wrote on the 4 Oct. 1787 in Portuguese to Monsignor de

[1] Letter, 10 Nov. 1786. [2] Consultations, 28 Dec. 1787.
[3] Do. 14 April 1789.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Tabraco at Pondicherry complaining that his Grace's assistant was transgressing the limits, and adding 'I have never authorised him to do this.' He concluded by saying 'I take the liberty to caution your Grace that Monsignor your Assistant cannot in any manner whatsoever exercise those functions in the countries belonging to the Nabob of the Carnatic and to the Hon. E.I. Co. . . . . [If he persists] I shall be under the necessity of informing the Hon. Governor General of Madras . . . . [in order] to maintain my right, since this Bishopric is under their protection.'

Monsignor de Tabraco, whose title was Bishop of Dolishe, wrote in reply that he derived his authority from the Pope. He then sent both the letter and the reply to the Governor of Pondicherry and requested his intervention with the Government of Fort St. George.

This is what His Excellency wrote[1];—

'*From General Count Conway, Governor of Pondicherry, To the Governor of Fort St. George.*

'I have the honour to address to your Excellency the copy of a letter from the Grand Vicar of St. Thomé to the Bishop of Dolishi, the Superior of the French Missionaries.

'This Grand Vicar who believes himself still in the 14th century has not ceased to harass the mildest and most peaceable of men, a Bishop respectable for his years and his virtues, the Bishop of Dolishe. His successor, dreading similar importunities which he is threatened with by the last letter of this Grand Vicar, has requested me to prevent it. I cannot do better than address the whole to your Excellency, requesting of you to moderate this Grand Vicar, who is not an angel of peace.

'The Bishop of Dolishi's letter will prove to your Excellency how ill founded are the Grand Vicar of St. Thomé's pretensions. It would appear that this Grand Vicar is more actuated with the spirit of the Koran than of the Gospel; he has lifted his arm against the French Missionaries; and he threatens to strike them with that thunder which even the Pope does no longer allow himself to wield.

'I hope your Excellency will be kind enough to prevent the

[1] Consultations, 28 Dec. 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

effects of the menaces of this warlike Grand Vicar, who appears to be at least 250 years in arrear of the true principles of his profession.

'I have the honour etc.

'CONWAY.'

The letter was written in French; but the spirit of it is as truly British as the name of the writer. The Governor and Council were probably in agreement with Count Conway privately; but unfortunately British interests had to be protected; and the best way of doing this was by adhering to the rules they had made. The following reply was therefore sent by the Governor:—

'I have been favoured with your Excellency's letter accompanied with a correspondence between the Vicar General, now Bishop of St. Thomé, and the Bishop of Dolisha, Superior of the French Mission, from which it appears that those worthy good men are disposed to raise a considerable superstructure where neither of them from the authority they cite are entitled to lay the slightest foundation.

'Neither the Nabob of Arcot, the most mild and tolerant of all Mahommedan Princes, nor the English E.I. Co., have ever shewn the smallest desire to prevent or impede the free exercise of any religion in the Carnatic; but as there are near 70,000 Christians of different sects living under the protection of this Government, particularly in Madras and its environs, it was thought expedient about 12 months past to revive the dormant but long acknowledged supremacy of the Bishop of St. Thomé over the Roman Catholic Churches within the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot and the countries belonging to the English East India Company. Had the Roman Catholic priests, like the good Bishop of Dolicha, confined themselves to the performance of their duty, and acted (as he says) like angels of peace, there would have been no cause to have taken that decided part in favour of the Bishop of St. Thomé; but when this Government found the ministers of the Gospel laying aside their sacred character, and officiating as spies to those[1] who are equally enemies to all Christians, they thought it necessary to take such measures as would in future prevent those wolves in sheep's cloathing from doing

[1] The reference is to Tippoo Sultan and the Mysore Government, with whom the French were in alliance.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

further mischief, and to appoint a careful Pastor to guard the flock against their future voracity.

'If any priest is desirous of proceeding to the interior parts of the country he will find no difficulty in obtaining a license; nor will he ever be molested unless he forfeits the protection of this and the Nabob's Government by an attempt to interfere in temporal concerns. The Bishop of St. Thomé is however held responsible for their conduct.

'I have the honour etc.

'ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.'

The result of this letter was the recognition by the Pondicherry authorities of the justice of the principle underlying the Fort St. George regulations. Matters proceeded quietly in accordance with them until September 1789, when two French priests arrived on the coast, took the oath of fidelity to the King and the Company, but refused to recognise the authority and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mailapore to license them.

The Bishop therefore complained to the Government. The Governor and Council in their proceedings observed[1] that the Bishop of St. Thomé had himself deviated from the regulations in not reporting to the Governor the arrival of the two priests, and in administering the oath of fidelity to them before getting their consent to act in accordance with it. They desired the Bishop in future to report regularly the arrival of any Roman Catholic priests at the Presidency; and to inform the priests in question that if they persisted in refusing to conform to the rules of the Government, they must quit the Company's territory.

The Bishop of Mailapore wrote on the 5th October that he had written to the two priests, who had gone to Guntoor, accordingly. After this the Consultation books show that up to 1805 the Bishop first reported the arrival of newcomers, mentioning their qualifications, and title to protection; and if he received in return, which he generally did, permission to administer the oaths and grant the license to officiate, he then did so.[2]

[1] Consultations, 23 Sept. 1789.

[2] Do. 9 March 1790, Benjamin; 16 March 1790, Beatina; 25 Mar. 27 Mar. 1791; and so on.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In 1789 the Portuguese Vicar of St. Domenick's Church at St. Thomé sent a petition to Government asking for the repair of the Church on the ground that it had been damaged by the troops when used as a barrack in the late war. The application was refused on the ground that the inhabitants had not assisted the Government during the troubles, but had actually deserted St. Thomé and left it open to the enemy.[1]

In this same year the Capuchins of Madras, losing their Superior by death, petitioned the Governor to appoint Padre R. P. Ferdinand, a German, in his place. In their petition[2] they asked that he might be appointed 'Superior of the Capuchins of the Portuguese Church of Madras'; which seems to show that the French influence in the Madras convent had by this time been either overpowered or destroyed. They said 'Our predecessors have been put at Madras by the Hon. Government 150 years ago. The Government has honoured us always with a special protection . . . and this Government have for good reasons reserved to themselves the right of approving the Superior chosen' etc. . . .

The Government read the petition and resolved that 'as many precedents appear on record sanctioning the measure, an instrument be prepared nominating Padre Ferdinand to be Superior of the Roman Catholic Church at Madras,—that it be translated in latin,—and delivered to Padre Ferdinand with the Company's seal and the signatures of the Board.'[3] This was done. Within a month the Syndics, who had not been consulted, wrote and asked for a copy of the petition and of the order.[4] These were sent; and no further remark was made; but the appointment of Ferdinand was the beginning of trouble to the Capuchins themselves, to the Syndics and to the Government.

The first complaint[5] was from one of the Capuchin fathers; this was referred to the Bishop of Mailapore, who compromised the difficulty by persuading the Syndics to give the complainant, an aged priest and past work, 700 pagodas to pay his passage to Europe.

[1] Consultations, 18 Aug. 1789 and 28 Aug. 1789.
[2] Do. 19 May 1789.
[3] That is, the Governor and Council.
[4] Consultations, 16 June 1789.
[5] Do. 25 Oct. 1791.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The second [1] was from the Syndics themselves. Of the original four only two remained; Raphael was dead, and de Souza had left the settlement; the remaining two (de Fries and Joannes) complained that Father Ferdinand was taking advantage of there not being the proper complement of Syndics to renew the former irregular practices; they stated their belief that he was in treaty to dispose of a Company's bond amounting to 8000 pagodas; and they begged the Government to prevent the alienation. They pleaded that the Capuchins for a century and a half had been generally directed at Madras by good and prudent men; that Ferdinand, who was appointed Superior of the Convent in 1785, had been continually involved in disputes with his brethren, his parishioners, and his Diocesan; that in 1786 the Government interfered, and Ferdinand made an agreement with the principal Christians not to do anything without their concurrence. Further disputes arose, so that in 1787 the Government appointed Syndics to take charge of the financial matters of the mission. They represented that Capuchins were mendicant friars and could hold no property; and that the property had to be administered by laymen called temporal fathers. They represented that Ferdinand claimed part of the property as belonging to the Convent, which it had acquired in course of time by industry and economy; but that in reality the property he claimed belonged to the whole Roman Catholic community, more especially that part of it which was granted as compensation, with the interest due on it up to date. They represented that when the Government appointed Syndics Ferdinand agreed, and undertook to invest all the money in his possession in the Treasury. They complained that at that time he had money out in private hands and refused to give an account of it; that he had sold the Capuchin garden in the Black Town for 10,000 pagodas, and had given no account of that money; that he was at that time offering a bond for sale to Mr. Hunter, a bond which was in the name of the late Father Victor his immediate predecessor. They expressed their alarm at what he proposed to do; and concluded by giving their opinion that everything

[1] Consultations, 9 March 1792.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

should be invested in the Treasury and never be taken back, and that the Fathers should receive the interest only.

The Council discussed the whole question; they amended the Rules of 1787 so as to make it plain that deposit in the Treasury was of perpetual obligation; and they ordered the Bishop of St. Thomé (as they always called him) to investigate the charge of the Syndics against Father Ferdinand. At first the Capuchins were indisposed to comply with the requirements of the Syndics and the Government. On the 16 March Ferdinand the Superior and the next senior priest Father Benjamin, hearing that the Bishop and the Syndics were coming to visit them, wrote[1] to the Governor and represented that the property of the convent was theirs and it was their exclusive right to administer it. Three days afterwards the Bishop wrote to the Governor to inform him that Ferdinand had resigned; that Benjamin had been provisionally appointed Superior; that the former had handed all bonds and papers in his possession to the latter; and that the latter had handed them to the Syndics. The Syndics then sent the bonds and securities, which represented 54,100 pagodas, to the Government. The Government gave a receipt for them, and undertook to hold them at the disposal of the whole Roman Catholic community.[2]

In the following June some Roman Catholic inhabitants presented a petition[3] to Government for the restoration of Ferdinand to the Superiorship. The Government referred it to the Syndics for their opinion. They replied at some length,[4] showing that the petition was only signed by a small portion of the Roman Catholic community; recalling the fact that Ferdinand was notorious as a waster of the funds; accentuating the opinion that the present arrangement was undoubtedly the best; and recommending that the request be refused. They took the opportunity of suggesting an alteration in the manner of appointing Syndics. Only two of the original Syndics remained; and there was no provision in the rules for filling up the vacancies. They suggested that two should be appointed every year, and that two should

[1] Consultations, 20 March 1792.
[2] Do. 3 April 1792.
[3] Do. 20 June 1792.
[4] Do. 20 July 1792.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

retire, so that there should be always four to serve if possible two years each. This suggestion was approved and accepted.[1]

After four years Father Ferdinand was reappointed Superior of the Capuchins on the recommendation of the Bishop.[2] He had apparently lived to acquiesce in the wish of the Government to preserve their own authority by controlling the wealth of the Capuchin community. Both he and the Bishop of Mailapore died in 1800.

The original reason for stepping in and asserting themselves was that the Government feared the result of a paramount French religious influence backed by the possession of wealth. To counteract this they established and maintained a Portuguese authority in their own dominions. They probably did not know that, in taking the line they did for their own political purposes, they were taking the side of the King of Portugal against the Pope; nor that they were standing at the back of the old Portuguese mission to oppose the French Jesuit mission. It was not very long before they discovered that their political move had been distinctly a leap in the dark. The Bishop of Dolisha[3] took the lead in opposition to the Government policy. Possessed of a charming manner he had ingratiated himself with various British officers of rank, and he received to some extent their support in his opposition; but it is doubtful if those officers were aware that in supporting him and his pretensions they were opposing the policy of the Government.

The Consultation Books in the last decade of the 18th Century show that for the Roman Catholic missions it was a period of unrest. A very unusual number of incidents in connection with them were discussed in the Council Chamber. The exodus of religious communities from France accounted for the increase of priests of all orders in India and other Eastern countries. As they arrived in the Company's territories, they had to take the oaths of allegiance to the Company and canonical obedience to the Bishop of Mailapore, or else

[1] Consultations, 21 and 24 July 1792.

[2] On the resignation of Padre Dumas, on account of old age; Dumas was appointed on the death of Benjamin in 1795.

[3] Said to be a place in Palestine.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

suffer expulsion. The Bishop of Dolisha [1] in 1793 took the oath of allegiance, but refused to recognise the authority of the Bishop of Mailapore over his movements. Consequently he had to leave Pondicherry, which at that time was British territory; and the Bishop of Mailapore licensed priests to officiate both there and at Karical.[2] Dolisha and his party went to Trichinopoly, where some of the military officers who befriended him at Pondicherry were stationed. He was just as much opposed there by the Portuguese party as he had been in other parts of the Company's territory; but he maintained his ground for two years.

Matters were brought to a head in 1796 when he wrote a letter [3] to the Government explaining from his point of view the position of affairs, and asking for protection and naturalisation. He began by saying that when the tree of liberty was planted at Pondicherry in 1790, and his own life was threatened, he took refuge at Madras; that he returned to Pondicherry on its capture in 1793; that when the Bishop of St. Thomé tried to prevent him from officiating there, he was reassured and protected by Colonel Brathwaite, General Abercrombie, and Lord Cornwallis; that under their protection he visited the old Jesuit missions in the south and finally settled at Trichinopoly. He stated that when the Pope suppressed the Jesuits, His Holiness gave him authority to superintend their missions in South India, giving him the title of Superior and making him independent of the Portuguese Bishops.

Then follows the pith of the complaint, that 'three black priests' of Ambalacatta (Archdiocese of Cranganore) had arrived at Trichinopoly; had excited seditions and formed a separate party; and by advancing a thousand calumnies against him had tried to expel him.

He explained that there were two Archbishops in India, one at Goa, and one at Cranganore; and two Bishops, one at Cochin and one at St. Thomé; and that all these were nominated by the King of Portugal. The Portuguese say, he added, that none but Portuguese can give authority to priests

[1] It is variously spelled in the records. [2] Consultation Book, 1793.
[3] Consultations, 23 Dec. 1796.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to reside and officiate in India, since the King of Portugal has the sole right of patronage.

But, he said, the Pope appointed three Bishops, one at Bombay, one at Verapolly (near Cochin), and one at Pondicherry; and when the Archbishop of Goa expelled the Pope's nominee at Bombay, the Government of Bombay restored him. The Bishop of Dolisha appealed for similar protection against all of the opposite party who stood in his way.

This letter was forwarded to Government by Major General Floyd, who commanded at Trichinopoly; in recommending the Bishop's request the General said :—

'The Bishop resided at Pondicherry during the whole time I had the honour to command there; and since then at Trichinopoly the greatest part of the time I have commanded the station. His modest and magnanimous refusal, when Democracy first burst from the restraint of virtue at Pondicherry and demanded of this prelate an oath to their new system under penalty of the halter, engaged my esteem,' etc.[1]

In the Bishop's letter there was the resentment of a self-willed man against the ruling of the Government; the resentment of a Frenchman subordinated to a Portuguese; the resentment of a Jesuit against the control of one of another order; and the resentment of a European against the interference of a native.[2] The Government of Fort St. George cared nothing about these things, and was not prepared to take a side on any one of the questions. But as the Bishop of Dolisha was so highly spoken of by Major General Floyd—and as he had been protected before by other British officers of high rank—they recommended him to the protection of General Floyd.

This decision shows how little the Government had considered the great question they had sought to solve by their rules of 1787. As soon as the Bishop of Mailapore was informed of the ruling and its local effect on the work and position of his own mission agents, he wrote to the Government[3]; he enclosed and earnestly recommended to the

[1] Consultations, 23 Dec. 1796.
[2] The native priest's name is given as Yagappa, *i.e.* Jacques-appa Consultations, 7 April 1797.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

consideration of the Council letters from the Vicar General of Cranganore, from priests and native Christians in the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, Dindigul and Manaarpur. These letters stated that the French priests, and particularly Bishop Dolisha, had usurped the Portuguese ecclesiastical privileges; they charged the French priests with a gross abuse of their usurped powers; they gave proofs of the persecution the Portuguese had suffered in consequence of the countenance given to the French priests by General Floyd and the Nabob; they asserted the Portuguese rights against the usurped rights of the French, and asked the intervention of the Government.

The Bishop supported the truth of the complaints with proofs, and besought the Government to restrain the dangerous usurpations by supporting the regulations which, after deliberation, were established in 1787.

The Government referred to the old rules which were made to prevent dissensions, and resolved to maintain them, as well as the supremacy of the Bishop of St. Thomé in their own and the Nabob's dominions. They sent a copy of their resolution to General Floyd, and requested him to inform the Bishop of Dolisha that he must conduct himself strictly in accordance with those rules whilst living under the Company's authority. The Council also expressed an opinion that the Bishop of Dolisha should be ordered to return to Pondicherry 'to prevent the dissensions which must arise during his residence at Trichinopoly.'

This decision of the Government was at once followed by a petition from 3000 Roman Catholic Christians,[1] some of whom were Europeans and some Portuguese, but the bulk of whom were native Tamil Christians, saying that they preferred the European (*i.e.* the French) priests because they were more learned and better trained, and therefore were better teachers. They asserted that the 'black priest,' who had been sent to them from Travancore, only knew the Travancore language and a little broken Tamil, and that this knowledge was insufficient for the purpose of teaching them religion. They complained of the cruel conduct of the 'black priest,' who had

[1] Consultations, 19 July 1797.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

broken open the door of their Church, and caused those to be beaten who opposed him. They asked for protection for their French priests; one of whom had a passport from Sir Thomas Rumbold dated 1779, and a letter from General Sydenham and the other, besides having a passport from General Floyd, had taken the oath of fidelity to the English at Madras.

After reading this petition, another was read from the Portuguese Vicar General[1] South of the Coleroon, for himself and the Portuguese clergy of his mission. They thanked Government for the recent orders, but complained that the Bishop of Dolisha and his French priests had not yet returned to Pondicherry though General Floyd had given the order. They accused the French of calumny and falsehood. They complained that Mr. Darke, the Company's civil representative, took the side of the French. And the Vicar General concluded by asking the Government to order the Bishop of Dolisha and his clergy 'out of my diocese,' and to prevent further interference.

The Government sent orders to General Floyd to direct the French priests to proceed at once to Pondicherry, since they were reviving the irregularities and dissensions it was the object of the Government by the late rules to suppress.

This order was of course obeyed in the letter; but the Bishop of Dolisha evaded the spirit of it by leaving an agent in the Baramahal district.[2] This brought forth another petition from Jacob Ceramel, the Portuguese Vicar General of the mission south of the Coleroon. He complained that the Bishop of Dolisha had left behind an agent; that the agent held one of the Portuguese Churches which 'has been ours since the Portuguese discovered India'; that he was assisted and encouraged by the Company's servants at Salem; and that the Bishop of Dolisha had not ceased to stir up discord by calumny and falsehood. He asked that orders might be sent to Colonel Read, commanding the Baramahal district, to banish the French clergy and agents from the Company's territory, and not to allow any more interference in the Portuguese Diocese.[3]

[1] Jacob Ceramel. [2] Coimbatore and Salem districts.
[3] Consultations, 17 Feb. 1798.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is not likely that the Government ever anticipated that they would find themselves in the position of taking a side in a bitter conflict between two parties of Roman Catholics. Their object in drawing up the 1787 rules was to exclude the French priests, whom they distrusted for political reasons, from their territories; and this they did by establishing the Portuguese, and investing them with authority to superintend all the Roman Catholic mission work within the Company's confines. Since both French and Portuguese were working under the authority of the Roman Pontiff, the Fort St. George Government seemed to have looked upon the Roman Catholic missions as the missions of one homogeneous body, which could be carried on by one Roman Catholic just as easily and acceptably as another. But although there is essential unity in things essential, the Roman Catholic Church, like other branches of the Catholic Church, is composed of different nationalities, societies, orders and associations, which have their own property, their own shibboleths, their own objects, and their own ideals. The effect of the Government regulation of 1787 was to cause the missions of one nationality and association to be worked under the license of a Bishop of another nationality and association. Unintentionally and unwittingly the Government thus brought two parties of Roman Catholics into violent collision.

The Government could not have liked the position in which they found themselves; they had plenty to occupy them of a political, military and commercial nature without adding to their burdens the consideration of the charges and counter-charges of contending Roman Catholics. Matters were brought to a climax by General Brathwaite, who commanded at Pondicherry, forwarding a complaint from the Bishop of Dolisha that one of the Portuguese priests had celebrated a marriage in his Diocese. The Government replied directing him to inform the Bishop of Dolisha that if he did not prevent his priests from interfering with the priests of the Roman Catholic Church protected by the Company, the Government would take measures to prevent them by force.[1]

[1] Consultations, 17 March 1798.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Government of Fort St. George retained their control over the wealth and the Superior appointments of the Roman Catholic Church within their jurisdiction as long as there was anything to be feared from the political influence of the French. The capture of Seringapatam in 1799, and the destruction of the Mysore Kingdom as an independent power in alliance with France, freed them from over anxiety on that account. But for some years they continued to exercise control, as if they were fearful of relinquishing it too soon. The last decade of the 18th century and the first decade of the 19th abound with cases of intervention on the part of the Government with appointments and with matters of discipline and detail. In 1802 the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Madras petitioned the Government not to interfere any longer with the appointment or recall of priests, as if they were satisfied that the original reason of interference no longer existed. The Government did not relax its hold all at once; but by degrees the Roman Catholic Church regained its freedom of action and control over its own affairs, which no one grudges to any religious body in India, so long as it keeps clear of politics.

In the year 1800 the Bishop of St. Thomé and Father Ferdinand, who had borne the burden of the stringent regulations for ten years, both died. The Government appointed Padre Jean Laurent to succeed Ferdinand as Superior of the Capuchin Church at Madras. Within a short time of his appointment he infringed the regulations; and this in such a way that he underwent a term of imprisonment, and was afterwards expelled British territory. The officiating Vicar General of St. Thomé appointed Padre Marcel de Gradisca to succeed Laurent in 1801; and the Government made no objection. In the same year a French Capuchin, Father Lambert, appealed to the Government against an expulsion order by the Vicar General; but the Government passed no order. In 1802 the Vicar General—or as he is called in the Government records 'the acting Bishop of St. Thomé'—departed for Goa, and asked the Government to confirm his appointment of Father Thomas de Noronha to officiate in his place; which the Government did. On arrival at Goa he

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

wrote to announce that the Archbishop of Goa had nominated Father José de Piedada to succeed him as Vicar General. Noronha had a local circle of friends who memorialised the Government not to interfere with the appointment or recall of priests, including Noronha himself. But the Government held their hands. And when José de Piedada arrived with his credentials and patent as Bishop, the Government acquiesced and confirmed the appointment. The necessity for intervention was passing away.

During the 19th century the Roman Catholics have had no reason to complain of the generosity of the Government in the Presidency of Madras. They have received grants for building Churches, colleges and schools; for Church furniture, ornaments and even vestments; for ministerial, registrarial and travelling purposes; and this on a liberal scale. They have at the same time maintained their independence of movement and action; their liberty of administration; their freedom from financial inspection and control—which every religious body is pleased and flattered to be trusted with by the governing authorities.

Their history after the opening of the 19th century is a story more or less apart from the Government; it belongs to themselves, and will not be referred to again in this record. It is sufficient to say that though the old quarrel between the French Jesuits and Portuguese priests continues, the British Government holds the scales of justice between them by maintaining the rights of all[1]; and that under this benign influence of impartiality the Christian work of both parties has progressed by leaps and bounds.

[1] On various occasions the contending parties have brought their quarrels into the law courts. The most able and well-informed of all the different judgements was delivered by Sir Charles Turner, K.C.I.E., in the High Court of Madras in 1884 in the St. Peter's Rayapooram case.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXI

THE COMPANY AND THE S.P.C.K. MISSION FROM 1750 TO 1805

On the rendition of Fort St. George to the East India Company Fabricius and his converts returned to Madras from Pulicat, and Breithaupt joined him from Cuddalore. So that there were two Missionaries at Madras; and two, Kiernander and Hutteman, at Cuddalore in the year 1750.

The French seeing how Fort St. George was hampered by the close proximity of the Black Town on its north side, destroyed all the houses of the native town with the exception of a few on the northern boundary. Amongst other buildings destroyed was the mission house and the Church.

There had never been any cordial feeling between the Lutheran agents of the S.P.C.K. and the Capuchin Missionaries of Fort St. George. Probably this was due to some extent to the privileged position within the walls of the Fort enjoyed by the Capuchins, and the difficulty the Lutherans found in getting a footing even in Madraspatam. When Admiral Boscawen and the Council at Fort St. David [1] decided to expel the Roman Catholics from the Fort, there was an unmistakeable feeling of satisfaction in the Lutheran circle. Fabricius wrote to the S.P.C.K.[2]:—

'The English Government at Fort St. George having divested the French Romish Priests of the exorbitant liberties they had usurped for many years, they have begun to carry away their things out of the White Town to the great joy of the Protestant mission. Besides, since this, an ordinance has been published that from henceforth nobody should cause his slaves to be made proselytes to the Popish faith under the penalty of losing them.'

[1] The seat of the supreme government on the Coast, 1746–52.
[2] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1749.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Besides advising the expulsion of the Capuchins Admiral Boscawen strongly advised the Governor and Council to encourage the 'British mission' at Madras. This recommendation induced the local Government to put the Lutherans into possession of the newly built country Church at Viparee, together with the houses and gardens belonging to it, which had been built since Fort St. George and Madraspatam had been taken by the French. It was described by Fabricius in a letter home[1] as a fine building.

In 1753 Fabricius and Breithaupt wrote a joint letter to the Government[2] asking that the lease of a piece of land, lying adjacent to and north of the mission garden, formerly used as the Company's brick-burning field, should be granted to them rent free for the use of the mission. The reply was that the ground was already farmed to others. Both the request and the reply are indirect proofs of the good will of the Fort St. George authorities towards the mission. The former would not have been made in the absence of good will; and the latter would have been different in tone.

By 1753 the two Missionaries at Viparee were comfortably housed; they also had a fine Church, school buildings, and two productive gardens, one at Viparee and one at John Pereira's.

The two Missionaries at Cuddalore had also a Church in the town, a school chapel near Fort St. David, school buildings, and an imposing dwelling house which was partly used for mission purposes. In 1756 the Select Committee, of which mention has already been made, cleared away the village of Tegnapatam across the river, in order to improve the Fort's defensive power, and ordered the Dutch Factory house in the middle of the village to be demolished.[3] At the same time they wrote to the Dutch Governor and Council at Negapatam informing them, and undertaking to provide them with another building.

In reply the Governor and Council of Negapatam wrote and asked for Mr. Kiernander's new house in Cuddalore. The Council of Fort St. George thereupon directed the Deputy

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1750. [2] Consultations, 1753.
[3] Do. Nov. 1757.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Governor and Council of Fort St. David to enter into treaty with Kiernander for its purchase. Kiernander had no choice of refusal that he could wisely exercise; but he had the satisfaction of asking and receiving a high price for the house and premises.[1]

The military precaution of clearing away Tegnapatam did not save Fort St. David from capture when General Count Lally came with a powerful French and Irish force against it in 1758. The Church and the School chapel shared the fate of the Fort and were destroyed. Kiernander and Hutteman retired to Tranquebar with their flock, and remained there till the recovery of Cuddalore in 1760. Kiernander did not return; Hutteman did; and he pursued the work by himself till he was joined by Gericke in 1767.

The two Viparee Missionaries pursued their ordinary work also till the advent of Count Lally and his army in December 1758. The Church and mission house were then plundered by the Mahommedan allies of the French. Count Lally and his officers expressed their regret, and did what they could to protect the mission; but the position was unpleasant; so that Fabricius sought refuge a second time at Pulicat, and was kindly received.[2] On the raising of the siege the Missionaries returned, and the work went on as before. They wrote annual reports to the S.P.C.K. in London. Year by year they recorded their numbers, and their efforts to increase these. They travelled and they preached wherever they went. At the end of 1760 they reported an increase during the year of 64 Natives and 21 Portuguese Eurasians; that they had 33 Native and Portuguese children in their Boarding School, and six British Eurasian girls paid for by the St. Mary's Vestry. From the time they commenced in 1726 they had incorporated into the Church of Christ 1388 Tamils and 175 Portuguese.[3] The Despatches of the Directors, the Consultation Books of the Fort St. George Council, and the Mission reports all show the considerate kindness of the Company and of the Company's servants towards them. In

[1] 2200 pagodas; Consultations, Feb. 1758. When the Dutch retired from Cuddalore in 1775, the Government bought the house for the Company's servants. Letter, 25 Jan. 1775, 29.

[2] Taylor's *Memoir*, ed. 1847, pp. 16–17.

[3] Do. do. p. 18.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

order to supply their servants with the necessary amount of wholesome stimulant the Directors allowed them to buy a certain amount of their Madeira at a cheap rate. The Fort St. George Government permitted Fabricius to purchase some for the use of the Missionaries at the same rate.[1]

In 1767 Gericke joined Hutteman at Cuddalore as one of the Society's Missionaries; and Schwartz was employed by the same Society to work at Trichinopoly, where there was a British garrison. When he arrived at Trichinopoly he found a letter from Governor Bourchier of Fort St. George asking him to take some care for the spiritual welfare of the garrison. He received from the Society the same pay as the other Missionaries in its service for his mission work, £50 a year; and he received from the Government the same pay as the Fort St. George Chaplains for his European work, £100 a year; it was more than he required for his personal expenses; to his lasting honour he expended the balance over the extension of his work amongst both Europeans and natives by providing agents to carry it on.

In 1772 the Vepery Missionaries stationed a Catechist name Tasanaick at Vellore; and from him they heard some good accounts of some religious soldiers there. This they mentioned in their next report home, in which they also referred to occasional ministrations amongst the soldiers at Ellore and Chingleput. They were in fact at this time ministering as opportunity offered to the Company's troops at Cuddalore, Trichinopoly, Vellore, Ellore and Chingleput. They reported in 1772 an increase of 53, making a total number of converts from the beginning of 2201[2]; which shows that whilst they were doing European work they were not neglecting purely mission work amongst the natives.

In 1771 the S.P.C.K. in London sent a petition to the Directors,[3] setting forth

'That the Society for many years encouraged the Protestant Mission of Tranquebar, founded by Frederick IV. King of Denmark for the conversion of the heathen in the southern part of the Coast of Coromandel.

. . . . . .

[1] Consultations, 9 Aug. 1762. [2] S.P.C.K. Report for 1772. [3] Do. 1771.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'The success with which that mission was blessed soon gave the hint of extending the benefit to the English settlements in those parts, where Missionaries have been accordingly established and schools erected for the instruction of the ignorant natives in the truths of Christianity.'

The petition then went into particulars as to what had been done since 1728, and pleaded want of means to carry on the work.

'In this urgent necessity, therefore, they bethought themselves of soliciting the Hon. East India Company for their encouragement and assistance in an undertaking which tends so manifestly to the advancement of the glory of God, at the same time that it eventually conduces to the good and benefit of the East India Company. For besides promoting Christian knowledge among the natives, who, as they become more acquainted with our religion will be likewise united in a more close and friendly manner with our settlers, the Missionaries are successfully employed in making converts from Popery, and thereby contribute in some measure towards the establishment and furtherance of the Protestant interest in those parts; whilst in the midst of their labours they are always ready to minister to the spiritual wants of the Europeans and to render every other service in their power to the Company's settlements; for which they have been frequently honoured with singular marks of favour from the several Governors abroad.

'But what chiefly emboldens the Society to hope for the kind assistance of the Honourable Court are the many and repeated instances of good will and affection to their Protestant missions in East India, for which they again return their grateful thanks' etc.

This petition was signed by order of the Society on the 3rd day of December 1771 by Thomas Broughton, Secretary.

The Directors granted the petition and wrote to Fort St. George as follows[1]:—

'At the special request of the members of the S.P.C.K., we are inclined to present the English Protestant mission at Madras with the sum of 500 pagodas, which we would have you on receipt hereof pay accordingly to that mission from

[1] Despatch, 25 March 1772, 27.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Company's cash. At the same time we cannot but remind you of the acceptable service you will render to this benevolent Society in promoting a private subscription for benefactions towards the valuable purposes of its institution.'

The wording of the order leads one to suppose that the 500 pagodas was intended to be a single donation. The Madras Government interpreted it liberally and generously, and paid the amount annually till it was increased to 1200 pagodas per annum in 1810.[1]

In 1772 Hutteman offered the Government a loan of 2500 pagodas. This provokes the question how the Missionaries with their small pay and allowances managed to have such sums in their possession. For it was just the same with Fabricius and Breithaupt, and later with Schwartz and Gericke. It is necessary to mention the irregular manner in which the Society sent out their remittances. One year they would send out a large sum; the next year or two nothing; they expected their agents to pay themselves their allowance and to keep the rest till it was due. In 1766 they sent out 3336 ounces of silver from Germany and England for the three Protestant missions on the coast.[2] In 1767 they sent £684.[3] In 1768 they sent £826.[4] In 1770 they sent £422[4]; in 1775 £1900[4]; in 1776 £432.[4] This system obliged the Missionaries to have money in hand; they employed it by lending it at interest until it was required; when the Government was borrowing at high interest they lent to the Government. When the Government had all the money they required in their treasury, and did not want to borrow, or when their credit was good, so that they could borrow at low interest, the Missionaries lent it to private individuals. In doing this they took the same risk as the merchants themselves. Kiernander in Calcutta and Fabricius in Madras made unfortunate speculations in this way. Schwartz and Gericke were fortunate and died rich men. They considered, however, that the increase was the property of the mission; and both left their fortunes for the purposes of the mission. There was a certain disadvantage in lending in this way

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports.
[2] Consultations, 24 March 1767.
[3] Despatch, 4 March 1767, 70.
[4] Despatches.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

besides the risk of loss. There was the risk of the postponement of the payment of the interest when times were bad. So Hutteman is found addressing the Government in 1781,[1] requesting the payment of the interest on his bond, saying that further delay would reduce him and his family to the point of starvation.

Few things are more remarkable in the ecclesiastical history of the Presidency than the fact that the S.P.C.K. Lutheran Missionaries became one after another acting Chaplains in the Company's service; and this without the knowledge of the Directors. Their names did not appear on any establishment list: they were not included in the general establishment list of the Presidency, nor on the establishment list of any of the subordinate factories or garrisons, nor on the establishment list of any regiment. But they did the work of Chaplains, and they drew the pay; and the Government of Fort St. George looked upon them as subordinates to whom they could send orders, and whom they could if necessary reprimand. Hutteman was endowed with a salary in 1760, and Schwartz in 1767. In 1772 Schwartz went to Tanjore, and from that time till 1779 he divided his time between Tanjore and Trichinopoly. In 1779 he was joined by Christian Pohle; and being satisfied that Pohle was qualified by his knowledge of English, Portuguese and Tamil to carry on the work at Trichinopoly, he asked the Government to recognise Pohle as Chaplain there, and to pay him the same allowance as they had hitherto paid himself. The Government agreed,[2] and ordered 'that the Chaplain who officiates for the Rev. Mr. Schwartz at Trichinopoly have an allowance granted him similar to that of the Rev. Mr. Schwartz at Tanjore.'

In 1780 three letters of complaint were written by the Chief and Council of Cuddalore to the Governor of Fort St. George that Hutteman had failed in his duty in not reading the Church service over a deceased European. The letters have not been preserved; so it is not possible to state the cause of the omission. But the Government replied as follows[3]:—

[1] Consultations, 31 March 1781. [2] Do. 29 Aug. 1779.
[3] Do. 6 Nov. 1780.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We highly disapprove of the conduct of Mr. Hutteman, and we direct you to acquaint him that unless he attends to his duty in reading the funeral service over the Europeans who may be buried at your factory, his present salary will be taken from him; and in compliance with your recommendation it is to be given to Mr. Gericke, should Mr. Hutteman not return you a satisfactory answer.'

The probable cause of the omission was physical inability. Hutteman was at this time over fifty years of age, and he had been thirty years in the country without paying a visit to a more temperate climate than Cuddalore. He died in 1781. But the fact to notice is that the Government of Fort St. George regarded him as a Chaplain in their service.

Gericke married a daughter of Hutteman and had a son. In 1785 he asked the Governor of Fort St. George to recommend this son to the Directors for a cadetship on the Madras military establishment. The Directors granted cadetships as a rule to the sons of their own officers and servants in preference to others. They acceded to this request, and wrote[1] notifying the appointment as cadet of the son of 'Mr. Gerrick, whom you represent to have served 17 years as an English Chaplain in Cuddalore and other garrisons.'

In addition to his other appointments Gericke was employed as a Naval Chaplain at the instance of Admiral Rainier from and after 1796.[2] To enable him to draw his pay he was made Chaplain of H.M.S. Victorious; but he was given leave of absence to officiate as Chaplain of the Naval Hospital at Vepery. He retained the appointment till his death in 1803.

Mission work had always been carried out under difficulties—difficulties created by the fortunes and misfortunes of war. Fabricius had retired three times from Viparee; twice in consequence of French invasions, and once in 1774 in consequence of an invasion of Mahrattas. The Cuddalore mission was to a great extent destroyed in 1758. But these disasters were small compared with that which overtook the missions when Hyder Ali of Mysore and his French allies invaded the Carnatic in 1781, spreading trouble, consternation and destruction wherever they went. Cuddalore was

[1] Despatch, 12 April 1786, 50, Mil. [2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1797.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

taken. Vellore was taken. Trichinopoly and Tanjore did not fall. The Company's troops and the Company's merchants, who protected the Missionaries and their agents and their converts at various small stations and garrisons, were withdrawn to Madras; and the result of several years' patient work was scattered and to some extent undone. On the occupation of Cuddalore by the hostile allies, Gericke—who did good service to the Company as far as he was able, by preventing the plunder of the town, hiding English officers in his house, and by representing to the French how the British Europeans were being treated by the Mysoreans—went to Madras. The two Missionaries there did not require his assistance; so he went to Negapatam. Here he remained till the British victories of Eyre Coote restored tranquillity. But in the mean time the Cuddalore mission was broken up, and the Church building was ruined. At Vellore, where Fabricius began work so hopefully in 1771, where he was received by a band of pious soldiers who built at their own cost a school chapel in 1773,[1] the mission was overwhelmed. At Viparee the Church and school houses were occupied by British troops, who greatly damaged the buildings by using the woodwork as firewood.

In addition to the losses by war there were during the same years losses by famine. The years from 1781–4 were indeed years of sorrow and anxiety. Breithaupt died in 1782. When peace was restored in March 1784 the aged and infirm Fabricius found himself alone at Madras; Gericke was without assistance in his ministrations at the ports and stations south of Madras; Schwartz was still at Tanjore, and Pohle at Trichinopoly. Mission work was recommenced under great difficulties in Madras. Fabricius had mismanaged the funds; had borrowed money from a native soucar; and being unable to repay the sum he was placed by the soucar in the debtors' prison. Here he remained for a year and a half, that is, until the middle of 1789, when he was released. Fabricius was a highly educated man and a Tamil scholar. He was instrumental in translating the New Testament into Tamil[2];

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 30, ed. 1847.
[2] He built on Ziegenbalg's foundation of 1715.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the edition generally goes by his name; he also compiled an English and Tamil dictionary, a book of hymns and metrical psalms, and a large number of vernacular tracts for use in the S.P.C.K. missions. He died in 1791, forty nine years after he commenced work at Vepery. Schwartz blamed him; it is necessary to remember the good work he did before the cloud overshadowed him; he was not a dishonest man; he was the victim of a bad system of mission finance.[1] Gericke succeeded him in 1788.

The old S.P.C.K. reports enable us to see that the work of the missions, recommenced in 1785, went on quietly during the next ten years. Joseph Daniel Jaenicke came out to assist in 1788, and was stationed by Schwartz at Palamcottah. And John Caspar Kohlhoff, who was brought up by Schwartz, was set apart to assist his aged master at Tanjore.

Gericke recommenced the visits which Fabricius had periodically paid to Pulicat and Vellore; he also visited Cuddalore and Negapatam; at these places he ministered in German, Portuguese, Tamil and English as occasion required. At Vellore in 1793 he dedicated a large Chapel built by the Company's Resident, Mr. George Torriano. This took the place of the School chapel destroyed by the Mysore troops. On this occasion he was accompanied by the Tranquebar Missionary J. P. Rottler, afterwards so well known in Madras. Here Rottler made his first acquaintance with the S.P.C.K. work amongst Europeans and natives, which he afterwards managed in Madras from 1816 to 1836.

In 1787 the Court of Directors sent out 100 reams of printing paper as a present to the mission.

In 1792 the Madras Government increased the allowance of Christian Pohle at Trichinopoly. This must have been on the recommendation of the General Officer commanding the station. They wrote home[2] that they had granted Chaplain's half batta to the Rev. Mr. Pohle, 'who for several years has officiated as Chaplain upon a very small allowance.' The Directors knew nothing about Mr. Pohle and had never heard of him and his ministrations. They therefore replied[3]:—

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 60, 64-7. [2] Letter, 31 July 1792, 41, Mil.
[3] Despatch, 25 June 1793, 47, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'We acquiesce for the present in the allowance to the Rev. Mr. Phole [*sic*] as officiating Chaplain of the garrison of Trichinopoly. But you must acquaint us in what manner the clerical duty has been usually performed, and what stipend has been attached to the same.'

The Directors did not even know that there was a Church at Trichinopoly; the following extract[1] seems to show that their imaginations had not led them to suppose that there was a Christian burial ground.

'We have been informed that it was the intention of the friends of the late General Horne[2] to erect a monument to his memory at Trichinopoly; if this monument has been erected in any of the places of worship belonging to the natives, either Mahommedans or Hindus, and has thereby occasioned any cause of offence, it must be instantly removed; and we must enjoin you upon all occasions to pay every proper regard to the religious prejudices of the natives of whatever persuasion.'

The suggestion that their European officers in India would wish to raise a memorial to a gallant comrade in a Hindu temple or a Mahommedan mosque shows how little the Directors at this period understood the European mode of life and mode of thought in the country they ruled over.

On receipt of the Despatch of the 25 June 1793 the Madras Government requested Pohle to favour them with an account of his duties and the manner in which he performed them. His reply was sent to the Directors.[3]

Up to 1793 the S.P.C.K. Missionaries were allowed to send home all their letters free. It was an act of kindness and consideration on the part of Directors in former times. In 1793 the Directors ordered that all letters and packets were to be prepaid. In Feb. 1794 Gericke wrote the Government[4] of Madras asking that, as they had to write so many letters to the S.P.C.K. and their mission friends in Germany, and as their circumstances were narrow, the Government would be pleased to allow their letters to go free as usual. The appli-

[1] Despatch, 16 May 1792, 17, Pub.
[2] Ancestor of all the Hornes in the Indian Service.
[3] Letter, 18 Feb. 1794, 18, Mil.
[4] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1794.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tion was signed 'Christian Wm. Gericke, English Missionary.' The Fort St. George Government was kinder than the Directors. They directed the Secretary to frank all packets certified by Mr. Gericke to be on the subject of the Mission; and they wrote home [1] saying that they had excused the payment until the pleasure of the Court was known.

There was another way in which the Madras Government made use of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. Schwartz was the trusted ambassador to the Court of Mysore; he was quite an exceptional man; he was Missionary, military Chaplain, guardian of the young Rajah, confidential adviser of the old Rajah, and Mahratta translator to the Government. Gericke was made Dutch translator.[2] For this translating work each received a salary of 10 pagodas monthly. In 1801 the Government of Bengal enquired of the Government of Madras for the names of professors of the languages of the south of India. The Chief Secretary George Buchan wrote to the Resident at Tanjore:—'It is probable that some of the Missionary priests may be found qualified and willing to become professors of the native languages, particularly of Tamil.'[3] The Resident made enquiry and replied:—'There is at Tanjore a clergyman of the mission who has acquired a perfect knowledge of the Tamil language, and in every other respect is unexceptionable in his public and private character; but Mr. Kohlhoff's services, it seems, are indispensable in the exercise of his sacred duties at Tanjore; but having been born in the country, and deprived of the advantages of a regular and classical education, he feels an insuperable diffidence in taking upon himself the charge of a Professor.' This letter was signed Benj. Torin, Resident. The appointment was afterwards offered to and accepted by C. W. Paezold, who had been assisting Gericke at Madras since 1793; he went to Fort William in 1802; but the work was not congenial to him; so he returned in 1804, and continued his work in Madras till his death in 1817.

The S.P.C.K. Missionaries occupied a position which fitted

[1] Letter, 20 Feb. 1794, 44, Pub.
[2] Letter, 15 March 1792, 25, Mil. Despatch, 5 April 1793, 57, Mil.
[3] Consultations, 26 Jan. 1801.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

them to be the mediators between the Fort St. George Government and other Europeans on the Coast. They understood both Danish and Dutch. In 1782 they persuaded the Chaplains of St. Mary's, Fort St. George, to join with them in an appeal to Government in favour of the Dutch at Pulicat.[1] The letter, which was signed by Bainbrigge and Millingchamp the Chaplains, and by Fabricius and Breithaupt the 'English Missionaries,' set forth that at Pulicat there were both Tamil and Portuguese Christians as well as Dutch; that there was a Tamil and a Portuguese Reader or clerk, whose duty it was to conduct service in those languages; that there were Dutch, Portuguese, and Tamil poor; that up to the time of the taking of Pulicat and Negapatam both clerks and poor were paid out of the Negapatam treasury; and they asked the Company to continue to do what the Dutch did. The Government agreed to grant as requested one per cent. on the rent of the four villages round Pulicat, for the poor and for the repair of the Church, and two acres of land for the endowment of the clerks.

In 1794 Schwartz interceded successfully with the Government on behalf of the Dutch, Portuguese and Tamil poor of Negapatam.[2] And in 1802, after the capture of Tranquebar, Gericke addressed the Government and pleaded for the continuation of the allowances to the Danish Missionaries given to them by the Danish Government, just as all the Danish officials received their allowances pending the rendition of the Fort.[3] They reminded the Government that the Danish mission was not a charity, but an Institution founded by Royal Charter; and that the salaries were paid annually by His Majesty of Denmark; and they further pleaded the good they did amongst natives and Europeans by means of Churches, schools, visitations, poor relief, a printing press, and by means of co-operation with the English Missionaries. The Government, after reference to the Danish Governor, granted a modified continuation of the allowances.

Although Fabricius, Schwartz and Gericke occupied un-

[1] Consultations, 20 June 1782. [2] Letter, 20 Feb. 1794, 39, Pub.
[3] Mil. Consultations, 25 March 1802.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

official positions, their personal character was so high with the Government as well as with the persons with whom their work threw them in contact, that they were regarded by the latter and accepted by the former as intermediaries in all social, educational, and religious matters. The commanding genius of Schwartz made him a trusted political intermediary as well. The financial failure of Fabricius did not occur till he had lost by death the counsel of his younger coadjutor, Breithaupt, nor until he had himself attained the age of three score years and ten. Up to 1780 he was trusted by the Government and the people alike; and he left the tradition to his successor as a heritage. The Mahrattas, ruler and ruled alike, looked to Schwartz as their friend whenever trouble arose; the Dutch, the Danes, and the native Christians under similar circumstances looked to Gericke. In 1798 the inhabitants of Negapatam petitioned the Government through Gericke to allow the Dutch clergyman to remain with them instead of going to Ceylon as ordered by Government. The request was granted.[1] In 1801 the pensioned Chief Justice of the Dutch Court at Pulicat died; the pensioned Governor, Jacob Eilbracht, wrote to the Governor of Fort St. George through Gericke, asking that the pension of the deceased Judge might be continued to his two daughters on account of their destitution. Gericke represented the case [2] to the Governor, describing them as 'good girls,' without any apology for mediating, as if the office of mediator was his by recognition, and was successful in getting the request granted.

The last decade of the 18th century was an unfavourable period for the promotion of mission work in India. There was war and consequent preoccupation and poverty on the Continent; so that the supply of workers and the supply of money, both of which had flowed so liberally from the University of Halle for eighty years, came to a necessary end. Great Britain had to protect her interests and join in. Denmark could not keep out of it. Europe was embroiled in a war which focussed all attention upon itself; and which used up a vast mass of human energy and human passion—a vast storehouse of material and intellectual wealth—to

[1] Mil. Consultations, 1799. [2] Consultations, 22 Sept. 1801.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

accomplish its divine purpose. Up to 1790 the strength of the S.P.C.K. mission had been kept up by the arrival of a fresh Missionary every three or four years; Paezold arrived in 1793; after that there was no reinforcement either from Germany, Denmark, or England till the arrival of Haubroe and Rosen in 1818.

Beside the war there was another influence at work to stop enthusiasm and to undermine public confidence in the methods employed to promote the cause. As the year 1793 drew near, when the Company's charter expired, some influential persons in and out of parliament determined to use their influence to have inserted in the new charter clauses compelling the Company to assist in the conversion of India by means of the great funds at their disposal. This unwise suggestion provoked much opposition both among the Directors and their friends in parliament. The idea took hold of nearly the whole body of the more serious members of the Church of England. In resisting compulsion the opponents used any and every sort of argument; they impugned the principle under which all mission work was done; they attacked the characters of the Missionaries, and they spoke contemptuously of the converts. They certainly spake unadvisedly with their lips, but it was the unwise suggestion which provoked them to do so. In the House of Commons the principal attack was made by Mr. Montgomerie Campbell, who had been private secretary to Sir Archibald Campbell, when Governor of Fort St. George. He asserted that the converts were only from the lowest class of people; that they were thieves, and in other respects contemptible; that they were despised by their fellow natives; that after many years' work their numbers were very few; and that the Missionaries were fanatical visionaries who were hardly respected by the European officials. In course of time the report of this attack reached Madras. The 'Madras Courier' of the 24th May 1793 commented upon it, and joined in the attack.[1] No reply was given to this locally; but Schwartz sent to the S.P.C.K. in London a dignified vindication of himself, his fellow workers,

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1793. The *Courier* was edited at that time by Hugh Boyd.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and of the native Christians, which was printed in the 1794 Report of the Society.[1]

Many, however, either read or heard of the original attack who never read or heard of the dignified vindication. The Society's reports had not a wide circulation; and the study of them was confined to the interested few. The consequence was that there was a widely spread doubt as to the wisdom of helping on the work any longer; and this even among religious people. The attack was merely intended to defeat a compulsory clause in an Act of Parliament. But the effect of it was to greatly diminish public interest in missionary work, and to curtail the supply of money, without which it could not be carried on.

When the S.P.C.K. report was published, the Bishop of Lichfield wrote to Lord Cornwallis, to enquire if Mr. Schwartz was a man worthy of credit. Lord Cornwallis replied that from the personal knowledge he had of Mr. Schwartz, and from what he had heard of him whilst in India, he had every reason to believe him to be a man of very respectable character.[2] The letter of Schwartz to the S.P.C.K. and the testimony of Lord Cornwallis together made Mr. Campbell understand that he had exceeded the limits of courtesy and truth in his thoughtless attack. Let it be recorded to his honour that he sent an apology to Schwartz; though he could not undo the mischief he had done.

This mischief extended to the mission field itself. First the 'Courier' repeated the false charge that all native Christians were of the lowest class. Amongst those who did not know much of mission work, and had not gone out of their way to make any enquiry about it, the charge passed for truth as it did among many in England. As soon as the European officials began to despise, the Brahmins and the Hindus in contact with them began to despise too. The native Christian for many years suffered from unmerited contempt. He was unable to get employment in consequence. The Hindu refused him because of his religion; this was a trial, but it was to be

[1] See also Taylor's *Memoir*, Appendix C and p. 76.
[2] Taylor's *Memoir*, page 72.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

expected. It was a far harder trial that the European refused him too.[1]

The discussions brought about by Montgomerie Campbell's attack led the Hindu Maravars of Tinnevelly to think that the Christians had no friends, and might be attacked with impunity. A rather serious persecution of converts took place there in 1802. Stephen Lushington was the Magistrate of Tinnevelly at the time; he dealt with the case suitably; and the Madras Government approved of his measures. But the S.P.C.K. in London thought fit to appeal to the Directors to protect the Missionaries and the converts. The Directors could not but consent to do this; they sent out a Despatch accordingly in 1803.[2]

The controversy about mission work in India dragged on its existence in England for 21 years, from 1792 to 1813. The original contention of the Directors was against the prosecution of it officially, with the help of the public revenues. More than once they took up the false position of belittling the importance of the work, or of leaving people to suppose that they were hostile to it and always had been. Their opponents were not successful in obliging the Company to carry on the mission work officially; but when they were successful in getting a clause inserted in the new charter compelling the Company to permit Missionaries to go to India, to reside under their protection, and to carry out their purposes of instruction and conversion, whoever would have guessed that this same Company had not only been permitting Missionaries to go to India for 80 years past, but had also paid their passage money and carried their baggage and books and printing press and stores and remittances in silver freight free?[3]

Whilst the controversy was proceeding in England the work quietly proceeded in the southern Presidency of India. The Government of Fort St. George extended the same kindly assistance to it which it had been accustomed to give for many years past. They knew what the Missionaries had

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 77.
[2] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1805.
[3] Ringeltaube and Holtzberg received free passages in 1797, when the discussion was going on. Despatch, 30 June 1797, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

done in various stations for European officials and for European soldiers, for British and Portuguese Eurasians as well as for natives; they held in honour, as all classes held in honour, the eminent genius and piety of Schwartz and the eminent saintliness of Gericke. The controversy did not interest them. What was the use of discussing whether Missionaries should be allowed to land in India or not, when they were already there, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, and had been there for many years? What was the use of pretending to consent or pretending to oppose, when they were actually aiding and abetting Missionaries of both kinds, and had entered into agreement with them to minister to the Europeans and Eurasians wherever they happened to go? They probably wondered how the Directors had been forced into so false a position. But it was not their business to inquire. Schwartz, Gericke, Pohle, Kohlhoff and Horst continued to earn their allowances; and the Government continued to pay them; and if only the supply of agents could have been kept up by the S.P.C.K., the system would have gone on after the death of Schwartz and Gericke just as it had gone on in their lifetime. In 1792 Schwartz wrote to the S.P.C.K. in London that the Government was favourable to their work, and that they only wanted workers[1]; 'Would to God some labourers could be sent out in addition; I am sure that some gentlemen here would assist' (that is, to pay expenses); 'Government would not suffer by it, but rather experience the benefit of seeing the people instructed. This I could shew by undeniable proofs, and Government would confirm it.'

The S.P.C.K. reports year after year show the work done by their Missionaries in their various stations and districts. They record the number of baptisms and marriages amongst the three classes of natives, Portuguese and Europeans; the number of Tamil, Portuguese and English services held; sometimes there are references to ministrations in other languages, either to the Company's German soldiers, or the Company's German and Dutch prisoners. They are a mine of wealth to the missionary historian. They give, as of course a missionary

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

history should, the names and stations of the Missionaries; they record the visits of the Missionaries to their out-stations; they give the numbers of the converts from the different classes and the number of communicants; they record the progress of the schools; they hand down to posterity the account of their Church building at Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Cuddalore, Ramnad, Madura, Dindigul, Vellore, and Palamcottah, and how 'the gentlemen and other Europeans' helped to build the Churches and regularly frequented them. They are genuine records of genuine missionary effort, carried on side by side with the pastoral care of European Christians, which the missionary historian of the future must take account of.

The allowances made by the Government to Schwartz were larger than those made to the other Missionaries. In 1794 the Governor in Council wrote to the Resident at Tanjore, James Strange, and inquired by what authority the larger allowances were made. Strange, not finding any records, applied to Schwartz, who wrote the following letter to the Governor[1]:—

'Agreeably to your Honour's wish I beg leave to give an explanation of the monthly allowance made to me by order of Government.

'When I had performed the duties of a clergyman for 5 years at Trichinopoly Government sent an order to Mr. Hay the Paymaster to pay me monthly 20 star pagodas.[2]

'In the midst of the war with Hyder Lord Macartney sent an order to Mr. Hippisley, then Paymaster, to pay me half batta.[3]

'When Sir Archibald Campbell was in the chair, an addition to my first salary and an allowance for a Palanqueen was made. The order was sent to Mr. Hippisley when Mr. Hudleston was Resident.[4]

'At the same time 10 star pagodas were allowed to Mr. Kohlhoff, and he was ordered to perform the duty of a secretary at the Committee.

'Almost a year before sir A. Campbell returned to England he honoured me with a letter signifying the addition made to

[1] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1794.
[2] Mil. Consultations, 16 Feb. 1767.
[3] Consultations, 4 Dec. 1782.
[4] Do. 15 Aug. 1786.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

me had been approved of by the Hon. Court of Directors. The grants were unsolicited.'

The result was that no alteration was made in the amount, which was £250 a year, together with £8 a month for a palanqueen, and £4 a month as Mahratta Interpreter. These sums were in addition to his pay of £50 a year from the S.P.C.K.

Schwartz died at Tanjore in 1798. The Government announced his death with regret to the Directors [1]; and there was regret among all classes. The Directors placed in St. Mary's, Fort St. George, a handsome memorial by Bacon; on it is a nobly expressed, soul-stirring epitaph; it was written by his friend John Hudleston of the Civil Service, who was associated with him in his good works when Resident at Tanjore. The Maharajah Serfogee placed a handsome monument to his memory in Christ Church, Fort, Tanjore, which was also by the great sculptor Bacon; and he wrote two four line verses to serve as an epitaph on the grave-stone in St. Peter's, Tanjore. In 1787 the Rajah of Tanjore endowed the Tanjore mission with a village worth 500 pagodas a year. Besides this Schwartz had husbanded his mission resources and lived sparingly; so that at the time of his death his estate was considerable. He left all in trust for the Tanjore Mission, and specially mentioned Palamcottah as part of that mission.

Soon after Schwartz's death the Government issued orders to stop the ecclesiastical allowances at Cuddalore and Negapatam.[2] At the latter place a Dutch clergyman resided and officiated under the superintendence of Gericke. At the former place an S.P.C.K. Missionary named Horst officiated as Lay Reader. Gericke pleaded with the Government for his small allowance of 5 pagodas a month, and was successful. He pleaded that the allowance 'was paid by Government for reading prayers, visiting the Hospital, and burying the dead'; that it had been for several years 'enjoyed by Mr. Henry Horst, a good man, who has the good will of all the gentlemen at that place, whom I sent there for the purpose of doing that

[1] Letter, 19 Feb. 1798, 33, Pol.
[2] Consultations, 14 June and 13 Oct. 1800.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

duty, and taking care of the Church and mission'; he urged that he was very punctual in his duty, and that he received from the S.P.C.K. a salary for work amongst the natives—which term in that day included Eurasians and all country born persons.

Gericke died in 1803. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge placed a handsome monument by Flaxman to his memory in St. Mary's, Fort St. George. Like Schwartz he left the bulk of his money, a considerable amount, to the Vepery mission; in which he included Negapatam by name. The Vepery and Tanjore missions still profit from the bequests of these two notable Missionaries. Gericke's legacy amounted to 15,000 pagodas together with the reversion of his dwelling house[1] and the income of his widow. Both Schwartz and Gericke looked upon their possessions as mission property. The increment due to successful investment might perhaps be theirs; but at all events the bulk of the property belonged to the mission, and they made their wills accordingly.

When these two great men passed away they left no successors of a like genius and power. Paezold succeeded at Vepery, and did his best to walk in the footsteps of his predecessors. He travelled round to the outlying missions, and encouraged the converts with hopeful words. Rottler administered the Vepery mission funds with ability and care. J. C. Kohlhoff succeeded Schwartz at Tanjore, and did his best to walk in his venerated footsteps. He travelled to Dindigul, Madura, Ramnad and Palamcottah, ministering to Schwartz's converts at those stations; and he managed the Tanjore funds with discretion. Pohle remained at Trichinopoly where, to use his own words, he was assisted in the garrison work by the Rev. Charles Ball, Chaplain. Holtzberg, who had been learning method and language at Tanjore since 1797, took the place of Horst at Cuddalore in 1803. Horst went to Tanjore to assist Kohlhoff. There were no others in 1805. All of them were carrying on the old S.P.C.K. tradition of combining English and native work. But the work was growing beyond them. There had been during 70 years a natural growth of converts, stations, schools, property, funds,

[1] It was really a mission house, built with mission money.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Churches; but there was no increase of European workers to guide and animate the work, and no accession of genius and scholarship, such as had adorned the mission throughout the 18th century, to organise and bless it. When Gericke closed his eyes in death, a dark period in the history of Madras mission work commenced.

Note.—The portrait of Schwartz, engraved for Pearson's Life, is unusually meritorious as a work of art. Schwartz did not visit Europe during his long service. No native artist at the period was capable of such work. In prosecuting an enquiry as to the artist I found that in 1784 the Company allowed three artists to proceed to Fort St. George to follow their profession in India[1]—'Mr. John Smart, miniature painter, Messrs. Ozias Humphrey and Francis Wheatley, portrait painters.' It seems almost certain that the original was executed by one of these three. At the time of their arrival Schwartz was 60 years of age; the portrait is of a man of about that age. In 1816 there were at Tanjore a portrait of Schwartz in the possession of the Rajah, and a miniature in the possession of the Rev. John Caspar Kohlhoff. The portrait was given by the Rajah to Bishop Middleton of Calcutta on the occasion of his visitation in 1816 or 1819. The miniature was given to Bishop Wilson on the occasion of his second visit to Tanjore in 1834. This engraving is dated 1807.—*F. P.*

[1] Despatch to Fort St. George, 9 Dec. 1784, 15.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXII

THE COMPANY AND THE SCHOOLS, FROM 1750 TO 1805.

In the 17th century the Directors themselves took the initiative in educational work. The matter was represented to them by one of their own number as a duty which they owed to themselves as a body of Christian rulers holding sway over a large number of non-Christian dependents. At the beginning of the 18th century came the Missionaries; and the Company was glad enough to shift their educational duties and responsibilities to the shoulders of the new-comers. During the first three-quarters of the 18th century the Directors and the local Government assisted schools of various kinds in various ways; they obliged their servants at Fort St. David to give their services as accountants; they occasionally assisted in the repair of the buildings; and they acknowledged in generous terms the excellent effect of the educational exertions that were made. But they left the actual work to the Missionaries; so that up to 1787 all that was done outside Fort St. George was done by the Missionaries, either in their capacity as Missionaries, or in their capacity as garrison or station Chaplains.

The Danes and Germans in the employ of the S.P.C.K. were graduates of universities. The majority were trained at Halle. They were one and all of them educationists. None of them worked or tried to work without schools. Schwartz had not been very long at Trichinopoly before a grievous accident happened in the Fort, which resulted in the establishment of the Vestry School for European and Eurasian boys. On the 14 Jan. 1772 a powder magazine at the foot of the Rock blew up; 84 European soldiers and 10 Sepoys were killed; 66 Europeans and 44 Sepoys were wounded.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The victims, who mostly belonged to the Company's Artillery,[1] left behind them both widows and children. Schwartz had no difficulty in raising a sufficient sum among the civil officials and the soldiers of all grades in the garrison to take charge of the orphans, and to pay a non-commissioned officer and his wife to look after them and instruct them. Thus originated the Vestry School and the Vestry Fund at Trichinopoly.

In 1774 Schwartz removed to Tanjore and made that place his headquarters. From Tanjore he was summoned to Fort St. George by the Governor in that same year, and commissioned to bear despatches to Hyder Ali of Mysore. On the completion of his mission Hyder presented him with a bag of money for the expenses of his journey. Schwartz explained that his expenses were to be paid by the Madras Government; but Hyder Ali would take no refusal. On his arrival at Madras Schwartz delivered the bag to the Governor and Council. They, however, urged him to take it himself; whereupon he asked their permission to appoint that sum as the foundation of a fund for an English Charity School at Tanjore[2]; expressing a hope that some charitable people would increase it. On his return to Tanjore General Munro successfully recommended the plan to the gentlemen of the settlement. Thus originated the Tanjore Vestry Fund and the Tanjore English Charity School.

The Vepery Missionaries wrote to the S.P.C.K. in January 1774 giving a report of their mission for the year 1773. In this they mentioned the death of Benjamin Johnson, 'English and Portuguese schoolmaster, and Clerk to the Portuguese congregation.'[3] From other sources it is also known that there was at this period an English school for Eurasians of both sexes at Vepery, as there was at Cuddalore. In 1780, before it was put into the mind and heart of Lady Campbell to do something, and to move the Government to do something more than they had hitherto done for European and

[1] Letter, 28 Feb. 1772, 85.

[2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1774. The amount is usually stated to have been 300 rupees; but it is more likely to have been 300 pagodas. Rupees were not then current in the south.

[3] S.P.C.K. Reports and Taylor's *Memoir*, page 33.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Eurasian education, there were schools of this kind at St. Mary's Fort St. George, Vepery, Cuddalore, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. None of them were commenced nor were regularly assisted by the Company; with the exception of the first mentioned all were managed by the Missionaries of the S.P.C.K. There was also a Roman Catholic school in Black Town; but this was not exclusively for Europeans and Eurasians. It was managed by the Capuchin Missionaries; it was more largely endowed than the others; it had no other connection with the Government than that of benevolent protection.

When the S.P.C.K. in London received the mission reports for the year 1784, they published them as usual, and added the following appeal. It does not appear from the report that their information was received from one of their own Missionaries.[1]

'The Society has received information that there is a considerable number of children born annually in the British settlements in the East Indies of fathers who are Europeans and mothers who are natives. That of this description there are born annually not less than . . . seven hundred at Madras and on the coast of Choromandel; . . . that the fathers of these children being usually soldiers, sailors and the lower order of people, too often neglect their offspring and suffer them to follow the caste of their mothers; that the children are not only lost to Christianity, but to the society of which they are born members; and, from neglect in their infancy, at 10 or 12 years of age are mixed with the natives; that if a Christian education were bestowed upon them, their manners habits and affections would be English, their services of value in the capacity of soldiers sailors and servants, and a considerable benefit would accrue to the British interest in India, resulting finally to the advantage of this Kingdom and tending to give stability to the settlements. Induced by these motives the Society has voted a sum of £50 to be paid as an annual stipend as soon as a proper person can be established for instructing the children born in the settlement of Madras.

. . . . . .

[1] S.P.C.K. Report for 1784; and *History of the S.P.C.K.* by Allen and McClure, 1898.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'If these reasons should have weight with the public they will be happy to receive contributions to this especial purpose,' etc.

It is hardly possible that the existence of such children was not known to many of the officers and gentlemen of the settlement, as well as to the Chaplains; but it is quite possible that no one but the Missionaries, whose duty took them into the bazaars, knew where the children were and how they were being brought up. For this reason it seems more probable that the S.P.C.K. received their information from their own agents than from anyone else. Various indications seem to point to Gericke as the source of information. The Rev. W. Taylor, an S.P.G. Missionary in Madras from 1837–45, has this sentence in his Memoir[1]:—

'It seems that when last[2] in Madras he [Gericke] spoke with a gentleman on the subject, who recommended an endeavour to gain the patronage of other gentlemen; these proved to be too busy or were doubtful of success. Then the first mentioned gentleman determined to interest Lady Campbell in the matter, and in this way the plan wonderfully succeeded, Lady Campbell being always regarded as the foundress. This statement is needful, as it shows how Gericke afterwards came to have so much influence in the Asylum.'

Taylor had access to the old Vepery records, which no longer exist. There is no reason to suppose that he was not quoting from them. He had no object to gain by misrepresentation. It may be assumed therefore that it was on the information of Gericke of what was going on in the bazaars, that the need of Eurasian schools was recognised by the Society in London, and by the kind-hearted wife of the Governor of Fort St. George.

Lady Campbell set to work at once, probably in 1784, to enlist sympathy for the plan and to get money to carry it out. During the next three years the plan was being slowly but surely developed. Money was freely given, not only by the

[1] Page 54.

[2] After the capture of Cuddalore by Hyder Ali and the French in 1782, Gericke went first to Negapatam, and then in 1783 to Madras; see the S.P.C.K. Report for 1783.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Company's servants and the military officers of the King, but by the Nabob of Arcot, who announced his wish to assist to benefit the children of the soldiers by whose courage alone he was still Nabob. He purchased a large house and compound in the Mount Road[1] at a cost of over 8000 pagodas and presented them to Lady Campbell for the purpose of the school. The local subscriptions amounted to over 30,000 pagodas; so that in 1787 the committee of governors were in a position to commence their work.

The Directors in the meantime had also considered the whole subject. From Madras they had heard the details of Lady Campbell's scheme, and had been asked to give their approbation and support to it. And as there had been for many years friendly co-operation between them and the S.P.C.K. in missionary and educational matters, it is not likely that the S.P.C.K. would have omitted to address them on the subject when they voted £50 a year for the purpose. After consideration they wrote a despatch to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George recommending that the plan of education for orphan children at Calcutta should be followed at Madras.[2]

This despatch must have reached Madras in August or September of 1786. It took some time to make enquiry as to how the Calcutta school was conducted and financed; so that it was not until July 1787 that the question was brought before the Council. Then Sir Archibald Campbell wrote two minutes, both of which are entered in the Consultation Book[3]; one was a statement of the origin and present state of the Asylum; and the other was a recommendation to grant assistance to it on the same scale as was adopted at Calcutta, and to ask the Directors to sanction the grant.

In the first minute Sir Archibald Campbell said :—

'The wretched situation of many orphan children of the soldiers who perished during the late war on this coast, first suggested the necessity of establishing an asylum to secure their offspring from immediately perishing by want, or at least from struggling with such hardships as would render

[1] The house formerly belonged to Col. John Wood.
[2] Despatch, 14 March 1786, 2.
[3] Consultations, 24 July 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

them wretched in themselves, and a disgrace as well as a burden to their country; Bengal offered not only a noble example, but even a plan for us to follow, by which these real objects of charity might be effectually relieved; but unhappily the situation of the army and the Company's affairs in general on this coast rendered the adoption of that plan at least for some time impracticable.

'At the conclusion of the war great arrears were due to the officers on this coast, and those have since been slowly paid off, not in ready money, but in bills on the Bengal treasury which were discounted at the rate of at least 40 or 50 per cent., by which means many of them have incurred very heavy debts. To require officers in such circumstances to relinquish any portion of their current pay would be very unjust, and even to expect it unreasonable. Besides no act of Government in India can diminish the pay of the King's officers, which has been established by Parliament, or given to them by the order of the East India Company, and is therefore inalienable, unless with the general consent of the officers, confirmed by the approbation of the same persons by which it was originally granted. This may be a work of delay, and perhaps may not succeed at last. In the meantime if the Bengal plan was adopted, the Company's officers only would be put under stoppages to maintain the children of H.M.'s soldiers in India, who are greatly more numerous than the European corps in the service of the East India Company.'

In the next paragraph he mentioned that recourse had been had to private subscription, and that the amount subscribed was sufficient to maintain 50 girls, whilst the Church Fund was sufficient for 50 boys.

Para. 3. The School was to be called the Asylum; the direction was to consist of the Governor, the members of Council, eight other gentlemen of the settlement including the two clergymen.

Para. 4. The house was given by the Nabob out of gratitude to the memory of those who have fallen in defence of his country. The children were to be under governesses and nurses subject to the orders and control of 12 Directresses, ladies belonging to the settlement. There were to be five classes of children.

1. Female orphans of officers and soldiers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

2. Female children who had lost one parent.

3. Legitimate female children of soldiers and their European wives.

4. Legitimate female children of soldiers and their native wives.

5. Legitimate female children of European civilians of the settlement.

The children were to be divided into two classes, Parlour Boarders and others. The former were to be paid for monthly at the estimated rate of cost, 10 pagodas, or there was to be deposited on their account on admission the sum of 1000 pagodas, which the Directors were to receive and to hold, like the Churchwardens, and after deducting the cost of education to pay the balance to the children on leaving.

Then followed 28 Rules laying down the duties of the Directresses, the Governesses, the Treasurer, the Secretary and the children—which in course of time have only undergone very slight alteration.

The minute then continued thus :—

'Such are the rules laid down for the present by the Patroness and Directresses of this Institution. The Government has also recommended to the Churchwardens and the Vestry to augment the number of boys to be admitted into the free school belonging to the Church, and likewise to make some alterations in the plan of their education; so that when proper attention has been paid to this recommendation, 100 orphans at least including both male and female, will be rescued from sickness and poverty, and be carefully brought up, and rendered happy and useful members of society.

'But by the return of all European children on this coast, it appears that there still remain upwards of 300 unprovided for. It is not to be supposed that so many can be maintained and educated by private subscription; but as the eyes of all people are now turned towards these real objects of charity, they will receive every assistance and support that can be expected from the generosity of individuals, and of course be in a great measure preserved from absolute want, until the Court of Directors have time to consider the advantages the Company will derive from the extension of this plan, and to send out the necessary orders for the making it both general and effectual.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In the second minute the Governor drew the attention of the Council to the benevolent sentiments contained in the Hon. Company's despatch of the 14th March 1786. 'They will derive satisfaction,' he said, 'from the progress made in raising a fund for the relief of female orphans, the children of British parents in this Presidency.' He then reminded them that individually the members of the Government and the bulk of the community at Madras had contributed to the fund; and he asked them to consider how far the Government was warranted in giving support, that is, in being charitable, at the expense of the Company without their special orders. He suggested that as the Nabob had been so liberal as to give the house, the garden and 1500 pagodas, the Government should bear the expense of the furniture; and that as the Company had ordered the expenditure of Rs. 89,687 for a similar purpose in Bengal, and the payment of Rs. 5 monthly for each child, they should recommend the Directors to make a similar grant at Madras. The Council [1] agreed to sanction the cost of furniture, and to appeal accordingly to the Directors.

The necessary letter was written [2] explaining what had been done, and asking for authority to give regular help. The Directors replied as follows [3]:—

'We approve of the scheme which has been set on foot at your Presidency for the relief of female orphans, and consent to the subscription of Rs. 5 a month each which you have made. . . . . But when the number of children, which now consists of 62, shall exceed 100, you are not to extend that subscription further without our previous consent. When this charity was first recommended to our approbation and support, it was under a supposition that it might not stand in need of pecuniary assistance from the Company. . . . . You must furnish us from time to time with an account of the private subscriptions, state of the fund, number of children, ages, complexion,' etc. . . . .

On the death of Breithaupt in 1782 the S.P.C.K. desired [4] Gericke to proceed to Madras and to assist Fabricius in the

[1] The members of Council were J. H. Casamajor and W. Petrie.
[2] Letter, 20 Sept. 1787, 3, 4. [3] Despatch, 4 March 1789, 42.
[4] Report for 1784, and Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 50.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

management of the Vepery mission; and they wrote to Fabricius to inform him of their wish. Gericke did not wish to go, and did not go at once.[1] When he was in Madras in 1783 he saw that Fabricius was getting into financial difficulties through mismanagement of the funds in his charge. Fabricius in his reply[2] referred the Society to Gericke himself as to whether he would join him or not. In 1787 this aged Missionary, who was engaged with his missionary work and his Tamil dictionary as long as he had his liberty, was imprisoned for debt by his principal creditor, a native money lender. In 1788 Gericke went to Madras to carry on the work; and having received the Society's property into his charge by a deed of resignation executed by Fabricius, he took up his permanent residence there. Gericke was well known to the Chaplains at Fort St. George, to the Government, and to many influential persons in Madras. His son held a commission in the Company's army. Soon after his arrival he was invited to become the Chaplain and Secretary of the Female Orphan Asylum, the foundation of which he had himself suggested; he accepted the offer and retained the appointment till his death, in 1803. When still at Negapatam in 1787 he maintained his interest in the development of the scheme; he included in his report to the S.P.C.K. for that year an account of what Lady Campbell had been able to accomplish; adding that her ladyship hoped for a similar institution for soldiers' sons.

The Government wrote in September 1787 recommending the Directors to grant Rs. 5 a child towards the expenses of the Asylum. Within six months of the despatch of this letter the Governors of the Asylum wrote to the Government,[3] asking for the same amount of assistance; pleading what the Court of Directors had done for the Orphan House at Bengal; trusting that the Government would not deem the amount too great for the charity, which had not hitherto cost the Hon.

[1] Report for 1786, and Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 53.
[2] Do. do. p. 53.
[3] Consultations, 4 March 1788. The Governors were Alex. Davidson, James Capper, Benj. Millingchamp, Richard Leslie, Charles Oakeley and J. du Pré Porcher—two military, two ecclesiastical and two civil—Porcher being treasurer.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Company anything; and asking for arrears from June 1787, the date when the school was opened, for 62 children. The Governor and Council resolved to advance the allowance applied for, having 'no doubt that the Hon. Court of Directors will confirm this monthly contribution.'

Beneath this entry in the Consultation Book are the names of the girls in the Asylum when the letter was written; from which it appears that 21 girls were taken in in June 1787, 30 in July and 9 in August. One of the girls taken in June was baptised in July at St. Mary's in the Fort. It is gratifying to be able to assume that the necessary enquiries were made; and that if there had been any other unbaptised children amongst them, they would have been baptised too. The baptising of soldiers' children in the various garrisons outside Madras fell largely to the share of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries. The private register books used by Schwartz and Pohle at Trichinopoly and Tanjore are still in existence. The fact that there was only one unbaptised child amongst the first 50 admitted is a testimony to the faithfulness with which the Missionaries discharged their duties.

A large sum of money, amounting to 34,578 pagodas, was in 1789 in the possession of the managers of the Asylum. They held the property without any legal authority; it was thought that their position as trustees should be emphasised. Lady Campbell therefore wrote [1] to the Governor and Council asking that the Governors of the Asylum might be formed into a fraternity,[2] and given authority to hold and administer the property, make rules etc. She also asked that the Directresses might be given authority to do what they had undertaken—to supervise the boarding, clothing and education of the children—to retain the pay and dismiss such domestic servants and teachers as they might think fit, independent of the Governors. Lady Campbell added, 'I am informed that your Honour etc. possess sufficient powers under the charter of the 8th Jan. 1753 to grant these authorities by an Ordinance or Law. I request therefore' etc.

The Government thereupon passed these three resolutions

[1] Consultations, 13 Jan. 1789. [2] Or Corporation.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

—the second one being a handsome though tardy recognition of the effort Lady Campbell had made between 1784 and 1787 to establish and endow the school.

'Resolved. 1. That Lady Campbell's letter be referred to the Attorney General for his opinion; and if it may be lawfully done, her request be complied with.

'2. That, as a mark of the approbation of Government and of the high sense they entertain of the obligations the public lie under to the great and successful exertions of Lady Campbell in this benevolent undertaking, she be declared perpetual patroness of the Asylum, and that the election of all other Governors be on her birthday, the 20th March.

'3. That on some convenient day after their election the Governors do elect the 12 Directresses, who with the Patroness shall have the exclusive management of everything relative to the diet, cloathing and education of the children, the appointment and dismissal of servants and teachers, and the appointment of their salaries or wages.'

Power was reserved to the Governors to apprentice the girls when necessary; and to the Government to visit and inspect. The number of girls at this time was stated to be 108.

The Attorney General, Benjamin Sulivan, gave his opinion[1] that the Governor and Council could by an Ordinance or Law incorporate the Governors as a fraternity provided it was approved by at least 13 of the Directors. He enclosed a draft ordinance 'for establishing and perpetuating' the Asylum. The Government resolved to send the draft to England for approval by the Directors; and to send a copy to Lady Campbell, with the unfeigned thanks of the Government on behalf of the Company. This resolution was sent to the Governors on the 31 Jan. 1789; their names were mentioned in the letter; the list shows two military officers, four civil and two ecclesiastical; so that the original list of 1787 which showed an equal number of each must have been more accidental than intentional.

The Government wrote to the Directors[2] and sent the opinion of the Attorney General; they also stated that their public thanks had been presented to Lady Campbell. In

[1] Consultations, 16 Jan. and 20 Jan. 1789.
[2] Letter, 6 Feb. 1789, 104–6, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

reply the Directors said[1] that they could not give their sanction to erect the society of Governors into a fraternity or corporation; as it was beyond the power given to the Company either by Charter or by Act of Parliament. But the Directors expressed their sympathy with the establishment, and said that it was not necessary that it should be any more than a private institution, like many of its kind in England which are not incorporated.

The Governors of the Asylum on the receipt of this decision professed themselves quite satisfied so long as the Government was. They wrote to the Government[2] and mentioned that they had erected additional buildings at the cost of 3000 pagodas; and they asked that the title deeds of the house, now called the Asylum, might be obtained from the Nabob and sent to them.

In 1790 the Fort St. George Government was again preparing for war. The ruler of Mysore, Tippoo Sultan, was fanatically hostile to the English Company; he stopped the expansion of trade, and treated his British prisoners with great cruelty and indignity; he attacked the Rajah of Travancore, the Company's ally, in 1790; this gave an excuse for a successful effort to alter the general condition of affairs. But before going on active service the soldiers had to consider what was to become of their children during their absence. They approached the Governors of the Asylum; and the Governors approached the Government; the Governors represented that there was room in the Asylum, and they asked for an allowance of Rs. 5 each for 150 girls instead of 100.[3] The Government resolved to grant the increase, and to recommend the Court of Directors to sanction it. Six months later they wrote home saying that they had acquiesced in the increase of the allowance from Rs. 500 to Rs. 750 a month, and asking the Directors to sanction it.[4] The Directors wrote as follows[5]:—

'Under the circumstances . . . we acquiesce . . . in the increase of Rs. 250 a month in the Company's subscription.

[1] Despatch, 19 May 1790, 55, Pub.
[2] Consultations, 20 Nov. 1789.
[3] Consultations, 26 March 1790.
[4] Letter, 18 Sept. 1790, 29, Pub.
[5] Despatch, 30 March 1791, 11, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

But we must again remind you that when this charity was first recommended to our approbation and support, it was under an idea that it might not stand in need of any pecuniary assistance from the Company. We therefore cannot give our consent to any further increase of expense on account of a charity which, according to its original institution was to be supported by the voluntary contributions of individuals.'

In the year 1800 the Lady Directresses asked,[1] through their secretary the Rev. C. W. Gericke, for an extension of the Company's bounty to 200 instead of 150 children, on account of the increase of applications through the late war.

The Government replied to the Directresses that owing to the positive orders of the Court they could not increase the allowance; but that they would strongly recommend the case to the Directors. This they did,[2] saying all that they could to influence the Directors in favour of the charity. But the Directors were not disposed to help; they postponed their reply for 1½ year and then said[3]:—

'In the present state of the Company's finances at your Presidency we do not think it proper to authorise any addition to be made to the subscription on the Company's account for the support of the Female Asylum of Rs. 750 a month. According to the original institution of this Asylum it was to have been supported by the voluntary contribution of individuals, and we are therefore surprised that the private donations for the year 1800 amounted only to 450 pagodas. In the 11th paragraph of our letter in the Public Department, dated the 30 March 1791, we desired to be informed, by an early opportunity whether any means had been used for increasing the number of subscribers to this institution; but we have not been advised from that time to the present of any steps having been taken to recommend it to the general encouragement of the community.'

At the beginning of 1803 the Government, sending the annual report of the Asylum to the Directors, again urged[4] the increase of the grant for 200 children. But the Directors, when at last they did reply, only replied as before.[5]

[1] Consultations, 25 Sept. 1800.
[2] Letter, 9 Oct. 1800, 121–3, Pub.
[3] Despatch, 16 June 1802, 41, Pub.
[4] Letter, 22 Feb. 1803, 26–28, Pub.
[5] Despatch, 27 June 1804, 71, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

There were subsequently several appeals and as many refusals.

On the death of Gericke in 1803, Dr. Rottler, one of the trustees under his will, took charge of the Vepery Mission. In September 1804 Paezold returned from Calcutta; Dr. Rottler gave up the charge to him, and retired from the mission bungalow, being content to assist him in the mission work whilst administering the funds of the mission. Whilst thus engaged he was requested by Lord and Lady William Bentinck to take up the offices at the Asylum vacated by Gericke.[1] He did so; and his acceptance was approved by the S.P.C.K. He did not at first take the service at the Asylum chapel, on account of his poor pronunciation of English; the service was taken by Mr. Ball, one of the Fort Chaplains. But when Mr. Ball returned to Trichinopoly, Dr. Rottler took upon himself the whole duty. During the 19th century the original connection between the Institution and the S.P.C.K. (and their successors the S.P.G.) Missionaries has been generally maintained.

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In 1785 Mr. John Sullivan represented the Fort St. George Government at the Court of the Rajah of Tanjore. Like others of the Company's servants who came under the influence of Schwartz he succumbed to it. He watched Schwartz at his work, pursuing his apostolic purpose by means of various methods, some political, some social and some educational. It was impossible not to see that the joint result of education and school discipline upon the native character was good. The teaching advocated by Boyle, Fell and Prideaux one hundred years before was to be carried on in the vernaculars. The clauses in 1698 charter which obliged the Company to promote and assist such teaching only contemplated a vernacular medium, English for the English, Portuguese for the Portuguese, and Tamil for the Tamils. John Sullivan went a step further, and advocated the establishment of English schools for all. As an official he

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 113, and S.P.C.K. Report for 1804.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

knew that, with a very few exceptions, the subjects of the Company only knew the aims, objects, intentions, feelings and policy of the Company through the distorted medium of self-seeking dubashes. If, he thought, the principal natives could learn the English language, they would be less exposed to the impositions and misrepresentations of those persons; dealings with them in every way, political, commercial and social would be facilitated; and there could not but be the very best results in the establishment of mutual understanding and confidence.

Sullivan opened his mind to Schwartz, who entirely approved of his plan, more especially as he added that if the schoolmasters should be of the right kind, they might by degrees instil into the minds of their pupils the salutary doctrines of the Gospel.[1]

The plan was laid before the Governor, Lord Macartney, and the Nabob, from whom it was necessary to get permission and financial assistance before an adequate beginning could be made. It was also laid before the Rajah of Tanjore, the ruler of the Maravar country at Ramnad, and the Zemindar of Shivagunga. All these were impressed with the undoubted advantage of the scheme, if it succeeded; and in order to promote its success the Zemindars of Ramnad and Shivagunga each promised 300 pagodas a year towards the expenses, and the Rajah of Tanjore promised 480 pagodas.

When the scheme was more exactly formulated it was laid before the Madras Council; they sent it to the Directors with a strong recommendation for monetary assistance. The Directors replied[2] that they had heard with pleasure of Mr. John Sullivan's scheme, and how he was assisted in his laudable undertaking by the zealous exertions of the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, and how he had established schools at Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivagunga, the capitals of the three Rajahs who assisted. They regretted that the scheme had been interrupted by war; and they declared their intention of contributing 250 pagodas a year for the upkeep of each of the

[1] S.P.C.K. Report for 1785, Letter from Schwartz; and Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, i. 426.

[2] Despatch, 16 Feb. 1787, 13, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

schools with a view to excite similar and more extensive benefactions from the native princes. They spoke of the institutions as 'calculated to establish mutual good faith, to enlighten the minds of the natives, to impress them with sentiments of esteem and respect for the British nation, and to make them acquainted with the leading features of our Government which are so favourable to the rights and happiness of mankind' etc.

Part of the plan of these schools as laid before the Government of Madras was that every year the Missionary at Tanjore or Trichinopoly should visit and inspect them; and that the Missionary who kept the accounts connected with them should give to the Government an exact account every year of the expenses.[1] He was to be paid his expenses out of the Fund contributed by the different native rulers; and if anything remained at the end of each year, it was to be appropriated to the free education and maintenance of soldiers' children and orphans.

Mr. J. C. Kohlhoff, son of the Missionary at Tranquebar, was appointed superintendent of the Tanjore English school; Mr. William Wheatley, son of Mr. J. Wheatley of Ramnad, was appointed the superintendent at Ramnad; and the Rev. C. Pohle of Trichinopoly was appointed to superintend the school at Shivagunga. This was in 1785. The schools were for the higher classes, not the lower. At Ramnad the Rajah himself sent his son for instruction. Wheatley was much trusted by Schwartz; and he deserved the confidence he enjoyed. The schools flourished for a short time only[2]; that at Tanjore lasted longer than the others. The times were unfavourable; they were too unsettled. The Government of Madras wrote to the Directors at the end of the year 1787[3] in reply to the despatch of the 16th February, saying that in order to forward effectually the Directors' views they had obtained from Schwartz all the information which his experience enabled him to give, together with a detail of the plan of education adopted in the schools under his management.

[1] S.P.C.K. Report for 1785, and Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, i. 429.
[2] S.P.C.K. Report for 1787. Letter from Gericke.
[3] Letter, 16 Oct. 1787, 17, 18.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

They reported that monthly advances had been made to him for these schools; and they added that if his endeavours proved unsuccessful, they should be convinced that the plan at that particular time was not feasible.

The S.P.C.K. heard of the opening of these schools with pleasure, more especially as they were managed by the most trusted of their Missionaries. But they were anxious in 1787 about the wisdom of trusting large funds to the care of even the best of their Missionaries. In Bengal Kiernander had lost the mission its property and even its Church. In Madras Fabricius, an even more devoted and talented Missionary, had been equally unfortunate in his investments. They therefore addressed a letter to the Directors asking them to appoint a Committee of their servants at the two Presidencies for the purpose of superintending the several schools which have been or may be established there for teaching the English language. They hoped that the Directors would take the financial management out of the hands of the Missionaries. The Directors considered the proposal, and at first agreed to comply with the recommendation; but before sending the despatch they changed their minds and expunged the paragraph.[1]

Owing to the unfavourable circumstances of the times the schools at Ramnad and Shivagunga had a precarious existence for a few years. The country in which they were was restored to the Nabob; the old system of oppression was resumed; and the country rulers were unable to continue their support.[2] In 1787 Schwartz reported to the Society the tolerable success of the Ramnad school; but regretted that circumstances prevented the establishment of others like it. The funds assigned for their support were diverted to other purposes, Mr. Sullivan reported, but he hoped that the schools would revive with the restoration of tranquillity.

Although these provincial schools were under the management of the Missionaries, Christianity was not expressly taught in them. No deceitful methods were used to bring the pupils to the knowledge of the doctrines of Christ; but it was the hope and expectation of Schwartz that their institution would

[1] Draft Despatch, 21 Nov. 1787, 4. [2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

have some indirect effect[1] upon those who were taught and trained in them.

In 1790 Schwartz with the consent and assistance of the Rajah opened a similar school at Combaconum, which is in the Tanjore territory between the capital and Tranquebar.[2] After 1790 no reference is found in the records of these schools. Those at Tanjore and Combaconum lived; whilst those at Ramnad and Shivagunga came to an end. The former were permanently endowed; the latter were not. That their establishment was undertaken at all at such an unsettled period is greatly to the credit of all concerned, including the Company. In trusting the Missionaries with their management the Company showed their appreciation of the work the Missionaries were doing, their confidence in their judgement, and their good will towards them.

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The origin of the Male Asylum may be traced to a despatch from the Court of Directors[3] in which they expressed approval of the plan established at Calcutta for the education of the orphan children of officers at that settlement, and recommended that it should be adopted at Madras. When the despatch arrived at Madras the community was engaged in the raising of money to establish the Female Asylum. It was therefore put aside for a time. A year later the Council discussed the matter and addressed a letter to the Ministers and Churchwardens, recommending them to call a vestry for the purpose of new modelling the plan of education hitherto followed at the Charity School belonging to the Church; they added this mysterious sentence,—'as we approve of the mode lately recommended in a letter addressed to the Governors of the Asylum,[4] which we think would equally tend to the advantage of the Company and the benefit of the children, we advise you to follow it as nearly as possible.'[5]

The Asylum was opened in June 1787. Dr. Andrew Bell arrived in the Rose the same month. It is hardly likely that he would have proffered his advice to the Governors on his arrival; more especially as in that month he had no intention

[1] Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*, ii. 131.
[2] S.P.C.K. *Life of Schwartz*, page 217.
[3] Despatch, 14 March 1786, 2.
[4] The Female Asylum.
[5] Consultations, 27 June 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of stopping at Madras. His destination was Calcutta. It is more likely that the letter came from Gericke, who had had experience at Cuddalore and Negapatam in the education, boarding and clothing of Eurasian girls, as well as boys. If he wrote a letter of advice, which the Government recognised to be sound, it may account for the office of Chaplain being pressed upon him by the Governor and Lady Campbell when he came to Madras a year later.

The letter of the Government concluded thus[1]:—

'As a provision is already made for the female orphans, and the funds of the Church will be thereby relieved from the expense of their maintenance, we presume the number of boys may be in proportion increased; but at all events, authorised by the orders of the Court of Directors, and naturally disposed to support such an humane and beneficial institution, we shall readily afford you every assistance in our power; and we doubt not but yourselves and the Vestry will unanimously concur in carrying this plan into execution without delay.'

A Vestry meeting was called, which concurred[2] with the Government in the opinion that such an institution was desirable; but they did not relish the suggestion that the St. Mary's Charity School should be remodelled in the way mentioned; they were unanimously of opinion that it would not be consistent with their duty to make any alteration, especially as it had 'done so well for the class of boys for whom it was intended.' They noticed that the Court of Directors had approved of the establishment of schools in various parts of the country for the instruction of natives in the English tongue, and were willing to be at the cost of the extra expense; and they added that they were sure the Directors would approve of the continuance of a school which had been teaching English so long, and that without expense to themselves. The Vestry took exception to the following passage in the letter to the Governors of the Asylum, to which the Governor and Council had referred:—'the gentlemen of the Vestry are recommended to trace the steps of the many unfortunate children that have been bred up at this school, and who seem

[1] Consultations, 27 June 1787. [2] Vestry Minutes, 4 July 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to have plunged into oblivion the instant they have been launched into life'; they were unanimously of opinion that the reflection was not deserved, and that it must have proceeded from a want of information; they felt bound to vindicate the reputation of the Rev. Incumbent[1] and others in charge of the School; at the same time they declared themselves to be heartily disposed to further the benevolent purpose in contemplation; they left it to the Ministers and Churchwardens to assist in the discussion and formation of a plan for the relief of the orphan and distressed male children of the military on the establishment of this Presidency; and they resolved to nominate a committee of 15 civil and military officers, including the Ministers and Churchwardens, to help in the determination of the business. The committee was entered in the Vestry proceedings as follows:—

Robert Maunsell Esq.	Charles Oakeley Esq.
Lt. Col. Ross, Chief Engr.	William Webb Esq.
Lt. Col. Sydenham, Artillery.	J. du Pré Porcher Esq.
Lt. Col. Moorhouse, Com. Gen.	Nathaniel Kindersley Esq.
Lt. Col. Malcolm, A.G.	Andrew Ross Esq.
Robert Hughes Esq.	

The Rev. Mr. Millingchamp } *Ministers.*
„ „ Mr. Leslie }
William Balfour Esq. } *Churchwardens.*
Thomas Cockburn Esq. }

Of these 15 persons it is interesting to observe that some were military officers, some were civil servants of the Company, and some were independent merchants. Mr. Kindersley was appointed honorary secretary of the Committee.

The Ministers and Churchwardens replied to the letter of the Government, and sent the resolution of the Vestry, adding that the Presiding member ('always supposed to be one of the Chaplains') should have a casting vote.[2] In a separate letter of the same date[2] they said:—

'As we think that little doubt can be entertained of the probability of the desired success, and from thence that a

[1] Benjamin Millingchamp. [2] Consultations, 9 July 1787.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

growing seminary of male orphans will soon be formed . . . . we should think ourselves deficient . . . . in our good will towards the intended institution, if we omitted to acquaint you that the Rev. Dr. Bell, a clergyman of respectable character, and who is known to be eminently qualified for such a duty, is lately arrived here, and would (we have reason to believe) be willing on your application to stay in the country with the prospect of being employed in superintending the education of the children agreeable to such plan as may be formed under your auspices.'

Dr. Bell was accordingly invited by the Government to stay at Madras, and consented. This was in July 1787. During the next six months he lived at the house of Mr. Andrew Ross, and became greatly indebted to him for much kindness, appreciation and friendship. It was evident that Dr. Bell could not remain at Madras without an income; and equally evident that he could not be appointed with a salary to superintend a school before the school had an existence. Means were found to endow him with a salary; in August he was made Chaplain to the Company's 4th European battalion at Arcot, and deputy Chaplain to the 19th Dragoons at the same place.[1] These appointments involved only occasional visits to Arcot; he lived at Madras; and he occupied his time in preparing and delivering a course of lectures on natural philosophy, and in assisting the Committee to prepare their school scheme. Whilst carrying out these purposes he gained the good will and confidence of all, including the Governor and Council; so that they wrote to the Directors and strongly recommended him for the first vacant chaplainship.[2] The whole community of Madras seem to have come to the conclusion that they had amongst them a clergyman of exceptional power and attainments; and that the best thing to be done was to make it worth his while to stay. He was therefore endowed in October 1787 with the deputy chaplainships of the 36th and 52nd Regiments (King's). These four appointments brought him 260 pagodas a month, and placed him (as far as pay was concerned) above the Presidency Chaplains. Besides this he profited largely from

[1] Southey's *Life of Bell*, vol. i. [2] Letter, 1 March 1788, 63, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

his courses of lectures. So that he was able in 1787 and 1788 to live without anxiety, and to give his assistance to the school Committee. In 1788 he was made deputy Chaplain to the 74th Regiment, and received an addition of 50 pagodas monthly to his pay. This was on his return from a short visit to Calcutta, whither he had gone by request to lecture. The Madras Government and the Madras community were determined to keep him if they could.

Between July 1787 and July 1789 the Committee met several times and perfected their plan. The Government assisted them by finding out officially how many boys on the coast were eligible for the charity. The number was found to be 230. They asked the Government to grant to them the Egmore redoubt and about 6 acres of land round it for their purpose; this was done. They asked for a grant similar to that given to the Female Asylum—that is, of Rs. 5 a month for every boy in the school up to 100; this was sanctioned. And before closing their preliminary labours they suggested the formation of the following permanent council:—

President. The Honourable the Governor.

Vice Presidents. The two members of Council and the Commander-in-Chief.

These with the two Chaplains and the two Churchwardens of St. Mary's were to be the Directors and Managers.

The following were to be called sub-directors:—

The Chief Secretary.	The Adj. General.	Mr. A Ross.
„ Mil. Secretary.	„ Quarter Mr. Gen.	„ W. Webb.
„ Chief Engineer.	„ Commissary Gen.	„ J. du P. Porcher.
„ Commandant R.A.	„ Town Major.	„ J. Cockburn.

When Bell was at Calcutta in 1788 Andrew Ross wrote to him begging him to return to take charge of the school, 'to which I have no manner of doubt you would be secure of being appointed, especially as I find Mr. Gericke would find such a situation to interfere with his own particular duties.'[1] He returned; but the committee was not ready to make any appointment. In July 1789 Millingchamp went on leave, and

[1] Southey's *Life of Bell*, vol. i. 142.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bell was appointed by the Government to succeed him as Junior Presidency Chaplain. Although he originally remained at Madras for the purpose of superintending the school at a salary, he now determined in view of his several clerical appointments to offer his services without pay. This he did through Mr. Andrew Ross; and his offer was gratefully accepted. When he became Presidency Chaplain, *ex officio* Director of the school and Superintendent, he found that the original Committee had completed their labours; that the school had its managing body; and that the Government was paying Rs. 5 a boy monthly for 100 boys.[1]

His first effort was to get a sub-committee appointed to draw up rules. It consisted of Lt. Col. Malcolm, Lt. Col. Moorhouse, William Webb, Andrew Ross, and himself. They abolished the distinction between directors and sub-directors; and also between the children of officers and others. They recommended a monthly committee of three to represent the Directors as a visiting and managing committee, one of the Chaplains or Churchwardens being always a member of it. They issued an appeal to the public. They decreed that the education was to be elementary—reading, writing, and arithmetic. They prescribed the boys' dress—shirt, trousers, and a coat for occasional use; and also the masters' pay—20 pagodas for one, 15 for another. They laid down the duty of the teachers and of the boys and of the paid officials. And they announced that the great object was 'to rescue the children of the soldiers from the degradation and depravity of that class to which the mothers mostly belonged.'[2] They then reported to Government what they had done, sending a copy of their regulations, of their subscriptions, and of their first balance sheet; which were duly forwarded to the Directors in London.[3]

The result of the appeal was that all ranks below field officers voluntarily gave two days' pay to the endowment fund. Field officers and General officers were not limited to two days' pay; they were left to give what they pleased, and doubtless gave more. Col. Floyd of the 19th Dragoons sent the pay of

[1] Letter, 6 Feb. 1789, 25-27, Mil. Despatch, 5 March 1790, 41, Mil.
[2] Southey's *Life of Bell*, vol. i. [3] Letter, 15 Jan. 1790, 47-49, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a suspended officer. Col. Brathwaite and other commanding officers sent the regimental fines for drunkenness. The military Board sent 2270 pagodas, which was prize money of former years unclaimed. After the Mysore war more unclaimed prize money was paid in, amounting to 14,000 pagodas. Financial fears were thus set at rest; and the numbers were increased from 100 to 150 in 1790, and to 200 in 1792.

When the increase to 200 was suggested at the end of 1791, the directors appealed to the Government to increase the Company's allowance. The very restrictive orders of the Court prevented a compliance with this request; but the Government expressed their hope that the liberality of individuals would enable the managers to effect their humane intentions[1]; and they recommended the Directors in their next letter home to grant the request. The Directors refused.[2] In 1802 the Male and Female Asylums petitioned the King for the unclaimed share of prize money connected with the capture of Ceylon, Amboyna and Banda. In the absence of any recorded reply it is probable their petition was granted.[3]

The system of education gradually worked out and employed by Dr. Bell at the Male Asylum is explained at length in his own book 'An Experiment in Education.' He did not bring it with him from either England or Scotland; nor did he learn it during his residence in the United States. He learned it from watching the system pursued in the village schools of the Carnatic. He travelled about in South India far more than his biographer was aware of. He was well known to the Danish Missionaries at Tranquebar. The letters which he received from C. S. John[4] exhibit a very intimate friendship between him and that Missionary's family. He visited Trichinopoly and Tanjore; and doubtless pursued his study of the native school system at those places with the colloquial help of Pohle and Schwartz. The system, which was afterwards known in England as the Bell system, or the Madras system, or the pupil-teacher system, may be briefly described as one in which the elder and more advanced

[1] Letter, 16 Jan. 1792, 96, 97, Mil.
[2] Despatch, 25 June 1793, 98, Mil.
[3] Letter, 17 Feb. 1802, 184, Mil.
[4] Southey's *Life of Bell*, vol. i.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

children taught the younger ones. Each class of boys had an equal number of teachers and taught; the best received charge of the worst, and so on. The teachers when promoted to the next higher class became the taught; and when the next promotion took place they again became teachers of the new comers. The system enabled the master to do without assistants; the only help he wanted was that of an usher. James Cordiner, who succeeded Bell as superintendent, was full of admiration for the system; he said 'it creates general activity and attention; it gives, as it were, to the master the hundred hands of Briareus, the hundred eyes of Argus, and the wings of Mercury.'[1] It is sufficient to say that the system is excellent so long as the education is only of an elementary character.

The buildings in which the boys lived and in which the education was carried on consisted of three large open sheds, whose roofs of bamboo and tiles were supported by wooden pillars.[1] The old Egmore redoubt was an inclosure 100 feet square. The buildings inside were pulled down on the north, south and east sides. On the west side a substantial house was built for the Superintendent, the west wall of the redoubt being used as the foundation of the west wall of the house.

The Government and the directors of the school watched with great interest and appreciation the success of the system employed. Dr. Bell had won their confidence, and they gave him a free hand. In 1793 when they sent home to the Directors the annual report of the school, they added 'Dr. Bell, who superintends it, has by his zeal and attention deserved particular approbation'[2]; and they repeated their former request for an increase of the Company's grant. The Directors again refused; they said[3]:—

'We have read the letter from the Directors of the Male Orphan Asylum, but do not think it expedient to comply with the request it contains for any further extension of the Company's bounty in support of that institution.'

A year later the Government, in forwarding the report of the school for 1793 again strongly recommended the institution

[1] Cordiner's *Voyage to India*. [2] Letter, 30 Jan. 1793, 77, 78 Mil.
[3] Despatch, 21 May 1794, 34, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to the Court's countenance and further aid, 'without which it cannot be sufficiently extended'; and they again spoke of the zeal, ability and success with which Dr. Bell had gratuitously conducted for more than four years the Male Orphan Asylum.[1]

A year later the application for further help was renewed[2]; but the application only met with another refusal.

These constant refusals obliged the European residents in Madras, official and non-official, to consider what means they could employ to raise the necessary amount of money for the support of the boys. In 1795 there were 250 sons of soldiers, mostly orphans, in the school. The estimated cost of each boy was Rs. 10 a month; the Company in paying Rs. 5 a month for 100 boys may be regarded as paying the entire cost of 50 boys. So that the remaining 200 had to be provided for out of the income of the endowment locally provided, and the local subscriptions. It is greatly to the credit of all concerned that no suggestion was made to turn a certain number of the boys adrift. Instead of this the community looked round for a means of raising the money required. There existed at that period in all the Company's settlements systems of short cuts to wealth by means of lotteries. In these all joined—Europeans, Armenians, Mussulmans and Hindus; there was no principle involved from which any section of the native community need upon the ground of their religion stand aloof. The attractive power was the hope of gain, and it attracted all alike. The European community in 1795 began to ask themselves why they should not adopt this means of raising money for the benefit of the Male Asylum. Of course it must be done in a business-like way, and be managed by business people of standing. The scheme was elaborated by representatives of nine of the principal firms of merchants in Madras; and when they had completed the scheme they wrote a joint letter to the Government asking permission to advertise the lottery, from the profits of which it is 'our intention to appropriate 2000 pagodas for the benefit of the Male Asylum.'[3] There can be no doubt that the Government was in favour of the scheme; but they hesitated

[1] Letter, 18 Feb. 1794, 46 and 110, Mil. [2] Letter, 4 March 1795, 84, Mil.
[3] Consultations, 20 Feb. 1795.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

about licensing a lottery in the cause of charity for want of a precedent. Neither they nor any one else had ever heard of such a thing. They knew of lotteries in connection with great public schemes of colonisation, town improvements, harbour making, and national profit. And so before the scheme was finally sanctioned and advertised there was tacked on it the responsibility of repairing the Madras roads as well as the obligation of assisting the Male Asylum.

As soon as 'the Road and Asylum lottery' was established the appeals to the Directors ceased. It answered its purpose; and that so well, that when the Madras Government, on account of the mismanagement and scandals connected with them, prohibited lotteries in general,[1] it excepted the Road and Asylum lottery on the ground of its public utility, and on condition of a progressive report being furnished of the disposal of the produce.

The Government Finance Committee reported in 1805 on the management of it, and recommended that in future it should be managed partly officially and partly unofficially, that is, by six commissioners, three being Company's servants and three free merchants. These were to appoint an agent at a regular salary to do the work, and to decide year by year the proportion of profit to be given to the Asylum, and to be spent on roads. When this change took place it was found that between 1795 and 1805 fourteen lacs of pagodas had been raised, thirteen lacs given in prizes, and one lac distributed as follows[2]:—

Roads	Pagodas	56,393
Bridges	„	16,236
Male Asylum	„	6,500
Female Asylum	„	2,500
Native Hospital established by Asst. Surg. John Underwood in 1796	„	3,500
The Black Town Chapel	„	1,750
Donations in aid of the mother country	„	5,450
Expenses	„	7,650

In 1808 the Governor in Council resolved that henceforth $\frac{3}{7}$ths of the proceeds should be devoted to charity instead

[1] Letter, 22 Jan. 1800, 50–52, Pub. Despatch, 18 March 1801, Pub.
[2] Government Record Office, Fort St. George.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of $\frac{1}{7}$th as hitherto. The managers of the lottery thereupon submitted their sentiments on the best way of distributing that amount. They proposed three charities only:—

Male Asylum	5-7ths
Native Poor Fund	1-7th
Native Hospital	1-7th

and this recommendation was approved by the Government.[1]

In January 1815[2] another calculation was made as to grants from the lottery fund since January 1808.

Roads	Pagodas	1,11,676
Male and Female Asylums	„	20,144
Native Hospital	„	1,578
Native Poor Fund	„	789
Native Infirmary	„	3,126
Police Establishment	„	7,885
The Cornwallis Cenotaph	„	9,503
The Cornwallis Statue	„	2,500
Marmelong Bridge	„	1,930
The new Church (St. George's)	„	46,882

The total of these is two lacs and six thousand rupees. Of the total the Asylums received about $\frac{1}{10}$th.

In 1844 the lottery was abolished, and its records placed in the Record Office.[3] How the Asylum fared after that date is a matter for future consideration.

Although the education at the Asylum was officially elementary, it went further than reading, writing and arithmetic in the case of those boys who were able to learn. Dr. Bell was too zealous and enthusiastic in the cause of the education of youth for it not to have been so. He even gave the boys lectures in natural philosophy, and explained the use of his scientific machines. The consequence was that the brighter and more clever boys were well informed, and were capable of taking a good position in the public offices. To Captain Read, the commandant and collector of Baramahal, is due the credit of taking the boys and educating them in the Revenue department as intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled.[4] His experiment turned out a great success.

[1] E.M.C. 18 Nov. 1808, No. 1343, Pub. [2] E.M.C. 10 Jan. 1815, Pub.
[3] E.M.C. 5 March 1844, No. 204, and 30 July 1844, Pub.
[4] Southey's *Life of Bell*, vol. i.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The reputation of the boys extended also to Ceylon. For in 1798 the Governor of Ceylon wrote to the Governor of Fort St. George,[1] and requested that two boys of the Male Asylum might be sent to Colombo to act as ushers in a school he was about to establish. He offered them 50 and 40 pagodas pay.

Dr. Bell's health began to give way in 1795; the sun affected him in the way so common among Europeans. He obtained a medical certificate and leave to Europe in January 1796; but it was not till August that he was able to set sail for home. On the 13th January the Directors of the Asylum met, and passed the following resolutions.[2]

1. That under the immediate care and superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Bell, and the wise and judicious regulations which he has established for the education of the boys, this institution has been brought to a degree of perfection and promising utility far exceeding what the most sanguine hopes could have suggested at the time of its establishment. That therefore the Rev. Dr. Bell is entitled to the fullest approbation of this meeting for his zealous and disinterested conduct in the execution of so difficult a charge since the commencement of the school; and that he be accordingly requested to accept their best thanks, which the secretary is desired to communicate to the Rev. Dr. Bell.

2. That the Directors of this charity take it upon themselves to provide a convenient passage for Dr. Bell to Europe in any ship he may wish to go by.

The Directors also empowered him to choose a master in England, whom they undertook to pay at the rate of £200 a year, and to give £120 for outfit. Dr. Bell chose James Cordiner, who arrived at Madras in June 1798. Cordiner only remained at the Asylum 11 months; he then went to Ceylon; and the superintendence of the Male Asylum was given to R. H. Kerr, who held it till his death, in 1808.

[1] Consultations, 9 Jan. 1799.

[2] Southey's *Life of Bell*, vol. i.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ST. MARY'S VESTRY

In the Record Room at Fort St. George are seven old books containing the manuscript proceedings of the Vestry from 1736 to 1805. Three are volumes of Vestry proceedings; one of Special Vestry proceedings; two are cash books; and one is an acquittance book. The oldest of these is one of the cash books; in it are copied the monthly balanced accounts of the Church Cash from 1736 to 1740. The next in point of age is the acquittance book, which contains signed receipts for sums of money paid out between 1739 and 1753. The second cash book contains the monthly balanced accounts of the St. Mary's Church Fund—the amalgamated Church and School Stocks—between 1768 and 1772. The Vestry proceedings are recorded in vol. i. between 1749 and 1785; in vol. ii. between 1785 and 1799; in vol. iii. between 1799 and 1805 with a few stray entries up to 1809; and in vol. iv. are the proceedings of the Special Vestry between 1803 and 1805.

All the early Vestry records except these have been lost or destroyed. There is a note on the first page of the first Minute book, written presumably in 1749 when the book was commenced, to this effect,—

'N.B. The minutes of the Vestry prior to this date appear to have been lost at the capture of Madras by the French under La Bourdonais in 1746.'

On one of the fly leaves of the same book there is the following list of the 'Clerks to the Vestry of St. Mary's Parish, Fort St. George.'

1739 Joseph Fowke . . . Salary Pags. 2.18 per month and an annual gratuity of Pags. 25 for balancing the Church Books.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1740	George Pigot.	
1750	Thomas Pelling.	
1752	Henry Brooke.	
1753	John Smith.	
1756	William Aldersey.	
1761	Richard Lathom.	
1767	George Scott.	
1768	William Harcourt Torriano.	
1777	Henry Michell. . . .	This year the salary was raised to Pags. 10 per month, and the annual allowance discontinued.
—	Charles Casimere. . .	The date of this appointment is not given.
1792	Alexander Falconar.	
1793	William Augustus Torriano.	
1796	Charles Oram.	
1798	The Rev. James Cordiner .	Salary increased to Pags. 20 monthly.
1799	John Gordon.	
1802	Richard C. Sherwood.	

It will be observed that all the Clerks were merchants in the Company's service except Cordiner, who was head master of the Male Asylum, and Sherwood, who was a Surgeon in the service. The local importance of the persons holding the appointment show the importance attached to it by the Vestry; this was hardly shown by the salary attached to it in the early days. The duty of the Vestry clerk, who must not be confused with the Church clerk, was to record the minutes of the Vestry meetings, to draft the letters, to keep a record of all receipts and payments of money and to balance the accounts monthly. The Ministers and Churchwardens were the executive committee of the Vestry. They received and spent the funds and gave their annual account to the Vestry when it met.

The principal work of the Vestry and its executive committee was the care of the Church and its furniture, the care of the Church Lodgings in which the Senior Chaplain lived, of the school building, of the houses which belonged to the Church, and of the St. Mary's burial ground; they were responsible for the payment of the Church and school officials; and they were the holders in trust of a fund for parish and educational purposes which prospered and grew enormously under their careful management.

At the end of the 17th century the Directors wrote to their President and Council of Fort St. George and deprecated

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their undertaking, either with or without request, the work of administering estates of deceased persons, or of acting as trustees of testamentary property, or as guardians of orphan children. They objected apparently on the ground that if they once began that kind of work, it would eventually take up too much of their time and attention; and they reminded the President and Council that the work could be very well done by the Vestry of St. Mary's. Thus it happened that the Vestry became the public and official trustees for such persons as desired their services, to whom they could leave money and property in trust for the education and benefit of their orphan children. The estate was of course charged for the work done; and the charge was credited to the Church Fund. This was one way by which the Fund was increased. The trustees took charge of whatever each testator left, deducted year by year the cost of feeding, clothing and educating the children; and when the children were of age, they gave them the balance in favour of the estate, together with 5 per cent. interest for the time they had been trustees. They profited in this way; as long as the property was in their hands they made use of it, and were able to earn without much risk a higher percentage. The profit was credited to the Fund.

Two of the early Chaplains, Stevenson and Long, foresaw difficulties and risks to the Church Stock through the Ministers and Churchwardens thus acting as bankers and official trustees, even under the authority of the Government. William Stevenson addressed a letter to the President and Council,[1] and represented in his own name without the concurrence of his colleagues, Charles Long and the Churchwardens, 'several inconveniences which he is apprehensive may happen to the Church's stock by the Ministers and Churchwardens acting as executors to the estate of the deceased widow Mary Fleetwood in particular, and all other trusts in general.'

The Council referred the matter to the Vestry; the Vestry proceedings of this period do not exist; but as the system was continued, it must be assumed that the Vestry was willing to take all risks; and that the foundation of their decision rested upon the fact that the work was imposed upon them

[1] Consultations, 25 Feb. 1714–5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

by the Directors of the Company and by the local Government who would help them out of any difficulties, if any arose.

Four years later, after the retirement of Stevenson, Charles Long wrote to the Governor and Council,[1] declining to take up the office of administrator of another estate. He pleaded that none of his predecessors had undertaken any such business except in the case of Church orphans; and that such business included the risk of law suits which might involve the Church Stock. He added:—

'What most deters me from acting in this gentleman's affairs in particular is that I see you gentlemen, who are so well versed in business, so cautiously decline it; and therefore I have determined absolutely to refuse it in this and in all other cases of a like nature.'

This refusal was vexatious to the local Government; for they and the whole settlement had come to look upon the Ministers and Churchwardens as in duty bound to do what they had been doing, by regular appointment, so long and so well. The President and members of Council declined the work because the Directors, their masters, had ordered them to do so. There can be no doubt that they would have protected the Ministers and Churchwardens—and the Church Stock too—from loss, so long as the Ministers and Churchwardens acted correctly and within the limits of their commission. It is possible that these two Chaplains may have foreseen a change in existing conditions—the coming of a time when the Governor would be no longer the chief magistrate and judicial authority; the advent of a High Court with judicial independence in its own sphere, when the Government would not be able to protect either the Church Stock or the trustees. And as all this happened afterwards, they were probably justified in the line they took. At the time, however, their caution seemed unnecessary; and the action of Mr. Charles Long was esteemed disagreeable. There can be hardly any doubt that when, six months later, it became necessary to send one of the Chaplains to Fort St. David, his attitude with regard to this matter had something to do with their choice of Long, the senior, rather than of

[1] Consultations, July 1719.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Thomas Wendey the junior Chaplain, who had quite recently arrived.

Thirty seven years after Charles Long refused to have a part in administering trusts which had no connection with orphans—that is, in 1756—Peter Uscan the wealthy Armenian merchant died, and was buried in the Church he built at Vepery. He left a lengthy will disposing of his property, and directing his executors (two Armenians) how to deal with it. Two of the clauses were as follows :—

'Vers 34. They shall leave in secure hands or shall let it to the English Church at Madras at land interest the sum of Pags. 1000, and they shall add the interest thereof, let it amount to what it will, every year to the said principal sum, and out of the income of the said sum they shall repair the bridge that I built upon the river at St. Thomas' Mount, when it requires it, and also the stairs of St. Thomas' Great Mount, both which they shall repair out of the income of the said sum alone, and the principal shall always remain whole; and as I built the said bridge and stairs out of the money which I got by my own industry and pains, for the sake of the love and glory of God, and for the sake of our people, for which reasons they must take particular care that the said bridge and stairs shall stand firm; and the said bridge and stairs cost me the sum of Pags. 12,000, for which reason I must insist upon it, that they take particular care of them for the sake and the love of God; and the said sum is Pags. 1000.

'Vers 35. They shall also leave in secure interest at land interest the sum of Pags. 300, that out of the interest of said sum they shall pay Pag. 1 a month to the person that will live in the house which I built near the bridge. I also built on the other side of the said bridge a choultry, wherein a poor man lodges, to whom they shall also give Pag. 1 per month out of the said interest money, who also shall take care of the said bridge; and with the remainder of the said interest they shall defray the charges of the repairs of the said house and choultry, which shall stand firm for the use of the passengers over the said bridge; and my executors shall take care to follow my said directions without fail for the sake of the love of God; and the said sum is Pags. 300.'

In a codicil the testator increased the sum mentioned in verse 34 to Pags. 1200.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF INDIA

His intention was perfectly plain; he left to his executors the sum of Pags. 1500 with liberty to invest it in some safe security—the Church Fund if they pleased—and directed them to apply the interest and that only to the purpose specified. The executors were unwilling to undertake this trust. They expressed their unwillingness to some members of the Vestry; they thought that the trust could be carried out better by a permanent body like the Vestry than by themselves; and they asked that the money might be received into their Stock at the usual interest. The application came before a Vestry meeting on the 2 January 1757, when there were present the Hon. George Pigot, Esquire, President and Governor, Messrs. John Smith (member of Council), Henry Van Sittart (member of Council and afterwards Governor of Bengal), William Percival, George Mackay, and the Rev. Mr. Robert Palk (Minister, and afterwards Governor of Fort St. George). The following resolution was passed:—

'It is agreed that the legacy left by Petrus Uscan of Pags. 1500 be taken into the Church Stock at the usual interest of 5 per cent., and that the interest thereof be laid out agreeable to the annexed extracts of his will; that the Paymaster of Fort St. George receive the interest, and make the proper repairs, giving an account annually of the same to the Vestry, John Smith Esquire the present Paymaster offering his service for that purpose. In case the interest, as the principal is to remain entire, should be deficient for the purposes it was intended, the Vestry are of opinion that an advance from the Church Stock to supply such deficiency will always be granted.'

Within a short time the intention of the Vestry ceased to be carried out: that is, the regular payment of the annual interest to the paymaster, leaving him responsible for carrying out the conditions of the will. As soon as the Vestry undertook the payment of the bridge-keeper, and the repairs of the bridge, the choultry, and house, they took the whole responsibility upon themselves. For nearly fifty years they carried on the trust, doing repairs when necessary, and doing them well, but never expending the full sum which had to be spent.

In the last decade of the 18th century the Vestry found

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

some difficulty in getting out the money of the Church Fund on what they considered advantageous terms. In order to get the interest they required they seem to have lent two large sums to local European firms on insufficient security. In early days no security was accepted except house property within the walls of the Fort; and no money was lent except to Europeans who could give ample security. The 1797 accounts show that Pags. 57,000 were out at interest, of which Pags. 38,000 were lent to Europeans and the rest to Eurasian and native merchants. In May of that year a bond entered into with one of the young European free merchants became due, and he was unable either to meet it or to pay the interest on it.[1] In the following year the Vestry called upon him to discharge the debt or reduce it by one-third,[2] threatening such measures as should be found necessary. In May 1799 the Vestry went into the subject of their investments; they resolved to invest the whole of the Church Fund in the Company's treasury,[3] and to give notice to borrowers that the Church money would be required at maturity for that purpose. In August of the same year they authorised the senior Churchwarden to demand immediate payment of their loan from the young merchant above mentioned, whose debt amounted to nearly Pags. 10,000. The debt was reduced by a quarter and no further resolutions were passed till the end of the year 1800, when the Vestry decided to adhere to their former resolution to place all their funds in the Government treasury. A month later[4] they experienced a fresh difficulty in the inability of an important European firm to pay off a mortgage bond of Pags. 17,000; and it was decided to accept four quarterly payments with interest. The accounts for the year 1800 show that the Vestry had Pags. 59,300 invested; of this amount Pags. 32,300 were in the Company's 8 per cent. bonds; and the remaining Pags. 27,000 were in a risky and uncertain position. The Vestry was forbearing in both cases, and granted a year longer to each of the firms, with easy conditions[5]; the larger loan was repaid before the end of the

[1] Vestry Proceedings, 14 Sept. 1797. [2] Do. 5 July 1798 and 4 Oct. 1798.
[3] The local Government was then giving 12 per cent. for its loans.
[4] Vestry Proceedings, 31 Dec. 1800. [5] Do. 17 June 1801.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

year; and the smaller one was further secured; but it ended in a law suit in 1804.

The general result to be noticed for the present purpose was the ill feeling created in the Settlement by the seven years' financial strife between the Vestry and their debtors. The strife was due to the ill management of the Vestry. Loans ought not to have been made to anyone without full security. A loan at high interest without such security was a speculation with trust money—a wrong action which brought about the ruin of a young merchant and helped to bring about the ruin of the Vestry itself.

When Dr. Kerr returned from leave in October 1803 he set to work to elaborate a scheme for the establishment of a general native workhouse with the money of the Church Fund. He presented his scheme to the Vestry in October 1804, and it was approved. The Government also approved of it. A site was chosen; a committee of 12 appointed; but there was a small minority which did not approve of the Vestry and its proceedings. There were ample funds for doing something really useful for the Europeans and British Eurasians of Madras; it was for them that the fund was originally raised and subsequently increased; if it was not to be spent for them, it was open to the minority to suggest how it should be spent; and a suggestion was made by one of the very men who had been alienated by the financial actions of the Vestry. Mr. B. Roebuck submitted a plan for widening the Marmelong Bridge at a cost of about Pags. 3000 out of the accumulated interest on Petrus Uscan's legacy. The consideration of the question was postponed for a week to enable the Churchwardens to prepare a statement showing all past expenditure on the bridge.

On the 28th November 1804 thirty-four residents attended the adjourned Vestry meeting. Mr. Alexander Cockburn,[1] the Senior Churchwarden, delivered a statement showing that in 48 years the annual interest received had been Pags. 3600; and that the total of payments for repairs and allowances had been Pags. 2294; so that the trustees had in hand Pags. 1306 for expenditure.

[1] A free merchant.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Mr. Roebuck was not satisfied with this statement; he proposed that the Advocate General, Mr. Anstruther, should be consulted as to the mode of applying to the High Court to ascertain what funds belonged to the bridge, and if they could be used for widening the bridge; and he carried his motion by 23 votes to 11. A minute of dissent by Dr. Kerr was read and inserted in the proceedings; he pleaded that the Bridge Fund was part of the Church Fund, and that the surplus interest had been incorporated in that fund and expended in poor relief; he pleaded that money left for repair could not be used for widening or for any other purpose except repair.

The case presented to the Advocate General and Mr. Herbert Compton for their opinion recited the facts of the case, stated that the executors had died without leaving personal representatives to act in the trust, and asked advice as to what legal steps should be taken to supply the place of the executors and to carry on the trust; in it also was mentioned that some of the inhabitants had demanded a sum of money out of the trust for the purpose of improving the bridge.

On the 12th December 1804 a Vestry meeting assembled, at which 18 inhabitants were present, to hear the following opinion of Counsel read:—

'Very likely the executors did mean to convey to the Church officials the trust with its terms; and very likely the Church officials did mean to accept the money as a trust and to observe its terms; but such action was wholly illegal; the resignation of the trust on the one side and the acceptance of it on the other are equally void.

'A Court of equity watches over the administration of all public charities; if the Court were to find that this charity had got into the wrong hands, not entitled to hold it, the Court would direct it to be paid over to trustees appointed by the Court for that purpose. . . . . We have no doubt the Court would take into its own hands the future care and direction of the charity. . . . .

'Trustees or persons acting as trustees can never legally exercise any discretion in deviating from the declared object of the trust; and so they cannot apply to improvement the money held for repairs. But the Court may use its discretion in that way' etc. etc.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

After the reading of the opinion Dr. Kerr proposed that before coming to any decision all the papers connected with the bridge should be printed and circulated. But before taking the vote he read the paragraph from Burn's Ecclesiastical Law stating who were qualified to vote at Vestry meetings, namely those who paid the Church rates; and as he himself was the person to see that this provision of the Common Law was observed, he pointed out that no persons had any power to decide any parish question except those who contributed to the parish funds.

Under this ruling 9 gentlemen left the room, including Benjamin Roebuck, George Westcott, and two lawyers Light and Disney.

On the 3rd January 1805 thirty-three inhabitants assembled for another Vestry meeting. Kerr and Vaughan, the two Chaplains, were present. The meeting commenced by voting Mr. Alexander Cockburn to the chair by a majority of three votes. Then Mr. Roebuck delivered a minute explaining the motive of himself and others in retiring from the last Vestry meeting, which was in consequence of the doctrine held forth by Dr. Kerr, declaring that he was the regulator of the assembly and had a right to decide who were entitled to vote; stating that he held in his hand a case submitted to counsel and an opinion on the above question; and asking that his minute, the case, and the opinion, might be entered on the proceedings. This was agreed to.

The following is an epitome of the case put before the Advocate General by Messieurs G. Westcott and B. Roebuck:— First, it sets forth the object of the charity funds, then amounting to about Pags. 80,000.[1] The Peter Uscan charity is one fund; other sums have been given or devised for specific purposes, such as the European poor, Native poor, school etc. All are now clubbed together and form the Church Fund. Then,

'This fund has hitherto been under the management of the British inhabitants of Madras assembled as a vestry; and under their directions has been in charge of the Senior

[1] Native Poor Fund Pags. 20,000; Church School and Bridge Fund about Pags. 60,000.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chaplain and the two Churchwardens. At these vestries the senior Chaplain has presided; the Churchwardens have been generally nominated by him, and appointed accordingly.

'A question has arisen who has the right to vote at these meetings. Dr. Kerr would limit the right to those who subscribe a pagoda monthly to a charity fund 2½ years old for the relief of the poor, which is quite a voluntary action on any one's part.

'Your opinion is therefore desired as to—

'i. Who has the right to vote at these meetings which are assumed to be vestry meetings, and to elect the officers who have styled themselves Churchwardens?

'ii. Who has the right to preside at such meetings, there being no parish either by custom, prescription, or otherwise, and of course no Rector or Vicar?

'iii. Whether Dr. Kerr is to be considered at such meetings in any other light than a private individual composing [*sic*] the British inhabitants of the settlement?

'iv. What steps you would advise to be taken at the next meeting by the person who under the above ruling of Dr. Kerr may be refused the liberty of voting?

'v. Whether the proposed limitation of persons to be allowed to vote at the vestry respecting the charity funds be legal; or in what description of persons is the legal right of disposing of these several charities, or of the aggregate charity fund, vested?

'vi. What steps would you advise for the further arrangement and regulation of these funds?'

In presenting the case there was one statement calculated to mislead, and it actually misled the Advocate General and affected his opinion. It was that the Fund had hitherto been under the management of the British inhabitants of Madras. This gave the impression that the money was given or devised to the British inhabitants of Madras. As a matter of fact all the gifts and bequests were made to the Ministers and Churchwardens, who from the time the Church was built were recognised by the local Government and by the Directors to be the best persons under the peculiar circumstances of the settlement to hold the Charity monies in trust. The Directors of the Company themselves arranged that the Ministers and Churchwardens should be the trustees of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

devised property and the guardians of orphan children rather than that the local Government should have that work to do in addition to their own.

If the early records had been known in 1805 as well as they are known now, it would have been realised that there were two questions involved in the case, one a very important one, and one of inferior moment. The latter was as to who could vote at a vestry meeting; a matter easily settled; for though no law applied to the case there was a custom of 125 years' standing. It was the custom to summon all British—not Eurasian nor Native Christian—all British householders to these meetings, civil servants of the Company, military officers of the Company and of the King, and the free merchants as well. All who were present had a voice in the proceedings, and a vote too if necessary. Dr. Kerr made a mistake.

The former and the more important question was the status of the Ministers and Churchwardens as trustees of property, and the authority under which they acted and had acted as such. Their authority was derived from the East India Company and from the local Government, not from English ecclesiastical law; it was good in itself, and sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended. It was the Government which gave them authority to hold property for Church and School; it was the Government which sanctioned their taking into their stock the Bridge money; it was the Government which gave them authority to act as executors, trustees, and guardians. All this was forgotten; and something more too; for the local Government of 1804, when it expressed its approval of Dr. Kerr's scheme for a Native Workhouse, forgot that its paramount duty was to see that the trustees of its own choice carried out precisely the exact objects of the various trusts.

The following was the opinion of the Advocate General:—

'It is useless to discuss the rights of parishes or of Ministers here. We have neither parish, Minister, Churchwardens nor vestry. The inhabitants of every town are of common right entitled to assemble and regulate their general public concerns as to Church, public roads and the like; and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in such meetings the majority of voices alone determines. In Madras, whether such meeting of inhabitants take the name of a vestry or not, all have an equal right to vote; the majority may not exclude any one.

'The inhabitants are the trustees of the funds left for the good of the parish. Under such gifts every inhabitant has an equal right to vote as a trustee, and cannot be deprived of it, nor clogged with conditions in the exercise of it. If the majority reject a vote, their action is liable to be set aside by a Court of law at their personal cost.

'I therefore advise that those affected by the proposed limitation tender their votes at the next meeting; if they are refused, there will be ground for an application to the Court, of which I cannot doubt the success, unless neither those claiming to vote, nor those who manage the funds, have in law no right over them.

'It is impossible that a charity fund of this extent can be allowed by the Court to continue in hands not claiming under any existing grant, nor defined by uniform and legal practice, but varying from time to time, and therefore uncertain in their description. The mode in which the managers of the Church fund have consolidated with it the charity money of Petrus Uscan does not raise any strong presumption in favour of their title to the other branches of this aggregate fund.

'Supposing that all the grants were traceable, and their purpose clearly known, I think that they would be void as to the trustees for indefiniteness, and that it would be for a Court of equity to appoint new trustees—assuming that the original grants were to the inhabitants or the European inhabitants of Madras.

'Grants to an indefinite number of persons such as the inhabitants of a town are void in law, whether the grants be for themselves or in trust for others. The objection rises from the total want of certainty in the succession, and therefore in the description of persons to take under such grants.

'If therefore these funds come under the cognizance of the Court, I am of opinion that they will be placed in the hands of trustees appointed by the Court.

'Any of the inhabitants may, as relator, bring it before the Courts.

'But as the funds seem to have been administered to the satisfaction of all concerned until now, I hope that upon a little cool reflection all parties may see the propriety of laying aside their differences, and arranging the concern of these charities by general consent.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

When these three documents had been read, Mr. George Westcott moved that the whole circumstances of the Uscan legacy be laid before the Supreme Court, and the Court's directions taken. This was seconded by Mr. B. Roebuck and carried, after the previous question had been moved, seconded and lost.

The Church Fund accounts for 1805 were as follows. Amount invested Pags. 56,642:

	Pags.		Pags.
Balance at beginning of year	5,573	School	2,147
Interest	4,766	Church	1,176
Church Collections	943	Poor relief	2,093
Cemetery fees	110	Bridge repair	58
Sunday boat hire	359	Sundries	210
Poor Fund subscriptions	953		5,674
Sundries	218	Credit Balance	7,248
	12,922		12,922

The two Churchwardens and the two sidesmen were elected as a committee to manage the suit in Chancery; they were Mr. W. D. Brodie, Mr. J. Baker, Mr. J. Tulloh and Mr. George Arbuthnot.

On the 13th November 1805 another Vestry meeting was held to report the result of the suit. Dr. Kerr pleaded urgent business and excused himself from attendance; Mr. W. D. Brodie had left Madras; but there were present the junior Chaplain, the junior Churchwarden, the two sidesmen, and eleven other gentlemen. Mr. George Westcott reported that the Judge had directed the payment of the Peter Uscan money into Court, together with 5 per cent. interest since it was deposited as a trust and accepted by the Vestry, the whole amount being Pags. 8780.[1] The expenses of the suit were ordered to be paid by the Churchwardens out of the Church Fund on the motion of Mr. B. Roebuck the Chairman.

There could have been no other result of the friendly suit. Through want of knowledge of the facts of the case it was put before the Court in the wrong way; the British inhabitants meeting in vestry were of course not competent to hold the trust funds; nor had they ever held them; the

[1] The calculation was made by finding the compound interest on Pags. 1500 for 47 years, making deductions year by year for the expenses.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

persons authorised to hold them were the Ministers and Churchwardens; in law they were not competent, being neither a corporation nor a body of statutable trustees; but they had been authorised by the Government, the highest local authority, to hold the legacy in trust; if they had known this, and could have pleaded it, probably the Church Fund would have been saved the compound interest penalty.

A fortnight later, on the 27th November 1805, another Vestry meeting was held. Neither of the Chaplains was present, nor the sidesmen; Mr. Joseph Baker, the junior Churchwarden was present, together with twelve other gentlemen. Mr. William Webb was voted to the chair. It was then proposed by Mr. Hurdis and seconded by Mr. George Westcott and carried that Mr. Fownes Disney the Attorney should be instructed to take legal measures to have the whole of the Church Funds brought under the direction and control of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Thomas Parry and Mr. Alexander Cockburn suggested an enquiry about the several charities composing the Church Stock before any action was taken; and the Chairman desired it to be clearly understood that the Native Poor Fund, which amounted to Pags. 20,000, could not be involved in the motion of Mr. Hurdis; it was a distinct and separate fund, raised for a special purpose, and placed by the Native Poor Fund Committee, of which he himself was one, at the disposal of the Special Vestry for the relief of the poor of the settlement.

The meeting appointed a committee to conduct the suit in Chancery; and authorised Mr. Baker, the Churchwarden, to continue his payments to the several objects of the Church Fund as heretofore. Evidently the meeting had made up its mind that the administrative authority of the Ministers and Churchwardens over the Fund had come to an end.

The first meeting at which these unhappy dissensions arose was held on the 19 Nov. 1804; the second was on the 28th Nov.; the third on the 12th Dec.; the unfortunate mistake Dr. Kerr made of excluding certain votes at this meeting brought together a large gathering on the 3rd Jan. 1805. On the 13th Nov. 1805 the judgement of the Court on the Uscan Fund was read to another meeting and entered in the minute

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

book. And on the 27th Nov. the sixth and last meeting was held. Forty-six different British inhabitants of the settlement took part in these meetings; 29 of these were in the service of the Company and the rest were independent merchants and others. It was not to the liking of these latter that the funds should be taken over and administered by the Government; they had given liberally to them themselves, and their predecessors in independent trade had given liberally to them also; it is not therefore surprising to find some of their leaders voting for the previous question rather than see the dissension work itself out. Alexander Cockburn, W. D. Brodie, Thomas Parry and Robert Orme did their best to prevent the catastrophe; and they were supported by some senior men in the service like Charles Maxtone, William Harington and Cecil Smith; but the majority were against them, and they had to submit to the majority.

The verdict of the Court was in accordance with the opinion of the Advocate General: that the ecclesiastical law of England did not govern the case; that there was no legal vestry, nor Churchwarden, nor corporation of any kind capable of holding property; and that the Uscan Fund must therefore be paid into Court. The disposition of other funds was not before it.

The two Churchwardens at the time were W. D. Brodie and Joseph Baker, both free merchants. The former left Madras before the end of his year of office, 1805. Mr. Baker was therefore left to carry out the Court's order. What he did is best told in the words of the Government's next letter to the Directors.[1]

'At our consultations of the 20 Dec. 1805 the Accountant General[2] submitted to us a letter from Mr. J. Baker, the person in charge of the Church Funds, requesting to transfer certain bonds, (standing in the name of the Ministers and Churchwardens for the time being of St. Mary's Parish, Fort St. George) in order to enable him to effect a payment directed by the Supreme Court to be made from those funds; and he at the same time observed that having been present at several meetings of the inhabitants lately where it had been asserted that there existed neither parish, vestry, nor Churchwarden,

[1] Letter, 12 Feb. 1806, 95–100, Pub. [2] Cecil Smith.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he felt doubtful as to the particular authority which was competent to transfer the bonds in question, and he therefore solicited our orders on the subject.

'The Accountant General further requested our instructions on the future payment of interest on the bonds which would still remain under the same head, and in regard to the sum of Pags. 20,019 invested in the same manner with the addition of the words "in trust for the Native Poor Fund."'

The Government stated in the next paragraph that they referred the difficulty to the Advocate General. Then they proceeded:—

'The Advocate General stated his opinion that the Government upon these bonds was indebted to certain persons known by the designation of the Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's Parish, but that upon getting a discharge from those persons Government would be no longer indebted, and of course would be perfectly safe in paying to those persons or any of them.'

The Advocate General also expressed an opinion that the Native Poor Fund money ought to be immediately transferred in the name of the proper trustees of whom some were still alive; that they had been wrong in transferring their trust to the Ministers and Churchwardens; and that the trust ought to be replaced in the proper names without delay.

In this last matter the Advocate General was at fault; he had misunderstood Mr. William Webb's remarks at the Vestry meeting of the 27th November 1805. The Native Poor Fund Committee had consented to the investment of their capital in the Government Treasury, and to the endorsement of their bonds in the name of the Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's 'in trust for the Native Poor Fund' in January 1784. They had not transferred their trust; but had made use of the Ministers and Churchwardens as the public charitable trustees recognised by the Government. In 1802 when the Charitable Committee took upon themselves to relieve the poverty of the settlement, European, Eurasian and Native, the Native Poor Fund Committee gave into their hands the use of the interest of their fund for Native relief, so as to have one committee for the purpose instead of two.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The rest of the Advocate General's advice was sound and excellent. It resulted in the stay of all further proceedings. The fund was lodged with the Government in the names of the Ministers and Churchwardens, and could not safely be paid to anyone but to them or any of them. The Government proposed to treat the Ministers and Churchwardens just as they treated the Syndics of the Roman Catholic Congregation, as persons to whom the interest of a fund was to be paid. Both bodies, Churchwardens and Syndics, had been created by the Government for the very work they were doing. They would be upheld; and the Directors considered that this decision of theirs needed no reply.[1]

The Vestry had been crushed; the Churchwardens told that there was no authority inherent in their office at Madras; and that there was no legal parish attached to St. Mary's Church. These mistaken ideas were swept aside by the legal judgement in the Uscan Fund case; but there remained the Church Fund, collected and augmented by the piety of previous generations, and held under the authority of the Government by the Ministers and Churchwardens. It is greatly to the honour of the Government that they rightly decreed that the Fund should be administered by the St. Mary's authorities still, for the purposes for which it was intended. Thus matters remained until 1835.

As to the Church itself an effort was made to induce the Directors to obtain a legal status for the Churchwardens. They replied that it was not necessary, as the Church could be held in trust by the Governor who was a legal corporation. The building was accordingly handed over to the Governor in trust[2]; and successive Governors remained the trustees until 1860; they exercised the authority of the old Churchwardens; no repairs nor alterations were made without their consent; nor tablets erected; they consented or withheld their consent to intramural burials; and the Town Major was the medium of communication between the Governor and the Chaplains.

When the Governor ceased to be commandant of Fort

[1] Despatch, 10 Feb. 1807, 123, Pub.

[2] It is not known that this was done by any legal instrument; nor that the Bishop of London, in whose Diocese the Church was, was consulted.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

St. George he gave up also the trusteeship of the Church; and the Church was ordered to be made over to the Lord Bishop under the same conditions as Churches in military cantonments, the necessary accommodation being reserved for the troops in garrison.[1]

Among the last entries in the minute book are the proceedings of a meeting of the Ministers and Churchwarden held at the Church Lodgings on the 14th August 1809. Edward Vaughan and Marmaduke Thompson were the Ministers; Joseph Baker, appointed in 1804, was still Churchwarden. The latter presented his accounts for the past 4½ years, and they were duly entered in the minute book. The 1808 account shows that the value of the Treasury bonds in that year was Pags. 50,536; and that the expenditure of the year was as follows:—

Pensioners	2,805	pagodas
School	2,260	„
Church	300	„
Leslie Monument	328	„
Sundries	35	„
	5,728	„

The list of pensioners includes the organist, the writer, the sexton; besides these, 110 persons—mostly women, and many of them natives—received regular monthly relief to the amount of nearly 200 pagodas. Dr. Kerr's compassionate policy was still being pursued; but it was at the expense of the St. Mary's School. At the end of the minutes is this note:—

'It appears to be exceedingly desirable that the embarrassments which have resulted from the Vestry discussions of 1805 should be removed. Since that time no measures have been adopted to remove the difficulties which subsequently have attended the regular transaction of parochial business. It is therefore resolved to endeavour by reference to legal authority to ascertain what line of conduct under existing circumstances it becomes the Ministers and Churchwardens to pursue.'

There is nothing to show that any such reference was

[1] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, iv. 453.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

made; for there is no later entry in the book; and there are no extant accounts, no records of meetings, no copies of letters nor any kind of ecclesiastical record in the Chaplain's possession between this date and 1830.

The next volume needs but short notice; it is the minute book of the Special Vestry from 1803 till the authority of the Vestry came to an end in 1805. It contains the records of the monthly meetings of the Charitable Committee. In it are the names and the circumstances of the persons relieved. One European merchant of Bengal, who had been reduced to want by the loss of a ship and its cargo, received as much as 200 pagodas as a gift. The widows of officers in the Company's service as well as the widows of the men were relieved as appropriately as possible. The Committee relieved the native poor out of the Native Poor Fund, and maintained many of them at the Monegar Choultry. At the end of this book is this note, dated the 4th Dec. 1805:—

'Henceforth the meetings of the Special Vestry will be discontinued on account of the recent determination of the General Vestry that the whole of the Church Stock be placed under the direction and control of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

'In consequence of this resolution it also becomes necessary that the management of the Native Poor Fund do revert to the original committee. For purposes of expediency the committee was induced in the year 1802 to entrust the appropriation of the interest arising from the Fund with the Special Vestry.

'Resolved therefore that the members of the committee be solicited to attend at the Church Lodgings on Friday next in order to resume the trust which was deposited by them in the Special Vestry.

'Adjourned *sine die*.

(Signed) 'R. H. KERR, Senior Chaplain.
'E. VAUGHAN.'

And there are no further entries.

The next volume is an old account book which was in use from 1736 to 1740. The accounts were balanced monthly; each month's account occupies two pages facing each other. A year's account therefore occupies 24 pages. The whole

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

book consists of about 120 pages. It is the only record in existence which shows what was being done by the Vestry before the surrender of Fort St. George to the French in 1746. At that time there were two stocks, the Church Stock and the Charity School Stock; this book contains the accounts of the former only.

From these early accounts it can be seen that the Ministers and Churchwardens transacted the business of their trust in almost exactly the same manner as they did at the end of the century. They received money by gift; they increased their store by keeping their capital occupied; and they spent the money they made and received in keeping up the Church and its staff of assistants, and in giving charitable relief to the poorer members of the European and Eurasian community. In 1736 the following well known Madras names occur amongst the Vestry mortgagees, Empson, Monson, Torriano, Stratton and Wynch. There are two references to Isaac Clarke in 1737, and one in 1739. Caleb Clarke, his father, the grandson of John Milton, left his estate and the care of his son Isaac to the Ministers and Churchwardens.[1] They accepted the trust. No payment was made from the estate after 1754. In 1767 the Churchwardens proposed that as 13 years had elapsed since any claim was made on the estate, it should be henceforth regarded as part of the Church Stock. The absence of any claim seems to make it certain that there was no claimant—no descendant of Milton—on the coast after 1754.

In 1737 the S.P.C.K. in London sent 1000 pagodas to lie at interest in the Church Stock till required for use by their Missionaries. This excellent plan was not pursued very long. The Missionaries preferred to trade with the money themselves. On the coast all were successful in their business ventures except Fabricius, who lent without proper security and lost. The Church Stock ought to have been insisted upon by the Society.

In 1737 Captain Robert Hamilton of Bengal sent money to his wife, then living at Fort St. David as Mrs. Woodward, through the Church Stock. The money seems to have passed through the hands of Mr. Wedderburn of the Bay and Mr.

[1] *History of Fort St. George*, pp. 137–9.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Nicholas Morse of Fort St. George before being deposited in the Church Stock till required.

Frequent references are made to some houses owned by the Minister and Churchwardens; two were in Middle Gate Street: these were left by a Mrs. Mary Williams with the charge of her two children a few years before; and two others were left by a Mrs. Louisa Willeboots together with her personal estate for the charitable purposes of the Vestry.

In 1738 the Vestry allowed a sum of about 5000 pagodas to remain with the fund as a temporary deposit. It represented the estate of John Goulding, the Gunner[1]; and was intended for the benefit of his godson, Samuel Troutbeck, and the boy's mother. From a note about this transaction, one gathers that by a vote of the Vestry in 1717 it was decided to allow deposits of this kind and to charge a commission for doing the business of the trust. John Goulding left the Church Fund 500 pagodas in lieu of commission; so that no commission was charged 'in spite of the order of the Vestry dated the 29th Oct. 1717.' The Vestry allowed 5 per cent. on these temporary deposits.

In September 1739 occurs this payment 'paid Alexander Wynch for transcribing the Church Register, 50 pagodas.' This determines the date of the parchment register book. It is to be presumed that the older books were perishing, as paper books will in the climate of Madras; and that the new parchment book was intended to be a better means of preserving the important records they contained. Alexander Wynch was the nephew of Robert Wynch the Chaplain. It may have been a piece of nepotism which obtained for him the work; if so, it is certain that nepotism is not always a bad system; for the work of transcription is most carefully and excellently done.

The 1739 account shows that the amount of capital out at interest belonging to the Church Stock was 23,235 pagodas. One page of the accounts is copied here—namely, that of Oct. 1739, when the annual interest on loans became due—to show how the accounts were kept and the nature of the transactions.

[1] Commandant of the Artillery.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

St. Mary's Church Cash	Dr. P	F	C	Contra	Cr. P	F	C
To ballance from last month	190	17	37	By wages and allowances; pd. the following			
„ Louisa Willeboot's legacy; recd. 1 month's rent of the following houses in Middle Gate Street due 1st ult. vizt.—				Bookkeeper . 2.18 Clerk . . 3.12 Organist . . 5. Sweeper . . .27 Sexton . . 3.12 Gardener[2] . .18 Water . . .4	15	19	0
One inhabited by John Russell P. 7				„ Charitable expense for the following;			
Do. Christiana Dutton P. 5	12	0	0	Peter Griffiths 5. Christiana Dutton 5. Elizth. Hawkes 5. Catherine Consett 10. Constantia Gale 1.18 Loveday's Widow 2. Thomas Pelling .27 Mrs. Fox . . 3. Widow George .25 Henrietta Wynch 1. Andrew's widow 1.	34	34	0
„ Charitable contributions received in Church .	7	6	0	„ Charitable allowances for this month;			
„ Guiava Garden[1]; recd. for breaking ground for Mrs. Francis Sanderson . . .	3	0	0	Johanna de Poiva and Phillippa Corneiro[3]	2	0	0
„ Mr. Cradock; recd. int. at 7 % on P. 2000 .	41	22	0	Thomas Tourville; pd. him one mth's allowance		30	0
„ Holland Goddard; Do. P. 2000 .	140	0	0	Mary Williams decd.; pd. for maintenance of two children	1	18	0
„ Capt. P. Eckman; Do. P. 300 .	21	0	0	Elizth. Matthew's allowance, pd. it . .	7	0	0
„ Leech Wildbore; Do. P. 300 .	21	0	0	Robert Hamilton in Bengall pd. his wife passing under the name of Mrs. Woodward at Fort St. David	5	0	0
„ Wm. Monson; Do. P. 3000 .	210	0	0	Estate of John Goulding; pd. Susannah Troutbeck allowance for Samuel Troutbeck for last month	10	0	0
„ Abraham Salomons; Do. P. 1500 .	17	35	40	Estate of John Goulding; pd. Susannah Troutbeck her allowance for last month .	10	0	0
„ Sidney Foxall; Do. due from him .	54	26	40	„ Profit and Loss; pd. for burying Widow Wynch[4]	1	0	0
„ Cornelius Goodwin; Do. P. 500 .	19	2	0	Mary Williams; pd. repairs on one of her houses inhabited by Mrs. Parker . .	1	7	40
„ Matthew Empson; Do. P. 1050 .	64	20	0		89	0	40
„ Robert Wynch; Do. P. 1300 .	91	0	0	„ Ballance carrd. to next mth's account . .	1516	1	77
„ Wm. Percival; Do. P. 1000 .	11	17	0				
„ John Savage; Do. P. 1900 .	113	1	64				
„ Charles Simpson; Do. P. 500 .	35	0	0				
„ John Stratton; Do. P. 700 .	49	0	0				
„ Henry Crawford; Do. P. 500 .	35	0	0				
„ Elizth. Matthews; Do. P. 350 .	24	18	0				
„ John Hammond; Do. P. 2000 .	140	0	0				
„ Fenwicke Golightly; Do. P. 1000 .	70	0	0				
„ Muca; Do. P. 35 .	2	16	16				
„ George Torriano; Do. P. 3300 .	231	0	0				
1 Pagoda = 36 Fanams. 1 Fanam = 80 Cash.							
Pags.	1605	2	37	Pags.	1605	2	37

[1] Cemetery. [2] At the Guava garden. [3] Paid out of the Willeboot Estate. [4] She was the widow of a soldier.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The next book to notice is the Acquittance and Receipt Book which was in use from 1739 to 1753. Whenever money was paid out of the Church Fund by the Churchwarden, a receipt was written out in this book and signed by the person receiving the money.

First there were the Church officials and servants—the Vestry clerk, the organist, the Church clerk, the sexton, etc.; these signed month by month. Then followed the poor pensioners; some of these were the widows of soldiers and persons in that position, who as a rule were unable to write; but some were educated persons and signed their own names, the cause of their poverty being the unfortunate speculations or the deaths of their husbands. Then followed those who received the interest of money deposited for their benefit in the Church Stock; these all signed their names; among them being the Troutbecks, Catharine Consett[1] and Elizabeth Hawkes. Mistress Elenor Pye,[2] who kept a private school for girls, signed regularly for money paid out of the Church Fund for the board and schooling etc. of Martha Symonds. The girl's father, Robert Symonds, deposited 1000 pagodas in the Church Stock for her benefit when she was put to school. She married an attorney in 1745 at the age of 16; and presumably received the capital sum on that occasion.

The most interesting receipts are those of the executors and administrators of estates. It was the custom to make use of the Church Fund as a Bank, and to rely upon the Churchwardens to act as bankers, when there was any one—widow or orphan or both—to benefit from the estate locally. If a merchant died without relations at Fort St. George, the estate was administered by his executors, the money paid into the Company's cash, and the whole value transferred to his heirs or assigns at home; but if for the sake of a widow or children the money had to be kept at Fort St. George, either for a short or long time, the Company would not act as the Bankers, nor allow an account to be opened with them. They shifted

[1] Widow of a master mariner in the Company's service, not of the Chaplain; the name of the Chaplain's wife was Mary.

[2] The mother of Anne Pye who married Foss Westcott.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this work to the shoulders of the Ministers and Churchwardens.

Between 1739 and 1753 the Church Stock included the estates of Mr. Stephen Newcome, administered by Nicholas Morse, afterwards Governor; of Mr. Robert Symonds, Governor of Fort St. David, administered by Captain John Powney and Mr. Holland Goddard for the benefit of the daughter Theophila; of Mr. John Lawrence, administered by the Churchwardens for the benefit of the son; of Mrs. Mary Williams, administered by the Churchwardens for the benefit of the daughter. There was also a Berriman estate, administered by Mr. William Percival for the benefit of Miss Frances Berriman; a Joseph Walsh estate, administered by Nicholas Morse for the benefit of the children, John and Elizabeth; a Cotterell estate, administered by the Churchwardens for the benefit of Thomas Pelling junior; a Cossar estate, administered by the Churchwardens for the benefit of the two sons; and a Powney estate, administered by Mrs. Mary Powney and Mr. Cornelius Goodwin for the benefit of the five children—Charles, Richard, William, Eleanor and Robin.

From these notices it will be understood that for some time before the middle of the century the Church Stock was regarded by the local Government and by all others in the settlement as the proper bank for executors, when the beneficiaries were living on the coast; and the Ministers and Churchwardens were looked upon as the proper guardians, executors and bankers of all orphan children in the settlement not otherwise provided for. Unless this is understood it is difficult to see why the Armenian merchant, Peter Uscan, gave his executors liberty to invest his bequest for the upkeep of his bridge in the Church Fund if they thought fit. He looked upon the Vestry as bankers giving 5 per cent. for a fixed deposit. It must be remembered that when the deposit was accepted, it was accepted simply as a deposit without any liability except to pay the interest to the Paymaster. It was no part of the duty of the Chaplain and Churchwardens to spend the interest in any way; they merely undertook to pay it to another person, the Paymaster; they ought to have

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

observed their part of the covenant, and not taken upon themselves the duty of the Paymaster as well.

As to the other entries in this book, there are three receipts — 1740, 1741 and 1742 — signed by Benjamin Schultze, 'Prot. Missionary,' for money paid by the Churchwarden on account of the S.P.C.K. Some of the receipts run briefly thus: 'received of the Churchwarden'; some are more formal: 'received of the Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's Church by the hands of A.B. Churchwarden,' which was of course the more correct form. This volume supplies the names of the Churchwardens from 1739 to 1746. The Vestry Minute Books supply them from 1749 to 1809. The business they did in connection with the Church and School Funds was so important, that the Churchwardens were always chosen from among the senior and most important residents. Their excellent work was entirely voluntary and unpaid. Here are their names:—

1739 Sidney Foxall.
1740 Do.
1741 John Savage.
1742 Cornelius Goodwin.
1743 Thomas Eyre.
1744 Edward Harris.
1745 Richard Starke.
1746 Henry Powney.

1749 Henry Powney.
1750 Joseph Fowke.
1751 John Walsh.
1752 John Smith.
1753 Charles Bourchier.
1754 Alexander Wynch.
1755 Do.
1756 Henry Van Sittart.
1757 John Smith.
1758 Josias Du Pré.
1759 John Pybus.
1760 Richard Fairfield.
1761 Samuel Ardley.
1762 Dawsonne Drake.
1763 James Alexander.
1764 Andrew Ross.
1765 Charles Turner.
1766 George Stratton.
1767 Henry Brooke.
1768 James Bourchier.
1769 John Maxwell Stone.
1770 Charles Smith.
1771 Do.
1772 Francis Jourdan.
1773 Arthur Cuthbert.
1774 George Smith and Edward Stracey.
1775 The Hon. Edward Monckton.
1776 George Baker.
1777 George Savage and John Turing.
1778 George Andrew Ram.
1779 Alexander Cuthbert.
1780 George Taswell.
1781 Charles Oakeley.
1782 William Webb.
1783 Hugh Vaughan.
1784 Richard Deighton.
1785 Henry Mitchell.
1786 Hew Alexander Craig.
— Josiah Du Pré Porcher.
1787 William Balfour.
1788 Thomas Cockburn.
1789 Nathaniel E. Kindersley.
1790 James Amos.
1791 William Duffin.
1792 Lawrence Bowden.
1793 William Jones.
1794 Henry Sewell.
1795 John Tulloh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1796 William Abbott.
1797 Charles Baker.
1798 Alexander Cockburn.
1799 Henry Sewell.
1800 Edward Watts.
1801 William Harington.
1802 James Connell.
1803 John Chinnery.
1804 Alexander Cockburn.
1805 William Douglas Brodie.
1806-9 Joseph Baker.

The names of the Churchwardens before 1739 were lost with the early Vestry books; the following have been found in the Consultation Books of the Governors attached to communications from the Ministers and Churchwardens to the Government:—

1688	Henry Mose	Senior Merchant.
1689	Charles Metcalfe . . .	Free Merchant.
1697	Daniel Chardin . . .	Do.
1715	John Legg	Member of Council.
1716	Thomas Way	Senior Merchant.
1717	Catesby Oadham . . .	Member of Council.
1719	Richard Benyon . . .	Do.
1728	Randall Fowke . . .	Senior Merchant.
1730	George Torriano . . .	Do.

The seventh and last volume of the old Vestry records is a cash book which was in use from 1768 to 1772. The method of keeping the accounts is the same as before. Under the head of receipts a much larger amount was collected in the Church itself than was collected 25 years before. The receipts from interest on mortgage bonds was greater; for the Church and School Stock, to save trouble, had been amalgamated. Under the head of expenditure there are the Church officials and servants and the gardener of the cemetery, the poor pensioners, the annuitants of the Church Stock; and these in addition which were not found in the previous accounts: namely, the teachers of the school, the cost of boarding and clothing the boys, the cost of boarding and clothing and teaching six girls[1] in the Vepery Girls' School under Fabricius, and allowances to a number of disabled boatmen.

The accounts show that the house in James Street left by Mrs. Mary Williams to the Minister and Churchwardens was sold in 1768 to the Hon. Mr. Charles Bourchier for Pags. 1212. Mrs. Susannah Troutbeck continued to draw her allowance of

[1] In 1771 there were ten thus provided for.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Pags. 120 per annum from the John Goulding estate in the Church Stock. Only one other estate is mentioned at this period, a Stringfellow estate administered for the widow by Nicholas Morse, and deposited by him in the Church Stock.

It was at this period that the Fort St. George Government began to borrow money at interest. The 1770 account shows that the Government was paying Pags. 981 annual interest on a loan. The names of the other mortgagees were:—

Mr. Charles Smith.	Col. John Wood.
„ Charles Floyer.	Richard Brickenden Esqre.
„ Francis Jourdan.	Mr. Arthur Cuthbert.
„ Quintin Crawford.	Col. Donald Campbell.
„ Samuel Troutbeck.	Capt. Edward Waple.
„ Andrew Ross.	H.H. the Nabob.
„ John Griffin.	

It remains only to mention the Minister's Lodgings. These were built at the west end of the Church; the front was in James Street; at the back, north and south, were two wings extending on each side of the Church tower. The illustration is intended to give an idea of the ground plan; but it must be mentioned that it is not drawn to scale.[1] In the map dated 1733 [2] the Church is shown without any building at its west end. At that time the Chaplain or Chaplains were accommodated in the inner Fort. The Vestry minute book, which begins in 1749, has no record of any resolution to build nor of any payment of money for the purpose. The inference is that the Lodgings were built between 1733 and 1749. The first account book contains no reference to any expenditure over building; it begins in 1736; and the inference from its silent testimony is that the Lodgings were built between 1733 and 1736, when Robert Wynch and Eden Howard were Chaplains.

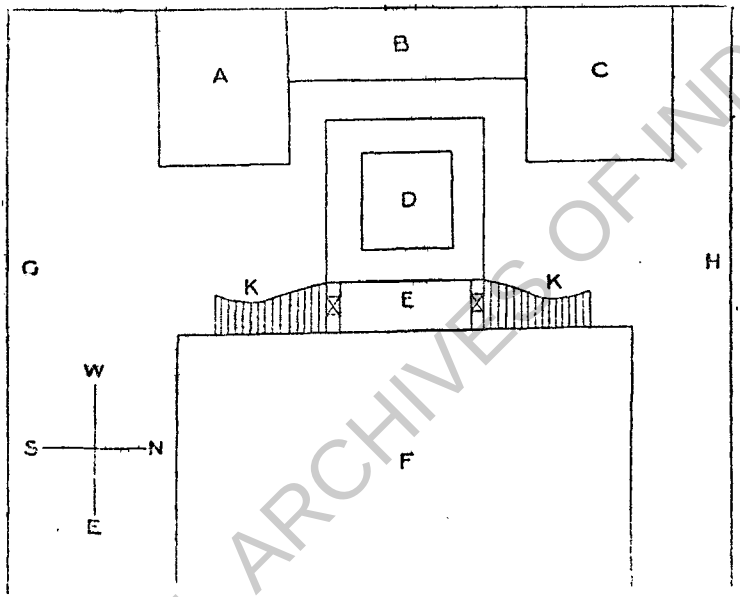
In December 1729 the Rev. Thomas Consett wrote to the Governor and Council complaining of the inconvenience of

[1] In one of the File Books in the Chaplain's Quarters is the tracing of a drawing, made in the Engineer's office about 70 years ago, of the old 'lodgings.'
[2] See Mrs. F. Penny's *History of Fort St. George.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the quarters in the inner Fort for a married man.[1] He said:—

'I entreat you will so far distinguish me from a bachelor as to allow me a habitation somewhat larger for a number



F is the body of the Church, 64 feet wide outside.
E is the gallery.
K the outside steps to the gallery.
D the tower.
G the southern boundary of the Church yard.
H the northern boundary.
A, B, C are the ground plan of the Lodgings.

The centre portion B must have been merely an entrance hall containing doors into the rooms A and C, and a staircase to a landing leading into the rooms over them.

From the rooms A and C there was access to the Church yard by means of low flights of steps with balustrades.

The street on the west side of the Lodgings was James Street; called so after James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. After the Revolution an attempt was made to change its name to Church Street; but the name of James stuck to it; so it was altered to St. James.

than would strictly accommodate a single person. The consideration of our healths, besides the want of several necessary

[1] Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, p. 489, ed. 1882.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

conveniences in these strait quarters oblige me to make this request.'

The quarters were enlarged[1]; but even then they were unsuitable for a married man with a family; this fact was probably the immediate cause of the building of a house for the Chaplain by the Vestry. Their Churchyard was not a burial ground; there was sufficient room at the west end of it to build a house if they wished; and this is apparently what they did.

The first mention of the Church Lodgings is in the proceedings of 1765, when the Master Bricklayer was given a gratuity for superintending the repairs of the Church, the Minister's Lodgings, and the School House. Towards the end of the century the Vestry meetings were held in the Minister's Lodgings.[2] It is probable that when there were two Chaplains, and both were bachelors, they shared the Lodgings; but this arrangement was uncomfortable for both if one or both were married; it was usual after 1779 for the Vestry to divide the allowances of the appointments by giving the Lodgings to the Senior Chaplain, and the care of the School (which carried with it £100 a year) to the Junior.

In 1770 one of the Chaplains lived in the Lodgings and the other lived on the School premises in Middle Gate Street. The School was out of repair; and so application was made to the Vestry for apartments elsewhere. At this Vestry meeting the Governor was present, the two Chaplains Thomas and Salmon, and six others including Warren Hastings. It was agreed to get an estimate for building two rooms for the accommodation of a Chaplain over the Library in the inner Fort.

In 1779 Stanley claimed as Senior Chaplain the Church Lodgings and the £100 per annum for superintending the school. The Vestry recognised the correctness of the claim and allowed it; but reserved 'to themselves the right of appointment on any future occasion.' This was in October. Two months later his colleague Bainbrigge handed over charge of everything to Stanley as Senior Chaplain. Stanley then reported that the Church Lodgings were out of repair and infested with vermin of all kinds; he asked that another bed

[1] Consultations, 2 Dec. 1729.
[2] Called in the minute book the Church lodgings.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

chamber might be built on the north side. It was resolved to repair the Lodgings at the cost of the Church fund, and to build the room required 'upon the godown indicated' at the cost of Pags. 500; and that if it cost more Mr. Stanley should pay when his office became vacant. In 1780 the Government was asked to assist in carrying out the repairs and additions; but they expressed their regret that they were unable to entertain the application.

In course of time the Government decided to pull down a number of buildings in the Fort in order to admit more air for those who were compelled by duty to live and work in it. This was at the beginning of the 19th century. Amongst other buildings the Church Lodgings were condemned. When they were pulled down fresh quarters were allotted to the Chaplain in lieu of them, and of course free of rent. These, formerly Naval Quarters, were situated on the east side of St. Thomas Street next to the Magazine. Here the Chaplains remained till the quarters were required for the Post Office in 1844.[1] The new quarters allotted in lieu of these were on the west side of the same street at the southern extremity. Here the Garrison Chaplain lives now; free of rent, because the house was given in compensation for the Church Lodgings, the official residence built for him and his successors by the old merchants in the 18th century.

When the change was made in 1844 the Chaplain, the Rev. G. W. Mahon, complained that though the quarters were larger than the old ones, they were very inconvenient for a Chaplain, because all the rooms led into and out of one another; so that it was impossible for himself to get away from the chatter and distractions of his family and household for private reading and writing. The Government was kind, and expended a little money in building a room on the roof, which became known and is still known as 'the prophet's chamber.'

The Ministers and Churchwardens made one great mistake in the otherwise careful and methodical administration of their trust. They never placed a table of benefactors in the Church, as was usually done in England. In July 1767 they resolved to do this; but the resolution was not carried out.

[1] Letter, 7 June 1844, 2 & 3, Pub. Despatch, 8 Oct. 1845, 40, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXIV

CHURCHES FOUNDED BETWEEN 1746 AND 1805

1. *The old Vepery Church.*—It has been related in Chapter XV. how the Church at Vepery came into existence, and how it became the property of the S.P.C.K. The builder Petrus Uscan mentioned in his letter to the Government that it had cost him 4000 pagodas. Within a few years the St. Mary's Vestry valued St. Mary's Church at 5000 pagodas. Possibly these values enable us to judge the relative sizes of the buildings; if not, it can be rightly assumed that the Vepery building was not a small one. William Taylor mentions [1] that the Dutch Church at Pulicat, as restored and partially rebuilt in 1787, was almost the copy in size and form of the old Vepery Mission Church. Unfortunately this comparison does not help us; for the Dutch building of the 18th century was decreased in size in the 19th century to save the cost of keeping in repair an unnecessarily large building. It is not possible to judge, therefore, what the size and capacity of the old Vepery building was. It lasted till 1823–4, when it was pronounced by Major de Havilland to be beyond repair and was pulled down to make room for the present building. During the 75 years of its existence it was used by the S.P.C.K. Missionaries for English and Portuguese as well as for Tamil services. It must be reckoned therefore amongst the Churches in use by Europeans and Eurasians at this period.

The village of Vepery is situated two miles westward of Fort St. George. When the Church was built it was beyond the protection of the Fort guns. The redoubt at Egmore though within half a mile, was useless for the purpose; for

[1] *Memoir*, etc. p. 119.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

owing to its unsupported distance from the Fort it always had to be evacuated when there was an attack in force. So it happened that on several occasions the Church and the mission buildings were left to the mercy of invaders. The first occasion was in December 1758, when Count Lally brought his army to attack Fort St. George. A horde of Mahommedans accompanied him; these plundered the Church, the mission houses, and the Missionaries themselves. Lally's headquarters were at Maskelyne's gardens, a little westward of the Church. Thither Fabricius went, and obtained an interview. Lally and the French officers expressed their regret at what had happened; but they could not restore the looted property, nor renew the destroyed books and furniture.[1] The confusion was so great that Fabricius did not wait for the conclusion of the siege; he with many of his native congregation sought asylum at Pulicat, where he was generously received.

When the French raised the siege Fabricius returned, and to the best of his ability repaired the injuries. He was left in peace for 13 years. Then a party of roving Mahrattas[2] appeared. The Missionaries and the Christians fled for protection several times to the Fort. It can hardly be doubted that the Mahrattas looted what they could lay hands on. There was living at Vepery at this time a Portuguese lady who was married to an English gentleman in the service of the Company. Being one of the Vepery congregation and seeing the need, she presented a new pulpit, a silver bason for the Font and a silver chalice; she paid for the re-casting of the cracked bell; and also for the painting of the text 'Come unto Me' etc. in golden letters on the wall over the altar. The text was painted both in Portuguese and in Tamil.[3] A year later it was found necessary to rebuild a part of the mission house, and a part of the Eurasian girls' school, and other mission buildings.[4] The buildings were hardly 24 years old; but the injuries they had sustained on these two occasions rendered their partial rebuilding necessary.

In 1774 the village and its buildings were again threatened

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, etc. pp. 16, 17.
[2] Do. p. 27.
[3] S.P.C.K. Report for 1772.
[4] Taylor's *Memoir*, etc. p. 35.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

by the Mahrattas; owing to dissensions amongst themselves they retired without doing any injury. The Missionaries and their people suffered a similar scare in 1780 when Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic. Hyder himself was kept at a distance; but in order to do this a detachment of British troops from Bengal was quartered in the mission buildings. It was a time of severe calamity; for the war was followed by a failure of the monsoons, which brought about a severe famine and much suffering. The Missionaries and their congregation took refuge within the walls of Black Town. When the British detachment evacuated the buildings at the end of 1781, the services in the Church were resumed. But this period did not last long; for during Nov. and Dec. 1782 the Church and school houses were again occupied by British troops, who (Fabricius says) were very troublesome.[1] The great damage which they did was due to defective commissariat arrangements. The men had no fire-wood for cooking purposes. They therefore took what they could find. Fabricius wrote to the Government in February 1783 and represented 'the excessive great damage and destruction which H.M.'s troops lately quartered here' for two months had made. 'Such a desolation as has been made would not have been made by the enemy.'—'No use can be made of the Church.'—'All the doors and rails are gone.'—'School houses not inhabitable,—all doors and windows gone.'—'Unroofed two houses in the street built by the mission for weavers.'[2]

The Council agreed to call upon the Civil Architect to report. Fabricius wrote again a month later asking that orders might be given for repairs.[3] But it was a bad time to ask for money for any other than a purely military purpose; so that this second application was ordered to lie on the table. Three months later Fabricius, whose feelings at the sight of his roofless houses and frameless empty Church must be imagined, wrote again. He begged for repairs. He said, 'if Hyder's horse were come to Wepery they would not have made such a desolation as these our friends have done.' But no resolution was passed[4]; and no further reference to the

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1783; and Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 48–50.
[2] Consultations, 22 Feb. 1783.
[3] Do. 29 March 1783.
[4] Do. 17 June 1783.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

matter has been found in the Consultation Books of the Fort St. George Council.

After this the Vepery Missionaries were free of similar alarms until 1791, when Tippoo's cavalry suddenly approached and caused alarm and confusion.[1] Gericke retired for two days with his people within the walls of Madras. But though the buildings were deserted no harm was done; for the visit was paid in search of food rather than for destructive or fighting purposes.

There was no further destruction of the buildings after this date. In 1796 there was a large number of Dutch prisoners quartered in Madras. These were marched to Vepery Church for divine service. Gericke officiated. So that beside the English, Portuguese and Tamil services, the building was used for a Dutch service as well.[2]

When Gericke died in 1803 the English service at Vepery was discontinued, for the reason that neither Dr. Rottler nor Mr. Paezold were sufficiently masters of the English language to conduct it. It was resumed in 1813 by the request of the many Europeans and Eurasians who had taken up their abode near the old Church. But the buildings had experienced such bad treatment, they could not possibly last much longer. At the expense of the S.P.C.K. District Committee, which was established as soon as Bishop Middleton arrived in India, the school and press buildings were substantially repaired by Major de Havilland in 1818.[3] But when they asked him to repair and enlarge the Church in 1821 he reported that in his opinion the building would admit of neither process; he recommended the building of a new Church at the cost of 5000 pagodas, and the conversion of the old building into a school-room.[4]

The Committee concurred and wrote to Bishop Middleton, who strongly recommended the Society in London to give the money. He wrote, 'The Society have a friend in Major de Havilland such as they may not find whenever he ceases to be a member of the Madras District Committee; . . . his desire to promote the interests of the Society has been shewn

[1] S.P.C.K. Report for 1792; Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 69.
[2] S.P.C.K. Report for 1796.
[3] S.P.C.K. Report, 1820; Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 170. [4] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 132.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in his gratuitous professional services.' This recommendation was the beginning of the end of the old chapel. It stood a few years longer, and was demolished when the new building was ready for use.

The only knowledge existing about the position and appearance of the chapel is derived from a description given by William Taylor[1] of what he saw in 1814. The mission compound was entered by a gateway which stood where the present book depository stands. On entering, the chapel was to the left, standing east and west, but the entrance was at the east end and the altar at the west. The compound contained the mission houses,[2] the press buildings, the schools, the chapel and the burial ground. The chapel was filled with chairs and benches and there was a narrow passage between them in the centre. It was large enough to hold 300 persons. The shape of the building was oblong; it was (he says) comparatively narrow. The pulpit was two-thirds of the way up; the reading desk was temporary; the chancel was small; 'it resembled the chancel of an English country Church, having the two tables of the Commandments in gold letters and in the Tamil language; the difference was that overhead was a painting of the Last Supper, tolerably well executed.' At the time he visited the Church the congregation was 'rather full and respectable,' the uniforms of a few officers giving variety. The charity school boys[3] surrounded the reading desk and made the responses.

West, north-west and north of the chapel was the burial ground and a garden of guava and plantain trees. In the middle of this garden was built the new Church.

Mr. Paezold, the S.P.C.K. Missionary, officiated at this date in English, but with a marked foreign accent. Some remarks on this subject came to his ears and he took offence; he declined to officiate in English again, and sold the chapel furniture.[4] This action produced some irritation, and some questions as to whether the European and Eurasian residents of Vepery had not some rights in the chapel as well as others. On the death of Paezold the District Committee of the S.P.C.K.

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 132. [2] See list in Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 164.
[3] Eurasians not eligible for the Male Asylum. [4] Taylor's *Memoir*, 133.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

overhauled the mission affairs and put Dr. Rottler in charge. The English service was recommenced in 1818; but the question of rights remained. The chapel was granted to the S.P.C.K. Missionaries for their purposes; at the time the grant was made their purposes included Tamil, Portuguese and English work. The year after the resumption of the English services the Vepery register showed that the old method of work had been resumed. The number of communicants at Easter was, Tamil 92, Portuguese 70, and English (including British Eurasians) 67.[1] The suspension of the English services gave an opportunity to the agents of the London Missionary Society to gather an English congregation. In 1819 they solicited subscriptions to build a chapel, and money was given on the condition that the English Liturgy was used morning and evening.[1] The country born givers did not know that in doing this they were separating themselves from their Bishop and the Church; they knew nothing of Church order or Church principles; they stipulated for the Liturgy, which (as far as they could see) was more appropriately read by a Congregationalist who was an Englishman than by a Lutheran who was a German. The opening of this chapel added to the desire of the Vepery residents who were not country born to build a new Church, which should be larger, cooler, more dignified and more attractive than the existing one.

The Society in London gave £2000, *i.e.* in Madras money about 6000 pagodas. The District Committee of the S.P.C.K. obtained an estimate for a new Church which amounted to 9400 pagodas; and they appealed to the Government to give the difference between the two amounts on the ground,[2]—

1. That a larger Church in Vepery was then required.

2. That the Vepery community derived great benefit from the good education given by the S.P.C.K. Missionaries to their children.[3]

3. That the mission Church would henceforth be served by

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 195. See also a history of the South Indian Missions in the S.P.G. Report for 1829.

[2] Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 261–6. Pags. 9400 = £3160 = Rs. 31,600.

[3] The Vepery school was meant for European, Eurasian, and Tamil children. Bell's system was followed. S.P.G. Report, 1829.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

regularly ordained clergymen, attached to a Society long patronised by the Hon. Company, whose head in India was the Bishop of Calcutta.

4. That the Church might be considered as appertaining to the Ecclesiastical Establishment, though maintained without expense to the Hon. Company.

The letter was dated 4 Aug. 1823 and signed by all the Committee: Archdeacon E. Vaughan, Chaplains W. Thomas, M. Thompson, W. Roy and T. Lewis ; two civilians J. Gwatkin and Richard Clarke ; and two military officers Major G. Cadell and Captain C. Rundall.

The reply of the Government dated the 19th August was favourable. They agreed to give the money on the conditions,—

1. That the building should be appropriated to divine worship according to the practice of the Church of England.

2. That it should be served regularly by ordained clergymen of that Church.

3. That it should be maintained without expense to the Hon. Company.

4. That the Church would be sufficiently capacious to answer fully the demand of the neighbourhood.

In thanking the Government for their ready sympathy and liberal bounty the District Committee of the S.P.C.K. explained a few days later that though they had been informed that the future Missionaries of the Society would be regularly ordained, they could not pledge themselves that it would be so, as the matter did not rest with them ; but they were able to pledge themselves that divine service in English should be performed in the Church in the future according to the rites of the Church of England, as it had been in the past. As to the fourth condition the Committee explained that the Church to be built was to take the place of one granted to the Mission for its various purposes by the Government ; that it must be considered available for the Portuguese and Tamil congregations and schools attached to the Mission ; and that as they wished to make the building as extensively useful as possible, they would endeavour to make accommodation for as many of the other (*i.e.* the European) inhabitants of Vepery as

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

possible, consistent with regard to those who have the first claim on their attention.

The Government was satisfied with this assurance, and made no alteration in their conditions.[1]

The plan and estimates were made by a special sub-Committee appointed from their own body by the District Committee of the S.P.C.K.,[2] who appointed Mr. Law,[3] a local builder and architect, to carry them out. The foundation stone was laid by the Hon. Mr. George Stratton, Member of Council, on the 8th Dec. 1823. The inscription on the foundation stone, said to have been written by Dr. Rottler, is as follows;—D.O.M. | Consecrandæ ædis | Posita sunt fundamina | Die viii Decembris | A.D. MDCCCXXIII. | Regnante augustissimo Brittaniarum | Rege Georgio IV. | Madrassensi provinciæ præsidente | Honorabili viro Thoma Munro | ex equitibus præfectis ordinis militaris de Balneo. | Sumptibus eorum | Qui ad cognitionem Christi | Promovendam Sociati sunt;[4] | Liberaliter adjuvante Honorabili | Mercatorum Anglicorum Sodalitate. |

An English equivalent of this is inscribed upon a stone in the Church porch. The function was a memorable one; all the important people of Madras being present.

In their next letter to the Directors[5] the Madras Government related the circumstances connected with the new Church, and asked them to sanction the grant they had made. From this letter it appears that a previous letter had been sent by the Government to the Directors on the same subject. They wrote in 1821[6] that the Bishop of Calcutta had strongly recommended the erection of a Church at Vepery for the benefit of the Europeans and Christian natives in the vicinity; that they had appointed a Committee to consider the subject; that the Committee had presented their report, in which they estimated the cost of the building at 77,000 rupees, or 87,000 if there were any difficulty with the foundations; and that they had written to solicit orders.

[1] Consultations, 26 Aug., 23 Sept. and 3 Oct. 1823.
[2] Not by Col. de Havilland of the Madras Engineers.
[3] Law was an old Male Asylum boy; assisted by Mr. John Goldingham he improved upon the original designs. S.P.G. Report, 1829.
[4] The S.P.C.K.
[5] Letter, 23 March 1824, 3, 4, 5, Eccl.
[6] Letter, 6 July 1821, 33–38, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

No reply to this letter was written for three years. Then the Directors said[1] that they were satisfied of the desirableness of giving the Christian inhabitants of Vepery and its vicinity the means of attending public worship according to the rites of the Church of England, but considered that the estimate of 77,000 rupees was too much; and they authorised the Madras Government to advance 35,000 rupees in aid of the undertaking.

The delay in replying caused the Government and the District Committee of the S.P.C.K. to suppose that the Directors were not favourable to the proposal, and would give no help. The District Committee thereupon made their own plan and estimates, and submitted to the Government their new proposal for a building to cost 31,000 rupees. The favourable reply of the Directors offering a grant in aid of 35,000 rupees to the District Committee of the S.P.C.K. without conditions, and the letter of the Madras Government saying that they had made a grant-in-aid of 11,900 rupees under four conditions, crossed one another at sea. The Directors' letter was sufficient to satisfy the Madras Government that they had made no mistake in being over liberal; and the letter of the Madras Government to the Directors satisfied the Company that they need not have been so generous. The Directors therefore wrote again[2]:—

'We now find that the Madras District Committee of the S.P.C.K. has been authorised to draw upon that Society for £2000 for building a Church at Vipary to accommodate the numerous inhabitants and children who are accustomed to attend public worship at that station; and that divine service is to be regularly performed according to the practice of the Church of England by clergymen appointed and paid by the Society. Under these circumstances we approve of your granting 11,900 rupees to complete the building fund on condition that the Government was to be at no further expense.'

At the beginning of the year 1826 the building was finished and the scaffolding removed. The Government gave an extra 4000 rupees for fitting it up, and promised a pair of

[1] Despatch, 28 July 1824, 42, 43, Eccl.
[2] Do. 23 Feb. 1825, 5, 6, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

iron gates for the compound entrance and a bell.[1] They were most liberal and disinterested; they did not ask for ownership or part ownership; they simply helped to build a Church for the Christian people of the Vepery district, as they had already assisted the Christian people of South Black Town.[2]

Whilst the building operations were going on, some alterations were made in the original design, at the instance of the District Committee of the S.P.C.K.; these were mostly ornamental in character. In consequence of them the building fund was exhausted over the actual building, and there was nothing left for the remuneration of the architect. The District Committee asked the Government to make a further grant for this purpose; but the Government hesitated and referred the request to the Company. They said[1] they had not considered themselves at liberty without reference to comply with the application they received from the District Committee of the S.P.C.K. 'for a further grant of 7000 rupees with which they desire to remunerate the architect who has built the Church at Vipery, and who, having improved on the plan contemplated in his contract, will, it appears, otherwise receive no remuneration'; they added that the late Bishop[3] expressed his satisfaction with the design; and that the amount already granted fell short of the 35,000 rupees the Company was willing to give; 'and as the edifice on the improved plan appears by the report of the Superintending Engineer and by that of the District Committee to be in every respect worthy of the expense incurred, we trust that your Hon. Court will concur with us on the propriety of bestowing this additional grant on a building, the erection of which will be attended with so much benefit to the neighbouring community.'

The reason why they hesitated to make the grant in anticipation of sanction was that they were in doubt if the Company's orders of 1825[4] meant that the sum then granted was not to be exceeded.

The Company discussed the matter in a liberal spirit; after signifying their approval of the reference, they reviewed

[1] Letter, 31 Aug. 1827, 2, 3, Pub. [2] In 1817–20. [3] Heber.
[4] Despatch, 23 Feb. 1825, 6, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ST. MATTHIAS', VEPERY, MADRAS.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the conditions of the original grant, and referred to the unnecessarily ornamental style of the architecture, which had caused the contract price to be exceeded; and added,[1]—'but in consideration of the high testimonial which you have received, particularly that of the late Bishop, to the merit of the execution; and because, even if the present recommendation be acceded to, the expense to Government on account of the Church at Vepery will fall considerably short of the sum of 35,000 rupees which we originally expressed our willingness to contribute towards the work, we shall not withhold our consent from the donation of 7000 rupees proposed by the District Committee and recommended by you.'

It is necessary to relate this incident in view of what W. Taylor says, and of what others on his authority have said since, about the spiteful conduct of a distinguished military officer towards John Law in consequence of his design not being accepted. There seems to be no foundation for the story which Taylor tells.[2]

The new Church was opened for use on the 18th June 1826. It had a handsome organ; towards the cost of it the S.P.C.K. gave £50 and the rest was raised by a local subscription.[3] Lady Munro, the wife of the Governor, was throughout a kindly and liberal helper in all that concerned the building. It was intended that Bishop Heber should consecrate it on his return from his southern tour. His sad death in May at Trichinopoly decided the District Committee of the S.P.C.K. not to postpone the use of the building any longer. It was therefore dedicated for worship with a religious service; the consecration did not take place till 16 years afterwards, when Bishop Spencer of Madras officiated on St. Matthias' Day 1842. In honour of that Apostle it was called by his name.

The date of the opening synchronised with two important events; 1826 was the centenary year of the commencement of the S.P.C.K. mission in Madras; and it was the year in

[1] Despatch, 23 July 1828, 10, 11, Eccl.

[2] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 323. There is no reference in the Public or Military Consultations of 1824–5–6 to any intervention on the part of the military authorities. Colonel de Havilland went home in 1824 and retired in 1825. See Vibart's *History of the Madras Engineers*.

[3] S.P.G. Report, 1829.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which that Society disconnected itself with direct missionary enterprise, and handed over its missions and its property connected with them in India to the S.P.G.

The Government continued its good will. In 1831 and 1832 it helped the congregation by granting an allowance for an organist and a clerk.[1] The Directors sanctioned the payment of a clerk, but refused to defray the expense of an organist.[2] When the great storm of 1836 swept over Madras it destroyed many buildings and damaged others. The Government paid two thirds of the cost of the repair of St. Matthias'; the S.P.C.K. paid the rest.[3] In 1844 the Government authorised the Church, 'which belongs to the S.P.C.K.,' to be brought on the list of public buildings kept in repair at the public expense 'so long as it is used by an English congregation who have the services of a Chaplain'; the Directors approved.[4] In the same year some repairs were again carried out at the joint expense of the Company and the Society; and the Directors approved [5] of the expenditure on the ground that 'as Government had partly the use of the Church, it might fairly be expected to contribute part of the expenses.' It was at this period the Directors began to have and to state objections to the joint use of Churches by their servants in India and by missionary bodies. Their servants in India had no such objection. The Directors had called for a report on the subject in 1845. This grant for two thirds of the cost of repairs was sanctioned 'pending the report on the subject of holding Churches in joint occupancy, which we have called for.'

In 1845 the Government of Madras provided a set of Communion plate for the English congregation at Vepery; and in reporting this to the Directors asked if the Court recognised Vepery as a permanent Chaplaincy.[6] The Directors replied that their answer 'must depend on the result of the reference we have made to your Government on the general subject of mission Churches.'[7]

[1] Letters, 24 April 1832, 2, and 11 Dec. 1832, 5, Eccl.
[2] Despatches, 20 Feb. 1833, 7, and 9 Oct. 1833, 21, Eccl.
[3] Letter, 28 Feb. 1837, 2, 3, Eccl.
[4] Letter, 11 Oct. 1843, 66, 67, Eccl. and Despatch, 6 Nov. 1844, 24, Eccl.
[5] Despatch, 30 Sept. 1846, 3, Eccl. [6] Letter, 19 Sept. 1845, 2 to 8, Eccl.
[7] Despatch, 10 March 1847, 31, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In 1847 the Madras Government reported on the joint occupancy question and proposed a plan for terminating the system in accordance with the wish of the Directors. The proposal was formulated after consultation with the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. It was that the Government should repay to the Society the sum of money they had expended over the Church—to enable them to build another for their Portuguese and Tamil work—and should also give them a site for the building near the old mission premises.[1] The sum claimed was 27,813 rupees. The Directors in reply said[2] that as the Government could 'take no part in the proceedings of Missionary Societies, and as the arrangement by which the building is held for the use of Government has proved very inconvenient and liable to engender misunderstandings,' they would sanction the proposed arrangement if the Missionary Society would accede to the recommendation of its Madras Committee.

There had been some friction in 1844 between the Chaplain[3] and the Missionary, the latter of whom was standing upon his rights as to the numbers and times of the English services. In the day of small things it was possible to have one Church for the English, Portuguese and Tamil congregations; because all three congregations were small. By 1844 they were all large, so that one Church was no longer possible. Fortunately the Directors had an opinion at this time that neither they nor their servants in India ought to mix themselves up with the Missionaries, nor share Churches with them. And so an extra Church was obtained at the cost of the Company.

There were many people in Madras who did not approve of the sale of a consecrated building. What took place must not be regarded as a sale; it was the payment of a sum of money to the Mission Society to enable them to build another Church. A consecrated building is not private property; it is held by some one in trust for the purpose for which it is set apart; it is not, therefore, except by special enactment, capable of sale; the title is defective. However the Arch-

[1] Letter, 29 June 1847, Eccl. [2] Despatch, 3 Nov. 1847, Eccl.
[3] The Rev. H. Cotterill, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

deacon made the objection in response to a very general local feeling; the Madras Government referred the matter to the Company[1]; and the Company sought the opinion of an ecclesiastical lawyer. Eventually the Directors replied thus[2]:—

'With regard to the point brought before you by the Archdeacon, viz.: that the Church having been consecrated cannot be "purchased by the Government in the ordinary acceptation of the term," it is sufficient to observe that the Society could of course only transfer, and the Government could only purchase such a right in the Church as could legally be made a subject of transfer. Your Government having obtained possession of the Church after consecration must be held to have taken it subject to the condition that it "shall continue for ever separated, dedicated, and consecrated for the celebration of Divine service according to the Church of England"; exercising all the rights which, with this limitation, appertain to ownership.'[3]

The Archdeacon at the time was the Ven. Vincent Shortland; the secretary of the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. was the Rev. A. R. Symonds; and the Chaplain of Vepery was the Rev. F. G. Lugard.

On the completion of the new mission Church the Portuguese Eurasians had to consider whether they should in future share a Church with the Tamil congregation or with the English. Most of them by this time could speak and write English; it did not seem to them to be necessary to have a special Portuguese service any longer; they decided to remain at St. Matthias'; from that time (1852) the Portuguese services were discontinued.

When the English congregation was relieved of the duty of sharing the furniture of the Church with others they began to renew it throughout, and the Government assisted them according to the sanctioned scale.[4] They found themselves

[1] Letter, 8 Aug. 1848, 17, 18, Eccl. [2] Despatch, 16 July 1851, 39, Eccl.
[3] The Incorporated Society of the S.P.G. executed the deed of conveyance of Vepery Church to the Company in 1856; and the Company sent the deed to the Madras Government with their despatch of the 13 May 1856, Eccl.
[4] Despatch, 25 Oct. 1854, 15, Eccl., in reply to Letter, 6 July 1853, 12–15, Eccl. Do. 29 Aug. 1855, 31, Eccl., in reply to Letter, 24 April 1854, 3, Eccl. Do. 5 Aug. 1857, 32, Eccl., in reply to Letter, 11 Nov. 1856, 41, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rather cramped for room, and begged the Government to purchase a small portion of the mission compound on which they could erect store rooms. This was done.[1] They were still cramped, so they begged the Government to purchase a piece of ground and a building adjoining the Church from a private owner. This was done.[2] The title proved defective; it is probable that the property had once belonged to the mission and had been appropriated by a mission agent[3]; the Government took the property 'for public purposes' and paid the owner without a title a good sum as compensation. It was then considered necessary to build a wall between the Church compound and the mission compound to the east of the Church. This was done.[4] Since that time the Government have been liberal in making grants for repairs and renewal of furniture; and the congregation has been, both collectively and individually, liberal in providing funds for the purchase of articles of furniture and adornment which are not by rule provided by the Public Works Department. The east window and the reredos were erected in 1873 in memory of a devoted Chaplain, Arthur Henry Seymour, and his wife, who lost their lives in a railway accident in 1870. An inscription on a brass plate in the sanctuary records the loss and the memorial offering. The organ was purchased and dedicated by the congregation in 1877, when the Rev. A. C. Taylor was Chaplain. It cost £500. The baptistery and Font were added in 1886 as a memorial of a former zealous Lay Trustee, Major Gen. E. W. Childers R.A., who entered into rest in 1883. The memorial was the effort of a few friends and of the congregation. The porch, a handsome protection from the weather on the west side, was added in 1896, being partly paid for by the congregation and partly by the Government. During Mr. A. C. Taylor's incumbency there were added many handsome adornments through the liberality of Col. Childers, Mr. F. James, Mr. C. E. Phipps, Sir Charles Turner, Mrs. H. J. Tarrant, Surgeon Major Drake-Brockman,

[1] Despatch, 5 Aug. 1857, 3 Eccl., in reply to Letter, 9 Aug. 1856, Eccl.
[2] Do. 11 Aug. 1858, 18 Eccl., in reply to Letter, 12 May 1857, Eccl.
[3] Similar things happened with mission property at Trichinopoly and Tanjore.
[4] G.O. 30 May 1857, No. 239, and G.O. 24 June 1857, No. 261, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and others still well remembered. Many additions have been made during the last 20 years since he left; so that the appointments of this Presidency Church continue to be worthy of their high purpose.

Up to 1869 St. Matthias' Church was much the same in ecclesiastical matters as any other Church in the Diocese. The most notable Chaplains who served it up to that time were Henry Cotterill (1837–44), Francis G. Lugard (1845–54) and J. T. D. Kidd (1855–60). After 1869 it became the recognised centre of advanced ritual; and as the people delight to have it so, it remains so now. The most notable Chaplains during this period have been Arthur H. Seymour (1869–70), D. G. Clarke (1871–4), A. C. Taylor (1874–81), W. H. Hobart (1882–9) and A. A. Sharp (1896–1903). The names of other devoted helpers are written in the book of life, like those of Gerald L. Trevor, John Mills, Henry Tarrant, Jacob D'Rozario and William M. Scharlieb, to whom St. Matthias' is indebted for its present beautiful interior, its ritual, its ornaments, its choir, and the hearty appreciation of its services.

There have been no burials inside the Church; but among the interesting memorial tablets is one to the memory of Dr. John Peter Rottler, the last of the old S.P.C.K. Missionaries; he was in charge of the Vepery mission from 1818 to 1828, and died in 1836 aged 86 years. The tablet was erected by means of subscriptions from European, Eurasian and Tamil Christians.

The building is 90 by 46 feet, and is constructed to seat 650 persons.

2. *The English Church, Tuticorin.*—Tuticorin is the principal port of the Tinnevelly District. It lies to the east of Palamcottah at a distance of about 30 miles. The Dutch took it from the Portuguese in 1657, the same year that they took Negapatam. They expelled the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and having despoiled their chapel of its ornaments and images, they used the building for their own purposes as at Cochin. The Dutch minister, Baldaeus, from Jaffnapatam visited the place in 1658, and tried to convert the Roman Catholics, mostly fishermen, to the Dutch form of Christianity:

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INTERIOR OF ST. MATTHIAS', VEPERY, MADRAS.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he was not successful; the fishermen greatly resented the confiscation of their Church.[1] Being only a subordinate factory the Dutch did not have a Predicant there; but, as was usual in similar subordinate settlements, they probably had a Domine. The town was not a walled town like Negapatam; but there was a fort which afforded protection against attack on the land side.

In 1750 the Dutch East India Company built the present Church, placing their symbol over the date on the porch. The building is cruciform in shape, the four arms being of the same short length; one of them serves as a sanctuary; the one opposite to this contains the entrance from the porch; the two others and the centre afford sitting room for the congregation. The Dutch did not share their Churches with native Christians. The size of the building leads one to suppose that in 1750 there must have been about 100 Dutch and Dutch Eurasians in the settlement requiring accommodation.

In 1782 the town was surrendered to a detachment of British troops from Palamcottah. It was then the last of the Dutch possessions on the S.E. coast. It was, however, restored three years later, together with Bimlipatam, Sadras, and some smaller places. On the declaration of war with Holland in 1795 all these places were again taken possession of by the Company's troops. In 1801 the insurgent Polygars took the Fort; but as their insurrection was crushed before the end of the year, it soon returned to the possession of the Company.[2] In the year 1818 all the ports which had been taken from the Dutch in South India between 1790 and 1800 were restored to them; Tuticorin being amongst the number. But in 1824 the Dutch ceded all their Indian possessions to the East India Company in return for certain advantages in the Straits Settlements; so that the Church again changed hands when this arrangement was carried out in 1826. Since then it has remained in British possession.

It is interesting to note that Schwartz visited the station in 1785, and preached—as was his wont—to the English,

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India*, vol. iii. 88.
[2] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Natives. He probably went there from Palamcottah, when on one of his missionary journeys. Jaenicke went there in 1792.[1] In 1798, after the second capture of the place, Gericke paid a visit to Tuticorin, and followed the example of Schwartz in ministering to all classes. He repeated his visit in 1802. These visits were the commencement of the connection between Tuticorin and the S.P.C.K. Mission at Palamcottah, an offshoot of the Tanjore Mission. Between 1800 and 1818 and again between 1826 and 1835 Tuticorin was occasionally visited by J. C. Kohlhoff, Haubroe and D. Rosen, of that Mission. The result of the absence of a regular ministry, if only the ministry of a Dutch Domine, very soon showed itself. David Rosen's report of the degeneration of the Eurasians and the native Protestant Christians in the year 1829 supplies a wholesome warning against the neglect of religious teaching and religious ordinances.

There is a local tradition that when the Settlement was handed over to the Company's Agent in 1826, a condition was imposed by the Dutch that the Church should not be named in honour of any Christian saint. It is sufficient to say that no conditions of any kind are mentioned in the Treaty.

The Revd. G. U. Pope was probably the first English Missionary to visit Tuticorin in the official capacity of a God's Dienst, as the Dutch would have called him. This was in 1843. He found that the Church was unused, unclaimed, without any furniture and a picture of dreariness.[2] He was told by a Dutch resident, Mr. Rosemale Cocq, that the building was the property of the Tanjore Mission—that is, the S.P.G. He therefore took possession of it; and sent round a notice to the few English, Dutch, and Eurasian inhabitants that he would hold Divine service in it on the following Sunday. He also sent notice to the ships in harbour. There were not many residents; and not many British sailors in port; but all attended when Sunday arrived; indeed all who understood English attended; so that there were Dutch Lutherans, Portuguese Catholics, and English Church-people

[1] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission.*
[2] This is Dr. Pope's own description of it in 1902.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ENGLISH CHURCH, TUTICORIN.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

gathered together in the Church at what was really a re-opening service after several years' neglect of the building. The people brought or sent their own chairs; and afterwards thanked Dr. Pope for the service and the sermon. As his welcome was so marked, Dr. Pope found many opportunities afterwards to visit this flock without a shepherd before he left Tinnevelly in 1850.

After a short interval he was succeeded by the Revd. J. F. Kearns, a zealous faithful Irishman, who ministered in the Tinnevelly District for 17 years. During the time he was in charge the Directors were urging and forcing the Government of Fort St. George to bring to an end the system of joint occupation of Churches by the Government and Missionary Societies. At this time the Government asserted its right to the possession of the Church; the S.P.G. could not show undisturbed possession since the time of Gericke; nor could they plead that the building was at any time given to them. Gericke and succeeding S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. Missionaries had merely taken possession because no one else wanted the building, least of all the Government. But they had only fitfully used it until the arrival of Dr. Pope. As a Mission Church, therefore, it had to be given up. Mr. Kearns accordingly built another Church for his native congregation; and, like a good Irishman, dedicated it to God in honour of St. Patrick.

The English services at the old Church were conducted by the nearest Tinnevelly S.P.G. Missionary at irregular intervals during the next 25 years—that is, until 1883. During that time the place increased greatly in importance. The extensive growth of cotton in the district; the building of cotton presses in the town; the increase of trade; the exportation of labour to Ceylon, increased the number of European residents, and rendered necessary a larger staff of officials. In 1883 Bishop Caldwell, by the wise advice of the Metropolitan of India, moved to Tuticorin from the smaller centre of Edyengudi; he brought his Chaplain, the Rev. J. A. Sharrock, to be Principal of the newly established college for Christians,[1] and to officiate as Chaplain to the European

[1] Caldwell College.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

residents. Mr. Sharrock remained there ten years, dividing his attention between the College, the mission and the British residents. Prompted by them and assisted by their liberality he renewed and greatly improved the furniture and the ornaments of the Church,[1] and added a harmonium. Doubtless it was to show their appreciation of his voluntary labours amongst them that they were exceedingly liberal in supporting his mission work. It was ever so; the early S.P.C.K. Missionaries similarly obtained much support from officers for their mission work in return for their work amongst the European soldiers.

The Government repaired the building in 1862[2] and 1866; it is now on the list of Government Churches to be repaired at Government expense.

The most remarkable thing about the Church is its extreme plainness. In this respect it is quite unlike the Dutch Church at Negapatam. The few pieces of handsome furniture, locally carved, are quite unable to redeem it from the charge of ugliness. In shape and appearance it is like the Wolfendahl Church at Colombo. The English register books were begun in 1845.

3. *Christ Church, Trichinopoly.*—In the middle of the 18th century there was a considerable number of German and Swiss officers and soldiers in the various garrisons in the south of India. Captain John William Berg was one of these. He was a native of Hamburg; and was in the military service of the Rajah of Tanjore. This officer was in the habit of inviting one of the Tranquebar Missionaries to administer the sacraments to such as needed them in Tanjore from time to time. In 1762 Schwartz paid his first visit to Tanjore for this purpose. Instead of returning to Tranquebar he travelled on to Trichinopoly, where there was an English garrison; he was received so warmly by officers and men that he determined to remain there. Major Preston, the Commandant, assisted by a civil servant of the Company,[3] erected a temporary building in which public services could be held on Sundays. In 1763 an explosion occurred at one of the

[1] *Madras Diocesan Record*, July 1889.
[2] G.O. 27 Feb. 1862, Eccl., and 1 June 1866, Eccl.
[3] He was a brother of the eminent Bishop Newton.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

magazines in the Fort, by which the lives of some European and native soldiers were lost. Major Preston set on foot a collection for the European orphans and raised 300 pagodas for their benefit. The money was given to Schwartz; and he was asked to find a schoolmaster from among the old soldiers to teach the children. This he was unable to do; so he determined to send them and the money to Fabricius in Madras. Before he could carry out this intention he joined the Company's army under Major Preston before Madura, and ministered to the sick and wounded during the siege.[1]

On the return of the force from Madura to Trichinopoly the Nawab made a large present of money to the army; of this 600 pagodas were given to Schwartz, and he dedicated the sum to the Tamil congregation and school.[2] The Nawab also gave 300 pagodas for the European orphans, so that Schwartz had in 1766, when he wrote to the Mission College at Copenhagen, 600 pagodas for their benefit. Out of this sum he supported a schoolmaster and four children entirely, and he gave instruction and the necessary books to several others. This was the origin of the Vestry School which still exists.

Major Preston died of his wounds at Madura; but there were other officers equally well disposed towards Schwartz and the cause of religion. On their return to Trichinopoly they remarked on the unsuitability of the place where divine service was held; they raised a sum of 2000 pagodas among themselves for the purpose of building a more suitable House of God; and they made no difficulty about its being used also for the Portuguese and Tamil congregations. The Nawab of the Carnatic, Mahomed Ali Khan, to whom the town and fort of Trichinopoly ostensibly belonged, was asked[3] to give a site and his sanction to the erection of the Church. The Nawab

[1] Fenger's *Tranquebar Mission*, pp. 208–9.

[2] The various sums of money given to, or raised by, or raised in the time of Schwartz have been confused by historians. It is said by W. Taylor (*Memoir*, p. 75) that the Nawab remunerated Schwartz for his service with the army at Madura with a gift of 900 pagodas, and that Schwartz used this sum for the building of the Church. Fenger (*Tranquebar Mission*, p. 209) inserts a letter from Schwartz himself to the Mission College at Copenhagen, in which he says that the remuneration was 600 pagodas, and that he used the sum for his Tamil work.

[3] Pearson's *Schwartz*, i. 151.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

did not withhold his sanction, but expressed a wish that the building should be outside the walls of the Fort; and undertook to give a strong stone building for the purpose if his wish were respected. The Commandant, Colonel Wood, felt that a building outside the walls would be almost useless to the garrison; so he determined to build it inside. The Nawab gave the site; the Government of Fort St. George gave the bricks and mortar and the timber for the doors and windows; Col. Wood himself gave the design and superintended the builders; Schwartz took charge of the materials, kept the accounts and paid the labourers.[1]

The foundation stone was laid on the 13th March 1765; and the vaulting of the roof was completed on the 13th March 1766. The building was completed in May and dedicated to the service of God on the 18th of that month. Colonel Wood and the officers of the station were present at the dedication. Many men of the garrison were doubtless present too; there is no record of the opening service in existence; but the men loved Schwartz for going with them to Madura, and were probably present either on duty or voluntarily. This was the dedication prayer:—

'Most Gracious God, we humbly rejoice in the assurance of Thy Holy word, that though Thou dwellest not in temples made with hands yet Thou delightest in the children of men, who as brethren meet together to confess their sins, to beg Thy Divine forgiveness, to implore Thy goodness, and to praise Thy holy name.

'Be merciful therefore unto us, and hear our prayer that we make before Thee in this place. As often as we from henceforth shall assemble here, let Thy Spirit awaken our hearts to seek Thy face sincerely without hypocrisy. As often as we shall hear Thy word, let us do it with an unfeigned intention to obey and keep it without exception. As often as Thy holy sacraments which are means of entering into a covenant of love and obedience, are administered in this House, be pleased to make them effectual to the salvation of our souls. And finally when strangers who do not know Thy name, hear of all the glorious doctrines preached in this House, incline their hearts to renounce their idolatry, and to

[1] Fenger's *Tranquebar Mission*; Pearson's *Life of Schwartz*.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHRIST CHURCH, FORT, TRICHINOPOLY.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

worship Thee O God in the name of Christ. In this manner make this a place where Thy name is glorified, Thy Kingdom sought for, and Thy will duly performed.

'Bless all those who have forwarded the building of this House by kind advice or charitable contribution. Remember them in mercy during the days of their life and particularly at the hour of their death. Let them see at the Day of Judgement that their charity has been serviceable to the benefit of many souls. Frustrate all the machinations of the Devil against this House; preserve it from all dangerous accidents; and let it long be what we from henceforth shall humbly call it, Christ's Church. Hear these our supplications etc. Amen.'

The design of the Church was very much like that of St. Mary's, Fort St. George; it was necessary to have a bomb proof roof in those troubled times. The roof consisted of three semicircular arches supported by the outside walls and two parallel ranges of arched arcades inside.[1]

At first the Government of Fort St. George tried to arrange that Mr. Thomas, one of the Chaplains of St. Mary's, should pay periodical visits to Trichinopoly as well as to the cantonment at Vellore. The ill health of his colleague prevented this arrangement being carried out. They therefore wrote to the Directors and asked them to appoint two more Chaplains.[2] In the mean time they sent this order to the Commandant at Trichinopoly[3]:—

'It having been represented to us that the Company's troops at the out-garrisons suffer greatly in their morals for want of a Chaplain or some minister of the Gospel to perform Divine Service; and there being at present at Trichinopoly a large body of Europeans for whom we have no Chaplain; it is agreed to request of Mr. Schwartz, one of the Danish Missionaries, who has long resided in that part of the country, speaks English perfectly well, and bears a most unexceptionable character, to officiate at that garrison (where a Church has been built by a public subscription of the officers and others) and to allow him £100 per annum to be paid monthly by the Commissary General; and ordered that the Secretary do advise him thereof.'

[1] Consultations, 31 Aug. 1798. [2] Letter, 22 Jan. 1767, 114.
[3] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, vol. i. 219.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In accepting the offer Schwartz bargained that he might be allowed to visit certain congregations in the Tanjore country once a year.

In 1771 there was a second explosion of gunpowder. This time it was at the powder factory at the foot of the Rock and on the north side of it, quite near to the new Church. By this explosion 34 European soldiers and 10 Sepoys were killed; and 66 European soldiers and 44 Sepoys were wounded.[1] The sufferers mostly belonged to the Company's artillery. The Sepoy gunners, or topasses, were chiefly recruited from the Portuguese Eurasian and the Portuguese native Christian class, which supplied so many wives to the European soldiers in the Company's service. The calamity called forth the sympathy of the rest of the garrison; a sum of money was at once raised for the benefit of the orphan children. By this time there was a Church and a Vestry after the model of St. Mary's, Fort St. George. The fund was administered by the Vestry; it formed the nucleus of the Vestry Fund, which is still the endowment of the Trichinopoly Vestry School.

In 1772 the S.P.C.K. made a gift of Bibles and Prayer Books for the use of the English congregation at Trichinopoly.[2] The Society's reports from this time forward contain numerous references to the English, Portuguese and native mission work that was faithfully carried on at Trichinopoly by Schwartz himself, by his assistant Gericke during his short absences at Tanjore, and by his successor Christian Pohle after he took up his permanent abode at Tanjore.

The principal civil and military officers of the station, as at Fort St. George, supervised the affairs of the English congregation and promoted its interests in Vestry. All the records of their proceedings before 1826 have been lost; but occasionally one comes across references to Trichinopoly and Tanjore matters in the various records at Fort St. George. For instance in 1776 the St. Mary's Vestry considered an application from Schwartz to deposit a sum of money with them for the benefit of the charity school at Trichinopoly. They agreed to receive the sum at 5 per cent. There is no

[1] Letter, 28 Feb. 1772, 85. [2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1772.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

record to show that their terms were accepted. Again in 1793 the Trichinopoly Vestry wrote as follows to the Government [1]:—

'It is with much deference that the members of the Vestry of Trichinopoly take the liberty of addressing you, Hon. Sir, on the subject of the Charity Trust reposed in them at this place.

'The Vestry wish to represent that in the year 1771 a charity school was established here by the voluntary subscription of a number of gentlemen for the maintenance of the children of European soldiers, to be educated in writing reading arithmetic and in the principles of religion; and the charge of the school was delivered over to the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, then clergyman of the garrison.

'That the original sum subscribed on its institution being very considerable, the amount, as was judged most eligible and safe, was invested by the Trust in Company's Bonds.

'That from the interest accrueing on these bonds and occasional small charitable collections, the school has been supported for 22 years, and that on an average 13 children have annually been maintained by it, and at the present period 15. That since its first institution above 50 children have been apprenticed out to different professions by the Vestry, who in consequence are a comfort to themselves and families.

'The Vestry beg leave to represent to your Honour in Council that the discharge of the Company's bonds lately has thrown into the hands of the Charity almost the only resource it had, in receiving the annual interest on a bond for 2700 pagodas principal at 8 per cent., which with other bonds of similar description is now paid off.'

The Vestry concluded by asking that the money might be kept in the hands of the Government for the benefit of the charity which had been of such use locally. The letter was signed by Thomas Bruce (Colonel), Edward Garrow (Political Resident), Nicol Mein (Chief Surgeon), and Christian Pohle.

The Government resolved to recommend the Court of Directors to receive the Fund, and to continue the interest as long as the Company found it necessary to have any debt at the Presidency.

The following year the Vestry again [2] wrote to the Govern-

[1] Consultations, 23 Aug. 1793. [2] Do. 24 Oct. 1794.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment and asked that the Church might be repaired at the public expense, the cost being estimated by the Engineer, Major Trapaud, at 191 pagodas. The letter of the Vestry was signed by J. Floyd, Colonel, Christian Pohle and W. Hawkins. They enclosed in their letter to the Government a letter to themselves from Mr. Pohle drawing attention to the need of repair. The Government resolved to comply with the request.

In 1798 Major General Floyd ordered the Senior Engineer in the garrison to survey the building and report on its condition. Lieut. de Havilland reported that,—

1. The roof consisted of three masonry arches supported by two ranges of arcades within and by the outer walls.

2. The walls were too thin for the weight of the arches, which were thicker than necessary.

3. The north arch was seriously cracked all along owing to the exterior wall having sunk a little.

4. Three large buttresses had already been built at various periods on that side.

5. He suggested two more buttresses at a cost of 143 pagodas.

General Floyd wrote[1]:—

'The Church in this garrison appearing in a dangerous state, it has been surveyed by Lieut. de Havilland, the Senior Engineer present, whose report addressed to me I have the honour to enclose for your information. It appears from the report that the Church is not likely to last many years from the defective construction; but that, unless immediately supported by buttresses it may fall in directly.

'This Church was originally built by subscription, to which the late Rev. Mr. Schwartz contributed amply. There are no funds to answer exigencies of this nature; only a small sum, the interest of which is barely sufficient for the support of a few charity boys and girls, the children of Europeans or rather orphans. I therefore take the liberty of laying these circumstances before you, Sir, from whom alone any assistance may be hoped for.'

The Government agreed to direct that the Church be repaired at an expense not exceeding the sum mentioned.

[1] Consultations, 31 Aug. 1798.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Five years later the Rev. C. Pohle addressed a letter to the Government [1] representing that 'the Church ground attached to the Garrison Church at Trichinopoly is become very much crowded'—asking to be allowed to purchase with mission money at the valued price of 299 pagodas a house and piece of ground on the north side, to enlarge the burial space and to use the house for a school, which at present he held outside.

The letter was sent to Government in the Military Department through Gericke, the recognised head of the mission; he forwarded it with a covering letter recommending the purchase at once without waiting for the auction, in case both house and ground might be lost. It is hard to guess what he and Pohle wanted the Government to do. As a matter of fact they did nothing. The house and land were bought as recommended.[2]

It is to be observed that the first two letters were written by the Vestry without reference to the General Officer Commanding; the third was written by the General without reference to the Vestry; the fourth was written by the Missionary-Chaplain without reference to either. The question of property was involved; and it was a very involved question. To whom was the site granted? To whom did the Church belong? There was neither Government Order, as in the case of the Vepery and Cuddalore Churches, nor deed of conveyance. The building had no legal owner; it was in exactly the same position as the various Assembly Rooms which civil and military officers built in various military stations in the first half of the 19th century. They wanted the Rooms; so they collected money and built them; and appointed a local Committee to look after them. In Trichinopoly they wanted a Church; so they built one; and they appointed a Vestry to take care of it and to manage its charity funds. It was not vested in the Government; the Government neither owned nor desired to own Churches at that period. It was not vested in the S.P.C.K.; it was built before Schwartz was connected with the Society; [3] there was no such investment

[1] Military Consultations, 4 Aug. 1803.

[2] The mission property at this time consisted of the Missionary's house in the S.E. corner of the churchyard, this house in the N.E. corner, an English and a Tamil school house, and some houses for catechists near the Church.

[3] Fenger's *Tranquebar Mission*, pp. 210–213.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

after he became connected with it; and it was not vested in Schwartz personally. At first no one troubled about ownership; the Church was built for the joint use of the European, Eurasian and native Christian community—not reckoning native Roman Catholics—and it was being used for the purpose for which it was built; what therefore did ownership matter? The Vestry thought they held it in trust as the Vestry at Fort St. George held St. Mary's. The General Officer Commanding classed it as a military building, and ordered the military engineer to survey and report on it. The Missionary Chaplain, without actually claiming it as mission property, could see that there were some mission rights connected with it. If it were a military building, then the military Chaplain in the service of the Company would have an undoubted right to officiate in it, as against any Missionary of the S.P.C.K. who was not also a Chaplain of the garrison like himself. The danger of losing possession of the building for missionary use was not imaginary; for in 1798 the Rev. Charles Ball, one of the newly appointed military Chaplains, was appointed to officiate at Trichinopoly. It is very much to the credit of Mr. Ball that during the time he was at Trichinopoly [1] he made no claim of any kind. He ministered principally in the cantonment at Warriore, two miles west of the Fort, where the European Infantry and Cavalry lines, the military hospital and the military school were; and he assisted Pohle in the Church services at the Fort. By the time the new cantonment was formed, three miles south of the Fort,[2] and the decision had been arrived at to build a new Church in it,[3] the question of the ownership of Christ Church was no longer a matter of importance. So long as it was available for the European troops left behind in the Fort, neither the Government nor the military authorities desired ownership. They had all they wanted, and they left the S.P.C.K. mission in peaceful and unchallenged possession.

The St. Mary's Vestry lawsuit of 1805 not only affected the Madras Vestry and its funds, but the Vestries of Tanjore

[1] He was at Trichinopoly from 1798 to 1806, with the exception of one year when he officiated as Presidency Chaplain at St. Mary's, Fort St. George.
[2] This was in 1805.
[3] Despatch, 10 July 1811, 112, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Trichinopoly also. It was decreed that in the India of the East India Company there was no parish, no Vestry, and no ecclesiastical corporation to hold funds. The St. Mary's Vestry dissolved itself. The Tanjore Vestry came to an end when the European troops and their officers left the station. The Trichinopoly Vestry continued because there was a fund to administer, and no other means of carrying on its purpose had been suggested either by the Government or the High Court.

The St. Mary's Fund, which was represented by bonds drawn in favour of the Ministers and Churchwardens, was safeguarded by the payment of the interest to the persons who represented the old administrative authorities, that is the Chaplains of Fort St. George. The other funds, which were much smaller in value, were not similarly safeguarded by the Government. The Vestry Fund of Tanjore got into the power and possession of a single individual, and was misapplied. The different circumstances of Trichinopoly saved the fund from being applied to any other purpose than that for which it was raised. For Trichinopoly was selected to be the chief military station of the south, and was made the Head Quarters of the Southern Division of the Madras army. This involved the presence of a Company's Chaplain. As a matter of fact there was a Chaplain in the station throughout the whole period the fund was in danger through having no legal owner. Christian Pohle himself retained his official position as garrison Chaplain from the time he was appointed till the time of his death in 1818. He was a member of the old Vestry. He knew what the fund was raised for; for many years he had helped in its administration; and had managed the Vestry school which it supported. There is no evidence that he wished the fund to be put to any other use. His firm bold handwriting adorns the pages of the entrance book of the school up to the time of his death. The declaration that the Vestry had no ownership in the fund and no power over it made no difference to him. He was an honest man like the best of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries before him; and he needed no Vestry to keep him in mind of his duty.

If he had been wanting in this respect there was in the station a colleague, a Chaplain who was a covenanted servant

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Company, who would have reminded him of it. These circumstances preserved the old Vestry Fund at Trichinopoly. The Company's Chaplains there at the beginning of the 19th century were the Rev. Charles Ball (1798 to 1806), the Rev. W. A. Keating (1807 to 1810), the Rev. Richard Smyth (1811 to 1814), the Rev. H. C. Banks (1815 to 1822), and the Rev. Joseph Wright (1822 to 1830).

In 1815 Bishop Middleton of Calcutta recommended the formation of a District Committee of the S.P.C.K. in Madras. The Committee was formed under Archdeacon Mousley. Its original function was not to look after or safeguard the property of the mission;[1] but in a very short time this duty became so obvious and necessary that it was undertaken. When the Bishop visited the southern Presidency in 1816 and 1819 he found many things in the mission field to rejoice over; but he also found the mission finances in a strange state of disorder. There was a Vepery Mission Fund administered by the executors of Gericke, who were responsible to no one but themselves; there was a Tanjore Mission Fund administered by the executors of Schwartz, similarly irresponsible; there was property in land, houses, Churches and burial grounds at Cuddalore, Vellore, Negapatam, Palamcottah and other places, which was administered by the S.P.C.K. Missionary who happened to be there; and if no Missionary were there, was in danger of being lost.

The death of Paezold at Vepery in 1817 was the determining cause of the District Committee taking up this function. The two senior S.P.C.K. Missionaries, Pohle and Kohlhoff, asked them to do it. They readily consented, and appointed a sub-committee to discover what the property of the Vepery mission was.[2] Their work in this respect was so manifestly advantageous and right that in the following year they were asked by the executors of Gericke and Schwartz to undertake the charge of the Vepery and Tanjore funds and release the executors of their responsibility.[3] The District Committee declined pending a reference to the Parent Society in London.[4] The Parent Society were averse to the District

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 135.
[2] Do. pp. 137 to 166.
[3] Do. pp. 167–8.
[4] Do. p. 171.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Committee taking these missionary functions out of the hands of the Missionaries themselves; consequently Dr. Rottler retained charge of the actual funds till 1823. In that year he handed over all the Government Bonds and the cash in his possession to Messieurs Arbuthnot & Co., who were desired to receive the interest, and to take care of the property. This was done with the consent of the Vepery and Tanjore Missionaries. The sum was over 1½ lac of rupees.[1] After this the District Committee practically administered the funds for the benefit of the several missions, regarding them as 'in our possession'[2]; Dr. Rottler of Vepery and Mr. J. C. Kohlhoff of Tanjore, the only executors then living, agreed to this arrangement.[3]

What enabled the District Committee to do this was a clause in Gericke's will. He appointed executors to administer the funds of the two missions, and exhorted them to 'see that there be a succession of faithful administrators both to the Tanjore Mission Fund and to that of Vepery.' In appointing the District Committee, which was composed of some of the most important persons, both socially and officially, in Madras at the time, to carry on the work, they were acting in strict accordance with the provisions of the clause.

Christian Pohle of Trichinopoly was succeeded by David Rosen. The District Committee sent him there in 1819. He was a graduate of Copenhagen; a student with an air of superiority; a man of literary taste but of restless habit. His knowledge of English was not great. He was not made a Chaplain of the garrison as Pohle had been; but he had work among the Europeans and Eurasians of the Fort, and a seat on the local Vestry. Pohle had a perfect knowledge of the English language and was well acquainted with English ways; so that he could minister to the Company's European soldiers in the Fort, and manage the European Vestry school there, quite as well as the Company's Chaplain himself. With Rosen it was different. It was felt that the European work would be better done by the Rev. Joseph Wright; that he would minister more acceptably to the soldiers, would

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 259. [2] Do. p. 269. [3] Do. p. 277.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

manage the school better, and that it would be more in accordance with the fitness of things that he should relieve the European poor.

The Missionaries at Tanjore did not agree with this view[1]; but the District Committee did; they thought that all the European work should be transferred to the garrison Chaplain and the Vestry,[2] and that the mission work should be carried on by native agents superintended by one of the European Missionaries at Tanjore. They therefore moved Rosen to another station where they judged he was more wanted; and they asked Mr. Wright and the Vestry to undertake all the European work in the Fort. There was no handing over of funds by Rosen to Wright, as Taylor supposes.[3] The Vestry administered the fund both before and after the European work of the Fort changed hands. Pohle and Rosen had seats on the Vestry; so had Rosen's successor Schreyvogel; but neither Pohle nor Rosen possessed the Vestry Fund, nor dominated the Vestry in the administration of it. What they did was to carry on the European school under the Vestry with the Vestry money. After the departure of Rosen this work was carried on by the Company's Chaplain, because the Company's servants who composed the Vestry, and the S.P.C.K. Committee in Madras wished it to be so. Time and circumstance had caused the members of the Vestry to change their abode from the Fort to the Cantonment, where a new Church was built in 1807. The general result of the decision, therefore, was to change the local habitation of the Vestry from Christ Church to St. John's. The school itself soon followed. Both the Fund and the school children benefited. The mission suffered no loss. But whether the right thing was done in quite the right way is another question. The Fund amounted to 60,000 rupees.

Trichinopoly will always be memorable from the fact of Bishop Heber's visit in 1826, when he lost his life. His

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 295.

[2] The Vestry members were not appointed by the Government, as Mr. Banks stated in his report on the mission (S.P.G. Report, 1829).

[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 297. The suggestion of a conspiracy between the District Committee, the Trichinopoly Vestry, and Mr. Wright is incredible.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, FORT, TRICHINOPOLY.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES FOR INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

death was the cause of a widespread regret from the highest to the lowest. The Government of Madras looked upon his last wishes as executors look upon the provisions of an attested will. The Bishop found that the Government was in various stations making use of S.P.C.K. Missionaries and S.P.C.K. Churches without paying either stipends or rents. Most of the older Missionaries whom they regularly paid had passed away; only J. C. Kohlhoff of Tanjore and Rottler of Vepery remained of all who had been partly in their service. The Bishop expressed an opinion that at least some compensation should be made for the use of the mission buildings. The opinion was passed on by his Chaplain to them after his death; and the result was that Vepery Church was assisted in the rebuilding, Cuddalore Church was rented by means of a monthly payment, Trichinopoly and Tanjore Churches were preserved from decay and ruin by a thorough restoration.

The District Committee of the S.P.G. reported to the parent Society in 1827 that Bishop Heber found that the place was without a European Missionary, which was true; but they added that it had been so since Pohle died in 1818, which was a mistake; for David Rosen was there from 1819 to 1824. They rightly reported that the native congregation was left in charge of a catechist, and was occasionally visited by a Missionary from Tanjore; and finally that the Church was rapidly falling into ruins. The old semi-circular bomb-proof roof, which was too thick and heavy for the outside walls, continued to press them outwards.[1] The heavy buttresses on the north side were not sufficient to prevent movement. It was therefore decided by the military engineers to take down the old roof and replace it by a horizontal beam roof with a terrace of brickwork and plaster above the beams.[2] This was all done at the expense of the Company and cost over 7000 rupees.[3]

In 1860 the Government consented to pay half the cost

[1] Repairs were carried out at the Company's expense in 1826 in deference to the wish of Bishop Heber. Letter, 15 Dec. 1826, 13, Eccl.

[2] Now known as a Bengal terrace roof; but it was used in Madras long before Bengal was the property of the Company.

[3] Despatch, 25 Nov. 1835, 18, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the repairs in that year amounting to 297 rupees, on the ground that the Church had been uninterruptedly used by Europeans and Eurasians for so many years [1]; and in 1879 the Government presented the Church with a small iron Safe, at the request of the Chaplain, for the custody of the old register books of the 18th and early 19th centuries; these contain many hundred records of baptisms, marriages and burials of the Company's military and civil servants from the year 1765.

Bishop Heber's visit was memorable in other ways also. Christ Church was the last Church in which this eminent servant of God officiated. After a long and fatiguing service, he retired to the Missionary's house in the south east corner of the Churchyard. Seeing the Churchyard full of people, he took up a position on the steps leading into the house, just above the tomb of the faithful Pohle, and addressed them. This was his last effort; and it was a Missionary one. In an exhausted condition he returned to the Cantonment to the house of his host, Mr. John Bird the Collector; there he plunged into a cold swimming bath; and owing to the shock of the cold water on his exhausted system a blood vessel burst on the brain.

Bishop Heber ordained Daniel Schreyvogel of the Tranquebar mission for work at Trichinopoly. His Tranquebar brethren were not pleased at what they considered his re-ordination; Fenger says that he resigned the Tranquebar mission and 'joined the English Church by reordination.' He began work at Trichinopoly soon after the Bishop's death, and faithfully ministered to the Eurasians and native Christians of the Fort till his death in 1840.

The building is 72 by 46 feet; it has a circular sanctuary at the east end 15 feet deep and 19 feet broad. There are two vestries each 12 by 8 feet at the west end, one on each side of the tower. On the altar piece, which is practically the panelling of the apse, there are printed in gold letters the Creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and some texts of Scripture in various languages. This was done in the time of Schwartz himself, and remains untouched. He arranged them

[1] G.O. 23 Nov. 1860, No. 328, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE BATH IN WHICH BISHOP HEBER WAS DROWNED.

In 1879 it was railed in by the Government of Fort St. George, and a stone was erected commemorating the event; the inscription was written by Bishop Gell of Madras.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in this way: in the centre panel are the ten commandments in English; on the north panel there are the Lord's prayer in English, the Institution of the Lord's Supper in English, a text in Portuguese and three texts in Persian[1]; on the south panel there are the Apostles' Creed in English, the command to teach and baptise in English, a text in Portuguese, and the Lord's prayer in Tamil.

A very interesting reminder of the former connection of the Church with the garrison is a hatchment on the north wall of the Church. It exhibits on an ermine shield three bulls proper, two and one, statant, gardant; this is surmounted by a crest, a bull's head couped; the legend is 'Be Firm.'[2] Only one other Church in India possesses a hatchment, that at Negapatam.

When the Church was first built burials were permitted by the Vestry within its walls. No such burial took place in the 19th century. These are probably all that took place:—

Catherine, the wife of Captain Abraham Faizan	1766
Mary, the child of Captain Kennedy. .	no date
Nancy, „ „ . . .	„
James Buttler, Lieut. Col. of the Artillery . .	1771[3]
Thomas Oats, Lieut. Capt. of the Artillery .	1772[4]
John Des Plans, Lieut.-Col. in the Co.'s service .	1772
Harriet Hannah, wife of Joseph Hinchley Esq. .	1772
Harriet Eliza and Lucy Clifton, two children .	1774
Andrew Johnston, Captain in the Co.'s service .	1775
Henry Davies, Captain in the Co.'s service . .	1775
George Bryne, Captain in the Co.'s service . .	1776
Matthew Horne, Brig. Gen. Commanding . .	1789
Rebecca, wife of Charles Darke Esq. . . .	1797[5]

There are also some tablets on the walls, one to the memory of Christian Pohle, buried in the Churchyard 1818, and one to the memory of Daniel Schreyvogel, who died at

[1] See also Pearson's *Schwartz*, i. 214.
[2] The arms are those of Gen. Matthew Horne.
[3] Omitted in Leslie's List of Madras Artillery Officers.
[4] Lost his footing on the Rock, fell and was killed.
[5] Her daughter married Col. Floyd of the 19th Dragoons; her granddaughter married Sir Robert Peel.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Pondicherry and was buried in the mission Church at Cuddalore 1840. Among the later memorials are two stained glass windows; one to the memory of Christian Samuel Kohlhoff, who worked in the S.P.G. mission in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts for 42 years and died in 1881; and the other to the memory of Thomas Philip Adolphus, who was an S.P.G. Missionary in the Diocese from 1851 to 1881, and who died in 1892. From 1865 to 1877 he was in charge of the European and Eurasian congregation worshipping at Christ Church in the Fort. Both these memorials were erected by subscription.

During the last 25 years the furniture of the Church has been greatly improved by gifts and purchases. This improvement commenced when the Rev. J. L. Wyatt was appointed head of the mission in 1879. The seats once adorned the cantonment Church; when new seats were purchased in 1885 for St. John's, the old ones were passed on to Christ Church.[1] The pulpit and the American Organ were passed on in a similar way. The altar was the gift of Major Bird, Lay Trustee of St. John's; the altar rails and the faldstool were the gift of the Rev. Jacob Gnanaolivu, one of the College Professors; the reading desk was the gift of the Rev. V. Gnanamuttu, the native clergyman in charge under J. L. Wyatt; Mr. Wyatt gave the Eucharistic lights and flower vases; Archdeacon Williams gave the brass altar book rest; whilst the altar cross, the hanging lamps, the clock, the altar frontals, and various necessary pieces of furniture and adornment have been given by native members of the congregation.

Up to the time Schreyvogel died, 1840, the Directors had not felt any difficulty in sanctioning the employment of Missionaries to do European work—if there was any to be done where they happened to be stationed; the local Government paid a rent for the use of Cuddalore Church; they subsidised the London Missionary at Vizagapatam, and the Wesleyan Missionary at Negapatam. But in 1840 they began to object to the recognition and employment of Missionaries by the State.[2] They disapproved of the connection of any

[1] With the permission of the Government, 'until required.'
[2] Despatch, 23 Dec. 1840, 17, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE SANCTUARY OF CHRIST CHURCH, FORT, TRICHINOPOLY.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government officer with the religious education of the natives of India.[1] They objected to their servants sharing a Church with a mission body; they looked upon it as an act which might be misunderstood[2] by the Hindus and Mahommedans. They directed all such joint occupation to be brought to an end. To this end they sanctioned the purchase of Vepery Church[3]; the erection of new Churches at Cuddalore and Palamcottah[4]; they stopped the allowance given to the S.P.G. Missionary at Tanjore for his ministrations to the Europeans of the station[5]; and they dissociated themselves in every possible way from the Missionaries and their work.

This action was a complete reversal of former policy; its effect was to compel the Missionaries to give up their English work here and there, and to make the S.P.G. lay down a policy for India different from its policy in all other parts of the world. It was practically told that it was not wanted for English work in that country.

The result was that a second Chaplain had to be appointed for Trichinopoly. There was still a large European congregation at the Fort. There were the Conductors, Sergeants and artificers of the Ordnance department; there were some European pensioners; and there was a small Eurasian community.[6] In 1852 the Government removed the second Chaplain; and left the English duty to be performed by the S.P.G. Missionary again, the Rev. George Heyne. Hearing of this the Society complained. So on the recommendation of the Bishop, the Chaplain, in 1856 (the Rev. W. W. Gilbert Cooper) was directed to hold service once a Sunday at Christ Church in addition to his own duties. The S.P.G. thereupon claimed rent for the use of the building. But the Directors refused to give it, 'considering that the relief given to the Society's Missionary was a set off to the use of its pulpit.'[7]

[1] Despatch, 7 May 1845, Judicial.
[2] Do. 18 March 1846, 1, 2, Eccl., and 10 March 1847, 11, Eccl.
[3] Do. 3 Nov. 1847, Eccl.
[4] Do. 19 July 1848, 2, 5, Eccl.
[5] Do. 20 Oct. 1847, 16, Eccl. See also on the general subject of breaking connection everywhere, Despatch, 11 Aug. 1858, 47, Eccl.
[6] *Journal of a Visitation Tour by Bp. Spencer in* 1845, Rivingtons. Bp. Spencer consecrated Christ Church on this occasion, 17 Feb. 1845.
[7] Despatch, 11 Aug. 1858, 53, 54, Eccl., in reply to Letter, 15 Dec. 1857, 45–49, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Society did not press the point. So the Chaplain of the station held a weekly service at Christ Church as directed. This continued till 1865, when the Rev. T. P. Adolphus was appointed assistant Chaplain. He received a small allowance from the Government—a reversion to the policy of early times—ministered to the Europeans and Eurasians of the Fort, and continued to do so till 1877, by which time owing to the removal of the Ordnance workshops elsewhere and the deaths and departures of the Eurasian residents, there were only a very few to minister to. The appointment was then abolished.

Christ Church was the scene of a desecrating tragedy in 1833. A political prisoner, the ex-Nawab of Kurnoul, had been shortly before removed from Bellary to Trichinopoly. Mr. William Hickey who was afterwards well known as a Missionary of the S.P.G., was at this time engaged as a Reader or Catechist at Christ Church. The generally received account of the tragedy is contained in a letter of his two days after the occurrence.[1] He reported the assassination of the Nawab in the Church on Sunday the 12th July. The victim had begun to read Persian and Hindustani tracts about the doctrines of the Christian religion; he sought an interview with Hickey; and he asked and obtained permission to attend the services of the Church. He was present at Christ Church on two Sundays before the fatal day. On that day he attended the English service in the morning, and remained without going to his quarters till the afternoon, intending to be present at the Tamil service. His study of Christian writings and his attendance at a Christian Church were equally distasteful to his Mahommedan co-religionists. One of these approached him in the Church, and stabbed him in four places; he died the same evening. There is no record to show what Schreyvogel and Hickey did to restore the sacred character of the building after this sad desecration; but it was consecrated in 1845.

There was a burying ground for the garrison before Schwartz first went to Trichinopoly. This was situated outside the Fort wall on the north side near a native village

[1] *Asiatic Register*, 1833.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

named Sindamani or Chintamani. When a piece of ground inside the Fort was allotted by the military authorities for the Church in 1765, the part which was not actually occupied by the building was—according to English custom—used for burial purposes. Besides this the interior of the Church was used for the same purpose in the case of a few favoured or favourite or distinguished personages. There is no record to show that fees were charged; probably they were, as at Fort St. George. From a study of the Register Books it is very certain that with a few exceptions only civil and military officers and persons of social importance were buried in the Church and Churchyard; others were buried in the Chintamani cemetery. In 1778 the cavalry and infantry moved out of the overcrowded Fort and went two miles westward to a piece of open ground near the village of Warriore. Here lines were built; and a piece of ground was set aside a few years later for a cemetery. Warriore turned out to be an unhealthy spot; but no move was made to higher ground until 1805. Up to that date soldiers were buried either at Chintamani or Warriore. After that time no more burials took place at the latter cemetery; but the former continued to be used for such Europeans and Eurasians as remained in the Fort until 1874, when it was closed. The great majority of military burials after 1805 took place in the 'God's acre' of the new Church. On account of the connection between the early Missionaries and the garrison the burial grounds at Chintamani and Warriore were looked upon as the property and the care of the mission. Both are now closed for burials. Between 1778 and 1805 there were buried in these grounds and in the Churchyard 477 Europeans and 371 of their wives and children. Between 1805 and 1874 there were about 250 more burials of Europeans and Eurasians in the Chintamani ground. The grounds were never consecrated and set apart from common and profane uses. It is to be hoped that they will never need the protection of a paternal Government. But a mission society cannot care for European cemeteries on sentimental grounds.

There are no service books of the early days in existence to show what the attendance of the soldiers was at the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

voluntary services. It was against the principles of the Missionaries to marry the men to heathen wives; but when alliances of this kind were entered into they did their best—and the men backed them up—to instruct the women, and prepare them for baptism, so that they might join them together in holy matrimony. The registers show many such cases of baptism and marriage on the same day. All the same there were many illegitimate children; the fathers, to their credit be it said, brought them to be baptised; the men were rough and had many faults; but they were mostly right minded, and were endued with some rugged virtues as well. Only one report as to the number of communicants in any one year has been found; the S.P.C.K. report of 1811 mentions that Christian Pohle and Robert Smyth the Garrison Chaplains had jointly 63 communicants in that year. That number bears its own record of the number of God-fearing men in the garrison.

There ought to be at an old Church like this some interesting old plate; but there is none older than the middle of the 19th century. When the second Chaplain was withdrawn from Trichinopoly in 1852, and the Rev. George Heyne of the S.P.G. mission was put in charge of all the work in the Fort, he revived for a time the old Christ Church Vestry. The minutes of this Vestry exist and show a considerable amount of activity on all sides. It was probably in his time that what is known as the old set of Communion plate was obtained. It consists of a chalice, paten and flagon, which show signs of ill usage. They were made in Madras and bear the name of the makers. The set in use was purchased from the same firm thirty years later. There is no record to show what became of the plate used by Christian Pohle and his immediate successors.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXV

CHURCHES FOUNDED BETWEEN 1746 AND 1805—*cont.*

4. *Christ Church, Tanjore.*—The Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore had in his service a few European officers of Dutch and Danish nationality as early as the year 1762 and probably earlier. Some of these were in friendly correspondence with the Dutch and Danish clergy at Negapatam and Tranquebar, both of which places were in the Tanjore territory. Their presence at Tanjore was the occasion of Schwartz's first visit to that station in 1762. Though Schwartz found the Rajah and others well disposed towards him (as the natives of India always are towards a religious teacher) he thought it better to settle in Trichinopoly, where he was welcomed by a large number of British soldiers, than to stay in a place where the Europeans were few in number. From Trichinopoly he paid occasional visits to Tanjore, one at least in each year unless political circumstances prevented it. In 1772 a marriage was arranged between one of the European officers of the Rajah's army and the daughter of another.[1] Schwartz was requested by the Rajah to solemnise the marriage in his presence. This he did in the court of the palace; and he took advantage of the occasion to preach a sermon in the vernacular to the newly married couple and to all who were present on Christian duty and the power of Christian faith. This remarkable incident brought Schwartz into prominent public notice with all classes in Tanjore, native as well as European.

The political circumstances which brought British troops to Tanjore have been related elsewhere.[2] At the time of the marriage there was a detachment of them stationed at the

[1] Captain Berg, who invited and welcomed him to Tanjore in 1762.
[2] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, vol. i. 159, 294 and 305.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

outlying Fort of Vallam under the command of Major Vaughan. Schwartz had no difficulty in persuading him to set apart a place in the fort where he could carry on his pastoral and missionary work. A year later he persuaded the officers and men to build a Church for his and their use. It was small and unpretentious in character; but it sufficed; and the Vallam fort, which is about six miles from Tanjore, had the honour to be the first place in the Rajah's dominions where a Christian Church was built.[1]

Towards the close of 1773 fresh political complications arose; Tanjore was taken; the Rajah was deposed; the place was garrisoned by the Company's troops; and the little Vallam Church was made use of as a hospital. This political change was made in the interest of the Nawab; and the town was held for him. It belonged to him therefore to grant or withhold permission to build a place of Christian worship within the walls. In 1773 Schwartz went to Madras[2] to represent to the Nawab that the Vallam chapel had been destroyed by His Highness' troops, and to try and persuade him to grant a site within the walls of the town for a similar building; but he was unsuccessful. There was however a friendly officer at Tanjore, Major Stevens, who built at his own cost a mud-walled and thatch-roofed building large enough to hold the soldiers of the garrison who were able and willing to attend divine service. This building did duty till the permanent Church was built; it was in the large fort.

In 1776 the Directors condemned the policy of the Fort St. George Government in deposing the Rajah, and ordered his restoration; but the British troops were to remain at Tanjore to uphold the authority of the Rajah. This action took it out of the power of the Nawab to grant or withhold a site for a Church. General Hector Munro, the new Commander in Chief gave a site in the small fort—an excrescence on the south of the Tanjore Fort itself—near to the barracks occupied by the British troops. The death of Major Stevens[3] was a great loss to Schwartz, both as a friend and as a

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports, 1772 and 1773. [2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1774.
[3] He was killed at the siege of Pondicherry, 1778.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Christian worker. The General condoled with him kindly, and requested Schwartz to consider him as his friend [1] in future. It was not a mere compliment. The General assisted in the raising of money for the building; he laid the foundation stone on the 10th March 1779; and in return for some small services he requested the Madras Government to grant the Missionary Chaplain a present. As soon as Schwartz heard of this request, he wrote at once to the Government declining any present for himself; but asked for a present of bricks and lime in order to build the proposed Church.[1] He represented to them the great need of a Church in which divine service might be performed in a proper and decent manner. The Government favoured his proposal, 'not only with their public sanction but with their subscription likewise.' [1] They ordered the Paymaster at Tanjore to supply the Rev. Mr. Schwartz, Chaplain at Tanjore, with six lacs of bricks (600,000) and 3000 parahs of chunam for the purpose.[2]

The work was pushed on with vigour; enough money was raised in the garrison to complete the building with the bricks and mortar granted by the Government; so that on the 16th April 1780 the building was dedicated to the service of God with prayer. 'It is built,' Schwartz wrote, 'on the plan of the Church at Trichinopoly, being 90 feet long and 50 broad; so that 500 people may conveniently find room in it.' [3] The building had a vaulted bomb-proof roof, a sanctuary, and a small bell turret at the other end. Inscribed on a stone under the bell turret and over the old [4] entrance (now blocked up) are these words 'Hæc domus precum constructa est 1779.'

Though convenient for the garrison it was not convenient for the Tamil Christians, who lived outside the Fort. The site on which Major Stevens had erected a temporary building had to be given back to its owner. Whereupon the Rajah presented Schwartz with a piece of land about a mile from the Fort. Near it was a vaulted house, where a European family had lived. Schwartz was enabled to purchase this

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1779.
[2] Consultations, 29 Aug. 1779.
[3] S.P.C.K. Report, 1780.
[4] The building stands north and south.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

house through the liberal assistance of General Hector Munro, Mr. John Macpherson the Resident, and the Rajah.[1] He enlarged the house by lengthening it, and thus made it suitable for congregational worship. Round this temporary chapel he built a school house and houses for the Catechists, and a small bungalow for himself. The spot was healthy, convenient and remote from noise.[2] He wrote thus to the Society in London :—

'I have been occupied in erecting two houses for divine worship. In my last letter I mentioned an intention of building a Church at Tanjore for the benefit of the garrison. Several obstacles retarded the execution of the design. But in the month of March last year the work was begun. As General Munro was here he was pleased to lay the first stone. The garrison was assembled, and a short sermon was preached on Psalm lxvii.

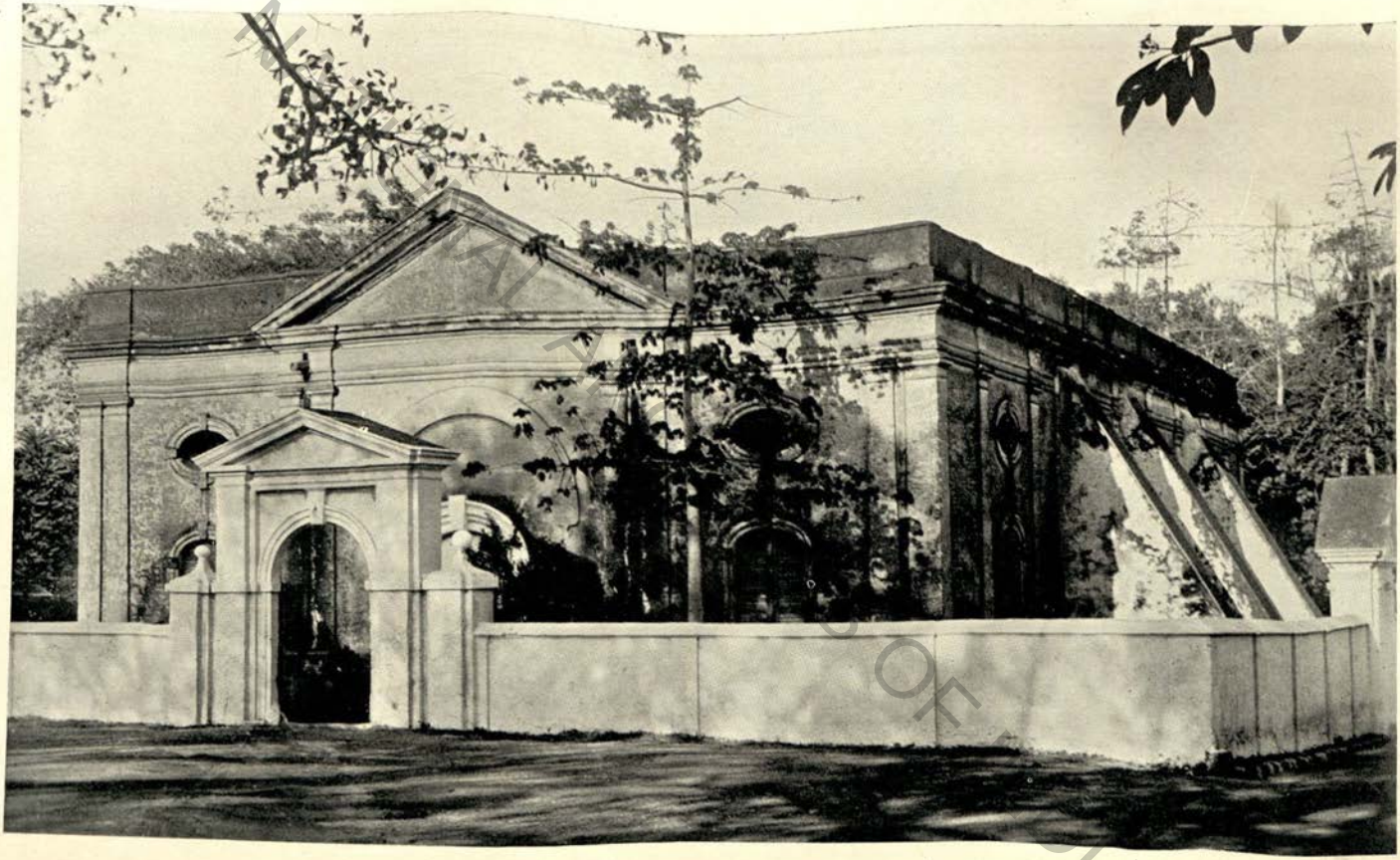
'The building was to be carried on by subscription; but finding the sum subscribed insufficient, I addressed the Hon. Board at Madras representing our inability to finish the building with the money subscribed for that purpose, and requesting them to assist us with bricks and lime, hoping the money we had would suffice to defray the other expenses of the work.

'General Munro kindly undertook to plead in our favour. After some time he desired me to come with all possible speed to Madras. At my arrival Governor Rumbold told me that my request should be granted; the other gentlemen assured me of the same. Then I was acquainted with the purpose for which I was called before the Presidency.[3] . . . Being told that the Governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, intended to procure me a present from the Board, I begged leave to decline accepting any. . . . I signified at the same time that it would make me very happy if the Hon. Board would allow to my colleague at Trichinopoly the same yearly present they had given to me, being convinced that he would use it for the benefit of the School and the maintenance of some catechists. This my request was granted.'[4]

In a letter to a young friend in July 1780 Schwartz tells us how he used the two buildings till war and famine interfered

[1] S.P.C.K. *Life of Schwartz*, p. 162.
[2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1780.
[3] It was to send him on an embassy to Hyder Ali.
[4] S.P.C.K. Report, 1780.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



CHRIST CHURCH, FORT, TANJORE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with his orderly arrangements. He says, 'After I have preached in the Fort to the English, I go out to the Malabar Church, when I preach from ten to twelve. In the afternoon a catechist repeats the sermon, and at seven o'clock in the evening we have prayer; then I go to rest pleasingly tired.'[1]

For the greater part of the next three years there was famine in the district owing to the devastation of the surrounding country by Hyder Ali's troops. The irrigation works were destroyed; the cultivators forsook their fields and fled to the towns; and the scarcity of food was as if there had been a failure of the monsoons. During this period of calamity Schwartz purchased grain from other districts, stored it in the new Church in the Fort, and alleviated the distress of multitudes of perishing families, both Christian and heathen.[2]

In 1784 the Tanjore garrison was increased by the arrival of another regiment of Europeans; they were stationed at Vallam; and Schwartz was desired to visit and minister to them. The soldiers received him in a friendly manner and attended divine service; they took his tracts, and put themselves under his instruction. Schwartz records all this of them in a most simple way.[3]

Mention has been made already of the English Charity School; it was founded by Schwartz with the Rs. 300[4] given to him by order of Hyder Ali for the expenses of his return journey to Madras. The officers of the garrison, encouraged by General Munro, added to this amount; and so the Charity School for the soldiers' children was established. The garrison Church and the garrison school and the garrison funds were managed by a Vestry as at Trichinopoly and Fort St. George. As to the ownership of Church, school and fund, they had no legal owner; but everyone concerned was content that the Vestry should own them in trust for the purposes for which they existed.

The men of the 72nd Regiment, who behaved so well at Negapatam in 1786 as to compel the admiration of all classes

[1] Pearson's *Schwartz*, i. 378; by Malabar he means Tamil.
[2] Pearson's *Schwartz*, i. 390. [3] Do. i. 433.
[4] The historians all say rupees; it is more probable that the gift was in pagodas.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in that town, were time expired men from Tanjore. It is permissible to believe that they had come under the influence of Schwartz, whose charming personality seemed to compel the homage of all with whom he was connected. It is a remarkable circumstance that in 1785 about one hundred men of the 48th Regiment used to assemble in the Church every evening for a short service consisting of a hymn, a chapter of the New Testament with a few words of exposition, and a prayer.[1]

The building which was adapted to congregational use in the year 1780 was either too small or too inconvenient for the purpose. For at the end of 1784 he wrote to friends about a Tamil Church he was building in the suburbs of Tanjore. He mentioned the cost of the stone and the chunam; the further assistance of General Munro; and the sale of some valuable cloths of gold which had been given him by the Rajah when Lord Pigot the Governor paid a visit to Tanjore. The merchants gave him 136 pagodas for them, and he purchased more building material with the proceeds.[2]

In the year 1787 there existed at Tanjore an English Church in the Fort near the barracks of the European troops and a Tamil Church within a mile of it eastward. Round the latter were separate buildings for the European and Eurasian school and the Tamil school; dwelling houses for the Missionary-Chaplain himself, his assistant J. C. Kohlhoff, his catechists and his schoolmasters. By this time also was established at Tanjore one of the Sullivan schools where caste natives learned English. A brother of Kohlhoff was a teacher in the School for Europeans.[3] Schwartz had therefore two European assistants in his work, besides three catechists and a number of native schoolmasters. J. C. Kohlhoff was in this year advanced by Schwartz to the Lutheran ministry. He had for five years previously been a lector, and had read the prayers of the English Prayer Book for the English congregation in the Fort. Schwartz had further help in the assistance of the Vestry, which looked after Christ Church and the European orphan school, and held the funds connected

[1] S.P.C.K. *Life of Schwartz*, p. 163. [2] Pearson's *Schwartz*, i. 437.
[3] Do. ii. 57.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with both. The Vestry, which was composed of the Company's civil and military officers, also assisted in the establishment and administration of the Provincial English school. When the Directors approved of these Sullivan schools and promised to give £100 a year to each of the first three and any other that should be opened, the Government of Madras asked Schwartz how he proposed to spend the money. He conferred with the Vestry,[1] submitted to them a plan of education, asked for their suggestions and begged for their co-operation, which was no doubt freely and gladly given. The Governor and Council reported these proceedings to the Directors, and expressed their conviction that if the plan proposed by Schwartz and adopted by the Tanjore Vestry were not successful, it would be because the time was inopportune.

In 1787 the S.P.C.K. sent out Bibles, Prayer Books and other books to various stations in the Presidency where there were English garrisons; the Company allowed them to travel free of charge; Tanjore received its share in due course.[2] In this year also the Rajah granted to Schwartz for his educational purposes a village valued at 500 pagodas a year,[3] 'and more especially for the orphans.'

In 1789 Schwartz went to Madras on a lengthened visit to his old pupil and colleague Gericke. He visited the Female Asylum and expressed his pleasure and approval. He saw the beginning of the Male Asylum, and he asked the Governor to make a grant of 5 rupees a month for the children of European soldiers in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Vestry Schools. The Governor replied,[4] 'I will propose it to the Council and give my voice for it'; but the grant was never made; the Directors would not allow it; they considered that they were doing all that was necessary in Madras. Schwartz not only shared the anxiety of raising and administering funds with the Vestry, but also the anxiety of starting the orphan boys in life. In 1792 this was already a difficulty to some extent.[5]

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1789, and Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 110–5.
[2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1787.
[3] S.P.G. Report, 1829—a note on the history of the S. Indian Missions.
[4] S P.C.K. *Life of Schwartz*, p. 213. [5] Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 225.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In 1793 the Tanjore Vestry appealed to the Madras Government to take their funds as a fixed deposit at 6 per cent. The Governor wrote to the Directors recommending compliance, and the Vestry Fund was taken[1] at the end of 1794.

In 1797 Schwartz was joined by Immanuel Holtzberg a graduate of Halle with rather broad views on Biblical and theological questions. Before leaving England Holtzberg was interviewed by the Society and 'exhorted'[2] by Archdeacon John Owen. The occasion is memorable from two circumstances; Dr. Owen, who was an old Bengal Chaplain and had had experience of Indian life, spoke highly and nobly of Schwartz, 'whose praise in the gospel is indeed great,' to whom Holtzberg was going; and he vindicated with some decision and warmth both the Company's governments and the Company's servants in India of the unjust charges, which were then being freely made by irresponsible persons at home, of licentiousness and irreligion.[3]

Holtzberg shared the English work of the garrison with Kohlhoff for a year before Schwartz's death while he was learning the Tamil language; and he did some acceptable work among the soldiers of the 51st Regiment, then stationed in the forts at Vallam and Tanjore. He remained at Tanjore till 1803.

The great and good Schwartz, the apostolic Schwartz, died in 1798. Gericke of Madras, Jaenicke of Palamcottah, J. C. Kohlhoff and Holtzberg of Tanjore were present when he passed away. The Rajah visited him on his death bed both before and after the soul's departure. His body was buried in the garden chapel; and great was the universal grief.[4] He worked to the end of his life at Tanjore as he began there, sharing his attentions between the European exiles and the natives. His work was partly pastoral, partly evangelistic, and wholly missionary in the old and best sense of the term. Natives of various nationalities responded as readily to his kindly and sympathetic ministrations as the European soldiers—who were themselves from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland, from Hanover, Switzerland,

[1] Consultations, 6 Sept. 1794.
[2] Charged.
[3] S.P.C.K. Report, 1795.
[4] Pearson's *Schwartz*, chapter xxii.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Denmark and Holland. He always spoke and taught as one having authority; and in the exercise of his excellent judgement was always keenly alive to the limitations of human possibility in missionary work.

He left a will; he mentioned a house in the greater fort, a house in the little fort, together with the Church and certain houses in the garden without the fort, which 'were erected out of the money which was assigned me monthly by the Company'; and he said of them 'I look on them, as I have ever regarded them, namely to be the houses of the mission.' He made no mention of Christ Church. He left a fund amounting to Rs. 85,600 to carry on the work at Tanjore and the branch missions.

The Rajah of Tanjore, who had been his ward and pupil, was greatly affected by his death. He wrote[1] with his own hand a letter in English to the S.P.C.K. in London, and asked them to order a monument of marble on his account, 'to perpetuate the memory of the late Rev. Father Schwartz, such as could be fixed to the pillar next to the pulpit from which he preached.' The work was entrusted to Flaxman, who had already executed some marvellous studies of native life for monuments elsewhere. In due time he executed a bas relief and it was sent out. It was too large for the pillar; so it was fixed eventually in the west wall of the building over the doorway. The Rajah was greatly pleased with it; he kept it for some time in the Palace before allowing it to be fixed up in the Church.

The Company erected a handsome memorial of him by Bacon in St. Mary's, Fort St. George; and the local Government with the unanimous consent of the Company took other measures to signify their admiration of his character, to show their entire sympathy with the work he was engaged in, and to perpetuate his memory. In the year 1807 they made grants of land for houses, chapels and schools in the Tanjore district where they were stated to be required; they increased their grant for the maintenance of the Protestant schools established by him from 40 to 100 pagodas monthly; and all

[1] S.P.C.K. *Life of Schwartz*, p. 268.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this in honour of the Missionary-Chaplain who had worked so faithfully, zealously and wisely in the cause of God and man.[1]

In 1799 the Tanjore Fort was evacuated by British troops, and placed under the entire authority of the Rajah. There was some local fear that he might be influenced by his advisers to destroy Christ Church. Being questioned by the Company's Resident, he indignantly denied that he had any such intention in language that did honour to himself as a pupil and a friend.[2] In 1803 the British troops returned from the Mysore campaign, the barracks were reoccupied, and the services were recommenced. The S.P.C.K. report for 1808 shows that Christopher Horst[3] was assisting Kohlhoff; that they were conducting the English services, superintending the Vestry school in the Fort, and were ministering to the British soldiers. They had two European schoolmasters at the Vestry school. They were supported in their work by General Macdowall, by his successor General Blackburne and by the English officers.

Bishop Heber visited the mission in 1826. He found the roof suffering like the roof at Trichinopoly; it was too heavy for the thickness of the walls and was pressing them outwards; he found the English cemetery unenclosed; and that the Missionaries had been for some time ministering to the European garrison and station without any payment from the Government for their services. After his death the Government in deference to his wishes decreed a payment of 80 rupees a month to the S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Tanjore

[1] The Despatch of the Court of Directors which contained a noble appreciation of Schwartz was dated 29 Oct. 1806, 3, Public.

The Despatch approving of the extra grants mentioned was dated 11 Jan. 1809, 157, Public; it was in reply to a Letter dated 31 Jan. 1807, 126, Public.

There was friction between the Bengal Government and some Baptist Missionaries (who came out without the Company's license) in the year 1807. There was no such friction in the Madras Presidency. The matter was referred to the Directors, who wrote a Despatch dated 7 Sept. 1808, Public; in this they clearly expressed their opinion and policy. Critics of the Company should read this Despatch. It is reproduced in Buchanan's *Apology*, Appendix i. (Brit. Mus. Lib. 4193, h. 46).

[2] Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 391.

[3] He was a medical officer in one of the Hanoverian regiments; he arrived with his regiment in 1787; he joined the mission in 1792, and was appointed Lector at Cuddalore. In 1803 he was transferred to Tranquebar, and in 1806 to Tanjore.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SCHWARTZ' PULPIT, CHRIST CHURCH, TANJORE.

The pillar behind it is the one on which the Rajah designed to erect his memorial; it proved too narrow for the purpose.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for conducting the English services[1]; they also built a wall round the burying ground. The substitution of a lighter roof for the Church was carried out at the cost of the Rajah by his own wish. The English services at Christ Church only continued till 1833. By that time the number of English residents was small; the soldiers had been withdrawn; and the English who remained mostly lived outside the Fort. Partly in consequence of this Schwartz's old garden Church was re-built in 1830; it was intended for both English and native services. The Danish Missionary Haubroe, a Copenhagen graduate, who went to Tanjore from Vepery in 1827, was the architect.

He did not live to see the work completed; for he died in 1830. The building was so arranged that the tombs of Schwartz and his fellow labourers were enclosed in the eastern portion of the Church. The S.P.C.K. gave £2000 towards the cost. The new building was dedicated by the builders and subscribers to the service of God in honour of St. Peter the Apostle on its completion; and was consecrated by Bishop Spencer on the 31st January 1845. The family of Captain Fyfe, the British Resident, presented the new Church with a set of communion vessels for the use of the English congregation.[2] In the Life of Bishop Corrie[3] there is a picture of the interior of the mission Church of St. Peter as it was in 1835. This Church remained in use for nearly 70 years. To meet the needs of progress it was enlarged and rebuilt in the year 1900, through the exertions of the Rev. W. H. Blake the resident Missionary of the S.P.G., who received a grant from the Society, and collected what else was necessary from his European, Eurasian and native friends.

Although Christ Church in the Fort was deserted by the Europeans in 1833 it continued in use for Tamil services more or less regularly up to 1880. It was consecrated by Bishop Spencer on the 1st February 1845. It was repaired in 1848 and in 1849 at the cost of the Tanjore native Christians, the repairs costing respectively Rs. 210 and Rs. 78[4]; and it was repaired again in 1866, half the cost up to Rs. 250 being

[1] Letter, 15 Dec. 1826, 13, Eccl. [2] S.P.C.K. Report for 1830.
[3] Vol. i. 462. [4] *Madras Christian Intelligencer* of those years.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

paid by the Government out of respect for the memory of Christian Schwartz.[1] At the present time the Church is only used once a year for a Tamil service, on New Year's Day.

The old furniture for the European congregation at Christ Church was long ago removed for their accommodation at St. Peter's. The only furniture that remains in the Fort Church is the old Altar-table, a wooden pulpit of quaint design with a projecting sounding-board, and a double stall with side doors, which was probably the reading desk[2]; these belong to the time of Schwartz. The Communion vessels which Schwartz used were presented to Bishop Spencer at the Bishop's request together with his Tamil Bible and Sanctuary chair. The Bible and the chair are now at the office of the S.P.G. in London; they were presented to the Society by the Bishop's widow, and are greatly valued. The Communion vessels were probably asked for by the Bishop in connection with the caste question; at Tanjore and other old S.P.C.K. stations it was the custom to have two sets of altar vessels—one for Europeans and one for natives. These also were presented by the Bishop's widow to the Society. When the Diocese of Travancore was formed, the Society, confusing Travancore with Tanjore, thought it would be so appropriate if the plate were restored for use in the place where its honoured owner had originally used it. It was therefore presented to the Bishop of Travancore, and is now in use at Trevandrum.[3]

Following the lead of the Vestry of Christ Church Trichinopoly, and of St. Mary's Fort St. George, the Vestry of Christ Church Tanjore allowed burials inside the Church. But it is believed that only two such burials took place, viz.:—

Sophia Maitland, who died in 1780, aged 17.
Mrs. Margaret Strange, who died in 1791, aged 32.

There is a tablet to the memory of Mrs. Sarah Burrows, wife of Major Thomas Burrows of the Cavalry dated 1789; but it is not stated if her remains were buried in the Church or not. Probably they were.

[1] G.O. 14 March 1866, No. 59, Eccl.
[2] Local tradition says that it was the pew of the commanding officer.
[3] When the S.P.C.K. published their *Life of Schwartz* in 1855 they described him on the title-page as Missionary at Travancore.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ST. PETER'S, TANJORE.

Built in 1900 on the site of the earlier and smaller Churches.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The sacramental plate at present at Tanjore is of some interest.

1. There are two 9 inch patens, one with small feet, the other without. In the centre of each is engraved a cross; but there is no inscription nor date. The other pieces of this set were converted in 1880 into a modern shaped hemispherical chalice and a flat plain paten to fit the bowl of the chalice. There is no date on the new vessels.

2. An old set for public use, probably coeval with Schwartz himself. It consists of a chalice 9½ inches high, having a bowl 4 inches diameter and 5 inches deep; a paten 5½ inches diameter on a centre stand 2 inches high; and a tankard-shaped flagon 7 inches high, 3¾ inches diameter; having both a handle and a lip. This set has no mark of any kind. It looks as if it may have been made by a native silversmith from a rough drawing given by the Missionary.

3. A clinical set of the same appearance and pattern but smaller; consisting of two pieces only, a chalice 5 inches high and a paten 3 inches diameter; these have no mark; but they have the general appearance of being of the same age and workmanship as the larger set.

4. A set presented by the family of Captain Fyfe in 1829; it consists of a chalice 9 inches high with a bowl 4 inches diameter and 5 inches deep; and a paten 9 inches diameter on a centre stand 3½ inches high. Both of these are inscribed thus:—

NEW MISSION CHURCH
TANJORE

THIS PLATE
WAS PRESENTED BY THE PARENTS OF
JANE ELEANOR FYFE
WHOSE MORTAL REMAINS
ARE INTERRED IN FRONT OF THE ALTAR
TO WHOSE SERVICE
THIS TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION IS DEVOTED.
A.D. MDCCCXXIX.

Beside these two pieces there is a flagon 8½ inches high with a handle, a spout and a lid, shaped like a coffee pot; and a silver dish with a cover intended for a portable font. The dish

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was a soup tureen which was used as a font when the child of Capt. Fyfe was baptised. With the cover it is 9 inches high. There can be hardly any doubt that the so-called flagon was also in domestic use in the Fyfe family before it was presented.

The ancient register books used by Schwartz are still in existence. He was under no obligation to keep them; but his orderly mind and conscience caused him to commence records at Trichinopoly in 1763, at Tanjore in 1773 and at Palamcottah in 1785. The earliest entries are in German. His own name does not appear; but there is no mistaking his handwriting. These manuscript books were carried on by his successors up to 1847. The first entry is dated 1773.

There is no record as to when the old Vestry and the Vestry school (European and Eurasian) came to an end. Presumably the Vestry Fund was merged in the general mission accounts when the school was closed for want of scholars; and this must have been within a few years after the withdrawal of the British troops from the station. No reference to it has been found in the later S.P.C.K. reports.

Tanjore will always be associated with the name of Schwartz. One by one during the 19th century the things associated with him have been scattered. Claudius Buchanan took his snuffbox, his Syriac Psalter, and his Greek Testament. Bishop Middleton took his portrait. Bishop Wilson took one of his sanctuary chairs, his pocket Testament, and his miniature. Bishop Spencer took the other sanctuary chair, his Tamil Bible and a set of his communion plate.[1] Schwartz possessed many interesting relics of the early Tranquebar Missionaries, their books and the miniature portraits of some of them. These became the property of J. C. Kohlhoff, and are still with his descendants.

5. *Vellore.*—Vellore was a former possession of the Nawab of the Carnatic. When he was pressed by the Fort St. George Government in 1760 to pay the expense of the war which was then being waged with the French and their allies for the protection of his territories, he pleaded that some of his tributaries had rebelled against him, and asserted their independence, and no longer paid him tribute. Amongst

[1] All these were gifts, not annexations.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHURCH PLATE, S.P.G. MISSION, TANJORE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

others he mentioned the ruler of Vellore. The Government thereupon resolved to take the Fort and district of Vellore, to hold it for the Nawab, he paying all the expenses of the capture and occupation, so that he might be able to repay the Government the great expense of the late war. The Fort and district was accordingly taken by Col. Calliaud in 1761; it was garrisoned by about 350 European troops in the Company's service and about 900 sepoys. In the following year, being the year after the fall of Pondicherry, 500 French prisoners were drafted to Vellore. These were not all Frenchmen.[1] Quite a considerable number were Irishmen, Swiss and Germans.

The Rev. John Thomas, one of the Fort St. George Chaplains, visited the garrison in 1766[2]; but his services could not really be spared from the Presidency; so the Government asked the Company to appoint another Chaplain, and did not sanction any more out-garrison visits from Fort St. George for many years to come.

A commencement of Christian ministration was made in the year 1769 by the S.P.C.K. Missionary Gericke, who was then stationed at Cuddalore.[3] A catechist was sent to Vellore soon afterwards, probably by Fabricius of Vepery, for he was at that time the head of the S.P.C.K. mission on the Coast. Fabricius himself paid a visit to the station in September 1772. This was in consequence of the report by the Catechist that he found a difficulty in making any progress without at least a regular place of worship.

Fabricius called upon Col. Lang, who commanded the garrison, and tried to obtain from him the use of one of the public buildings in the Fort. This could not be arranged; for the Fort and its buildings nominally and ostensibly belonged to the Nawab; but Col. Lang promised to secure a place for worship in one of the officers' houses. Col. Lang was not only mindful of the soldiers' native wives, but also of the Europeans under his command. He ordered a tent to be pitched on the parade ground, so that Fabricius might

[1] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, i. 137.
[2] Letter, 22 Jan. 1767, para. 114.
[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 28–30, and Hough's *Christianity*, iii. 440.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

conduct divine service for the Europeans of the garrison and address them. Amongst the soldiers were some who had come under the pious and magnetic influence of Schwartz at Trichinopoly.

Encouraged by the appreciation of his former visit, Fabricius again went to Vellore in March 1773.[1] He found that a number of English soldiers had associated themselves together for the purpose of Bible reading and prayer. He found also that the Catechist had been diligent in instructing more of the native wives of the men. He found also a number of German soldiers. He read prayers and preached in English at a parade service arranged by the Commandant; he administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to 17 of the godly men above mentioned; he preached in Tamil to the native Christians; he baptised five of the soldiers' children, married five couples; administered the sacrament of the Last Supper to the German soldiers; and was instrumental in getting a school chapel built for the joint use of Europeans and natives.

The appropriation of a vacant house for the purpose of divine worship had been attended with inconvenience. A house was not always vacant; consequently the services had been very irregular. At the request of Fabricius a site was allotted for the erection of a school chapel for exclusive religious use—divine service on Sunday, and the education of the children of the garrison on other days. On the condition that the building might be also used by the native congregation Fabricius contributed from the Vepery Mission Fund 60 pagodas. Mr. Pelling, the civil representative of the Government gave 10 pagodas more. The rest was contributed by the officers and men of the garrison. The building was completed; a soldier schoolmaster was appointed; and both English and Tamil services were held in it before the end of the year. This building remained in use for about seven years. In 1780 Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic, and in the ordinary operations of war Vellore fell into his hands. When peace was restored in 1784 Vellore was reoccupied by the Company's troops. A portion of the Company's force consisted

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 33-34.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of four companies of the 72nd Regiment. As there were no proper barracks the Church was made use of to accommodate some of the men, and was so used until 1787. In that year Schwartz, who had become the senior and head of the S.P.C.K. mission on the coast in succession to Fabricius, wrote to the Government and represented the state of affairs, asking that they should either buy the Church or pay rent for it.[1] The surveyor was ordered to report; his report must have been that the building was substantially good, and was adapted to the use to which it was then being put; for the Government purchased it for 300 pagodas.

Although there was neither Church nor chapel for the garrison before 1773, there was a garrison burial ground from the time the Madras troops took possession of the Fort. The date of the earliest inscribed stone in the cemetery is 1784.

The good effect of the early ministrations of Fabricius and the local Catechist at Vellore was experienced by Gericke at the Fort of Chingleput in 1780. There he found some pious and well behaved soldiers, who had been stationed at Vellore, who possessed and valued Bibles and Prayer Books, and were married to native women who were well instructed Christians.[2] Doubtless the good effect was seen at other places also. The local Catechist pastored the native congregation, and read the service in Tamil for them. The English service was read by one or another of the officers. In 1787 it was being conducted by Surgeon Duffin, who wrote to Schwartz in that year for a volume of English sermons. Schwartz sent two volumes of Isaac Watts; he said 'I have Sherlock's, but they are not for a mixed congregation.' Whether Duffin wrote to Schwartz as an old friend or as head of the S.P.C.K. mission is uncertain.[3] In 1792 the civil representative of the Government at Vellore was Mr. William Harcourt Torriano. He saw the need of a new building, and was kind enough to erect one at his own expense. It was built as before for the joint use of Europeans and Natives. Torriano and the Staff Surgeon were good enough to share

[1] Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 107. Pearson makes a mistake in saying that Schwartz himself built it.

[2] Hough's *Christianity*, iii. 501.

[3] Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 119.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the work of conducting English services for the garrison between them. In 1793 Gericke, accompanied by one of the Tranquebar Missionaries, J. P. Rottler, afterwards well known in Madras, proceeded to Vellore and dedicated this 'large new Chapel' to the service of God.[1] No particulars of this dedication have been found. But as Gericke was a devoted friend and pupil of Schwartz it is probable that the same prayer was used at the dedication as Schwartz used at Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The building was larger than the former one; it lasted nearly 30 years. It appears from the S.P.C.K. reports that Mr. Torriano maintained a Catechist at Vellore; his duties were probably those of Church Keeper, Clerk, pastor of the native Christians, especially of those married to soldiers; he was also schoolmaster of their children.

The paper appointments of the Presidency Chaplains to be Chaplains of Vellore have already been referred to. It is not known that any of them except Dr. Bell visited the station from the time the system began to the time it ended.[2] The Rev. J. E. Atwood became the first Chaplain of the station in 1799; he remained in charge till August 1802, nearly three years, when he went for a year to Fort St. George. In August 1803 he returned for a year; and left finally in June 1804. Whilst he was there, Gericke accompanied by Jaenicke visited the station in 1800; Gericke visited it again in 1801; and in 1803 he paid yet another visit; it was during this visit that he died.

His visit in 1800 was probably due to a letter written by the commanding officer, Lt. Col. G. Doveton, to the Government, asking their assistance to establish a brigade school. Assisted by the officers Fabricius had established a school for the European children in 1773. It is not easily understood why another such school was wanted, and why Mr. Atwood desired it, unless he was excluded from having a part in the management of the school that existed. This is the letter which Col. Doveton wrote[3]:—

'I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of his Lordship in Council that with the assistance of Major Skelly, the officer commanding H.M.'s Scotch Brigade, and

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 71. [2] Bell visited in 1788 and 1792.
[3] Consultations, 14 Feb. 1800.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

under the auspices and superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Atwood, I have set on foot the establishment of a school at this station for the education of the children of the Scotch Brigade, and of such other children of the garrison whose parents may choose to take advantage of the Institution.

'Major Skelly informs me that the parents of the children of the Scotch Brigade have long been anxious for an institution of the kind, but never until now have they been together at any fixed station, or where they had encouragement to begin it. There are upwards of 80 children of the Brigade alone, all of European parents (exclusive of the other children in the garrison) who are now idly running about and totally uninstructed, that will receive an immediate benefit from the institution; and from a conviction that his Lordship in Council will receive satisfaction from a knowledge of its design, I have presumed to address you on the subject. I shall presume further to solicit that his Lordship will be pleased to afford his assistance to the commencement of the undertaking by ordering that I be furnished with an assortment of stationery for writing books etc.; and also with a certain number of spelling books, prayer books, etc.; I have taken the liberty of enclosing an indent for such articles as are immediately required.'

The Government replied on the 15th that the articles asked for were not in store; 'nor are similar applications to Government regular.'

It is very probable that there was some misunderstanding between the Chaplain and the Vepery Missionaries regarding the use of the Chapel; for at the end of 1803 Atwood wrote to the Government and proposed the erection of a new Church. The Government declined, and reported the application and their refusal to the Directors.[1] The Government was not unaware of the existence of the Chapel built by Torriano. They were also aware of similar circumstances at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Palamcottah, Ramnad and Cuddalore; and they refused to spend money over a new Church, so long as one existed which could serve the purposes of the garrison. Atwood represented the Chapel to be out of repair, and 'in every point of view totally inadequate to the decent performance of religious duties.'

[1] Letter, 23 March 1804, 385, Mil.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Directors were influenced by this report in their reply; they wrote [1]:—

'We are of opinion this representation deserves to be attended to; and that directions should either have been given for a survey of the present building in view to its being repaired, or if that was not thought advisable from its decayed state, or the expense it would require, that a plan and estimate of a new structure should have been called for, and the latter submitted for our consideration previous to the erection of the building.

'You will therefore on receipt of this letter give directions to the effect above mentioned.'

Before this despatch reached Madras the memorable mutiny at Vellore took place, in which the 69th Regiment suffered. It was confidently stated at the time that the mutiny was due to mission work which was being carried on there and elsewhere with the approval and support of the Government. Lieut. Gen. Hay McDowall, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, ridiculed the idea [2]; and attributed the mutiny to the right cause—a political effort of the family of Tippu Sultan, then prisoners at Vellore, to regain their liberty and power. One result of the mutiny was that Vellore was condemned as a military station; from a military point of view it was badly situated. The European regiment was moved to Arcot, which remained the principal military station of the district from 1807 till 1862. There was left behind at Vellore only a small military force, a detachment from Arcot.

The first Chaplain, James Atwood, was transferred from Vellore in 1804. According to the Directors' orders of that year [3] Vellore was one of the seven military stations which were to have a permanent Chaplain. The mutiny altered the circumstances. Succeeding Chaplains were stationed at Arcot, where the Government built a large Church in 1814; and Vellore became one of the out-stations of the Chaplain of Arcot. The Government of Madras wrote and explained the changed circumstances,[4] and recommended that a small

[1] Desp. 30 July 1806, 205, 206, Mil.
[2] Mil. Consultations, 24 Nov. 1807.
[3] Despatch, 5 June 1805, 9, Public.
[4] Letter, 24 Oct. 1808, 172, Public.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

'house of worship at a moderate expense' should be built. This the Directors sanctioned.[1] But as no new building was erected it must be presumed that the S.P.C.K. chapel was continued in use by the Chaplain and the Europeans as long as it was capable of being used.

The Europeans of Vellore were cared for separately by a Company's Chaplain from and after the year 1798. The native congregation was cared for by a catechist appointed from Vepery, and by the Vepery Missionaries who paid them occasional visits. According to the S.P.C.K. reports Gericke was diligent in making visits up to 1803; Paezold continued the system up to 1817, the year of his death. In 1822 the Rev. L. P. Haubroe, the newly arrived S.P.C.K. Missionary, was sent to visit the station by Dr. Rottler of Vepery. He is said to have found the chapel in ruins and only 30 Christians of the native congregation left.[2] The Europeans were holding their services in a barrack room; and the native Christians were allowed to use the same room. With the support of the British officers Haubroe reorganised the European and Eurasian school, repaired the school room, and left a catechist in charge to conduct the Tamil service in the barrack room.

The Rev. E. A. G. Falcke, who was ordained by the Bishop of London and arrived in Madras in June 1822, visited Vellore in 1823,[3] and became the first resident European Missionary there in 1824. On his arrival he found the Catechist, the English schoolmaster and the Tamil natives in good health. He examined the boys and girls of the well attended English and Tamil schools; was kindly received by the European officers; administered the Holy Sacrament to both the English and the native congregation; and was able to report in April that forty native Christians attended the Tamil services.[4] At the end of 1824 Falcke died of cholera; and the Vellore mission was left to a catechist until 1826, when he was succeeded by the Rev. P. Wessing.

[1] Despatch, 10 July 1811, 112, Public.

[2] Pascoe's *200 Years of the S.P.G.* p. 526. In the S.P.G. Report for 1829 the writer of a history of the missions in South India states that Haubroe ound 200 Christian children of school going age. He was greatly assisted by Col. Deacon the C.O., Captain Lewis the Fort Adjutant and the ladies of the station, who established a school for girls.

[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 251.

[4] Do. pp. 271–4.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In 1828 the English school building in the Fort was given up to the new Government Board of Education; and a new school house or school chapel was erected elsewhere for the use of the mission at the expense of the Government.[1] In 1829 the barrack in which divine service was held was required for other use; and the Commandant appropriated a room for the purpose in the General Hospital. The native congregation objected to the Hospital; and so strong was the objection that Mr. Wessing held the Tamil services in his own house till the new school chapel was ready for use.

By this time Torriano's building in the Fort was out of repair and entirely deserted. The S.P.C.K., though they handed over the mission to the S.P.G. in 1826, were kindly disposed towards it. In 1830 they voted £200 for the erection of a proper chapel for the native congregation. The new building was completed in 1835,[2] and was used both by the natives and the Europeans.

The visiting Chaplain in 1837, the Rev. W. Tomes, appears to have suggested that the old Torriano chapel might be re-roofed for European use. An estimate was prepared amounting to 510 rupees; but the Engineer reported against the walls, and recommended a new building at a cost of 2373 rupees outside the Fort. The Government sanctioned this and wrote to the Directors,[3] who approved.[4]

The foundations of the new building were put in, and the walls were being commenced, when the Engineer advised that the whole basement of the building should be raised three feet above the ground level; and that provision should be made for building a wall round three sides of the Church. The Madras Government sanctioned the plans and estimates, the latter amounting to an extra 1173 rupees. But before any further expense was incurred the officer commanding the station objected to any building being erected on the proposed site on military grounds—that is, on the ground that the interior of the Fort would be commanded from the roof of the building.

The objection was held to be valid; another site had to

[1] S.P.C.K. Reports for 1828 and 1830.
[2] S.P.C.K. Report for 1836.
[3] Letter, 21 Jan. 1840, 6, Eccl.
[4] Despatch, 23 Dec. 1840, 24, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

be found; and the Madras Government was asked to sanction 400 rupees more for the purchase of it. This they did, and in their next letter home [1] they explained to the Directors the difficulties that had arisen, and what they had done to surmount them. They had up to that time incurred the cost of the foundations that were laid, and the cost of a second site. The Directors in their reply [2] blamed the Engineer for not discovering sooner that there was a military objection to the first site chosen. They reviewed the whole circumstances and expressed their displeasure.

Within a month of the despatch of the letter of explanation the Governor, Lord Elphinstone, recorded a minute [3] representing the desirableness of transferring to Vellore the European regiment usually cantoned at Arnee, which was only about 20 miles distant from Vellore; and of having the new Church in the immediate neighbourhood of the barracks. His Lordship also mentioned that there was a site within the Fort in every way eligible. In consequence of this minute further building proceedings were stopped, and a temporary arrangement was made for holding divine service in the Public Rooms, a building without the Fort which was hired to serve as a Church and Eurasian school room. The Rooms were hired for 12 months at 35 rupees a month from the committee of officers who owned and managed them for the station; but the money was to be spent in repairing, improving and adapting them to the purposes for which they were required. At the end of the year the Military Board called for a report on the condition of the building with a view to judge if the amount paid as rent was more or less than was necessary; and the temporary arrangement was continued for another year. The Madras Government explained [4] what had been done to the Directors, who made no remark.[5]

The use of the Assembly Rooms continued for 3 years. At the end of that time they were pronounced insecure and no longer available; and the Madras Government sanctioned

[1] Letter, 16 Feb. 1841, 4 to 6, Eccl. [2] Despatch, 21 Sept. 1842, 9–13, Eccl.
[3] Consultations, 16 March, 1841. [4] Letter, 21 Jan. 1843, 6 to 9, Eccl.
[5] Despatch, 19 March 1844, 4, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the erection of a new Church within the Fort (at the cost of 5051 rupees) in accordance with the suggestion of the late Governor. They announced this decision to the Directors,[1] who in reviewing the whole circumstances [2] expressed a doubt whether it would not have been better to have built on the site of the Public Rooms, on the ground that the walls were still serviceable and that it could have been done for 2600 rupees; they did not attach much weight (they said) to the objection of the Military Board that a building on that site would command the Fort, as there were already numerous buildings, including a mosque, similarly situated.

The new Church was designed and built by Major C. G. Ottley, the Fort Adjutant at Vellore. On its completion the Madras Government granted him a remuneration of 500 rupees in consideration of the charges and labour entailed on him [3]; and the Directors approved.[4]

The Church was built to seat 280 persons. The nave measures 50 by 41 feet. Eastward there is a sanctuary 15 feet deep by 18; and this is flanked by two vestries each 10 by 8 feet. Westward is a handsome verandah supported by columns and a flight of steps from the ground to the floor level. The building is said to have cost 5559 rupees.[5] If the extra 500 rupees was for furniture, the civil and military officers must have subscribed a goodly sum for this purpose; for 500 rupees will not furnish a Church, even in India.

Arcot remained the head quarters of the Chaplain till the European regiment was removed from that station in 1862. After that date Vellore became the head quarters. During the incumbency of the Rev. J. B. Trend (1874–9) the sanctuary was rearranged and refurnished at the cost of the congregation; some handsome ornaments of brass, carved wood and silk needlework, and a costly harmonium were presented by various individual members. The east window and the font are memorials of Lieut. Col. William Sim McLeod, presented by his widow. A notable adornment of the Church are the old colours of the 10th Madras Infantry, which were

[1] Letter, 10 Dec 1844, 2, Eccl. [2] Despatch, 22 July 1846, 33, 34, Eccl.
[3] Letter, 21 Sept. 1847, 10, Eccl. [4] Despatch, 22 Aug. 1849, 12, Eccl.
[5] Return of Churches dated 1852 (Registrar's Office).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

VELLORE CHURCH.

MAEER'S ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

deposited here by the officers of the Regiment before it was converted into a Burmah Battalion. A brass plate records the circumstance.

The Church is known by the name of St. John; but it was never officially dedicated to God in his honour, nor consecrated and set apart from all common use. The local tradition is that it was not consecrated because it was once a public room of Assembly for dancing and acting and other amusements; but this is quite a mistake. The probable reason for its never having been set apart with prayer and benediction is that for eighteen years after its completion there was no resident Chaplain.

The East India Company presented the Church with its usual gift of handsome altar plate inscribed with its coat of arms; only the paten remains now; at some time the chalice and the flagon were converted into vessels of a more modern, and certainly more convenient, shape; but in spite of its shape and massive size the old Company's plate ought to have been treasured; it was an outward symbol of much good will.

It is hardly necessary to add that the Church is kept in good repair. In 1883, in consideration of what the congregation had done for themselves, the Government expended 725 rupees over alterations and improvements.[1]

What befell the old Vellore mission is accurately related by the industrious and talented compiler of the S.P.G. records.[2]

The Vellore register books were commenced in 1828.

[1] G.O. 25 Jan. 1883, No. 285. [2] Pascoe's *200 Years of the S.P.G.* p. 526.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXVI

CHURCHES FOUNDED BETWEEN 1746 AND 1805—*cont.*

THE districts of Madura and Tinnevelly were occupied by a force of the Company's troops as early as 1755. The Nawab of Arcot, the Company's ally, claimed them as part of his dominions. The Fort St. George Government assisted him to re-assert his authority over them under the promise that by means of the revenue of the districts he would repay the Company the cost of the late wars undertaken in his behalf. Regular garrisons were left in Madura and Palamcottah as early as 1763. Ramnad was captured by General Joseph Smith and garrisoned in 1772. The districts were in a constant state of political disturbance till the death of Hyder Ali, who stirred up the local chiefs to rebel against the authority of the Nawab and to hamper the Company's military arrangements.

In 1784 peace was restored and assured in the districts; and it became possible for Schwartz, the Missionary-Chaplain of Tanjore, to attempt to provide religious ministrations for the various garrisons and to prosecute his missionary enterprise in their vicinity. The funds at his disposal for these purposes were partly derived from the Government of Fort St. George, partly from the London S.P.C.K., and partly from the benevolent assistance afforded him by the civil and military officers of the Company.

6. *Palamcottah.*—In 1765 there were stationed in Palamcottah Fort two companies of European infantry, 32 European artillerymen, and 100 artillery lascars. Subject to various alterations of numbers and composition, the European garrison remained at the Fort till 1880. Schwartz paid a visit to the garrison in 1771 when his permanent residence

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was at Trichinopoly. As the garrison of Palamcottah was a detachment from his head quarters, he must have been well known to the officers and men composing it. On this occasion a native woman of the Brahmin caste who was married to one of the Company's military officers,[1] applied to him for baptism; but as Schwartz could not recognise the marriage he refused her request. There was a sergeant in the garrison, married to a native Christian, who took up the mission cause with some zeal, though not according to knowledge; and Schwartz, with some fear as to the result, relates how he taught the catechism to a native enquirer and baptised him.[2]

He paid a second visit to the station in 1779 after he had taken up his abode at Tanjore. On this occasion the Brahmin woman, who had been instructed by her husband in the principles of Christianity, was found to be a widow; and as she was still anxious for baptism Schwartz baptised her and her son.[3]

A third visit was paid in 1785. On this occasion he found that a 'neat small building with a tiled roof'[4] had been erected by local effort. Bishop Caldwell has related in a detailed way the origin of the building. It was put into the mind of the Christian Brahmin woman to build a Church; and as soon as her intention was made known the civil and military officers of the station came forward to assist in the undertaking. Bishop Caldwell found some evidence that the Government also assisted by a gift of bricks and lime. If so the building was erected in much the same kind of way as those at Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

Schwartz visited Palamcottah twice in 1785. On the first visit he solemnly dedicated the new chapel; and on the second visit he brought with him a native Catechist named Satthianadhan to carry on the mission work. He administered the Blessed Sacrament to 80 persons of the native congregation, and expressed his satisfaction.[5]

[1] It was not a marriage in the English and Christian sense.
[2] Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 43.
[3] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission*. The Brahmin lady was given the name of Clorinda. On this occasion also he married one of the Company's civil officers, Mr. George Westcott, to Miss Ann Mirin.
[4] S.P.C.K. Report, 1787; Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission*; and Pettitt's *Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 79.
[5] Pearson's *Schwartz*, ii. 46.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

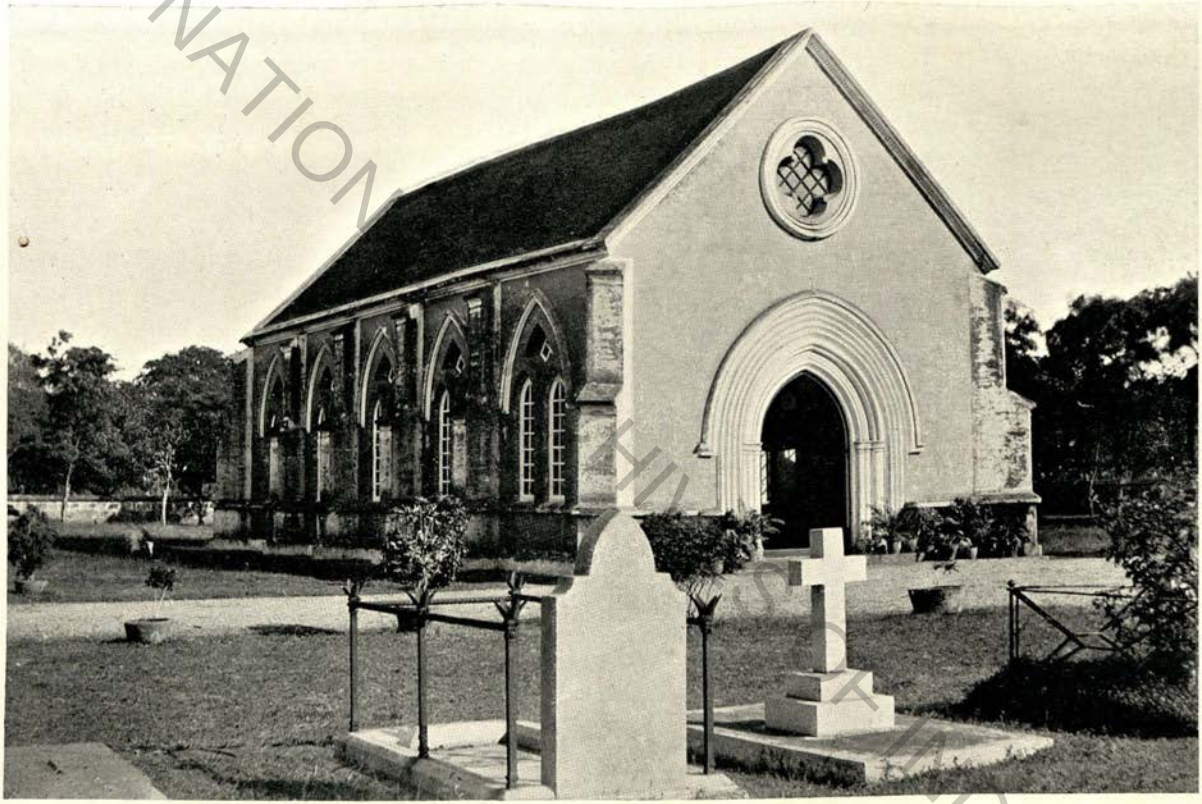
Three years later he reported to the S.P.C.K. that the congregation consisted of 120 persons; that the Catechist was proceeding with his duties ably, piously and well; and that the English liturgy, translated into Tamil, was regularly used before the sermon.

In 1791 he sent one of his assistants, a distinguished young Prussian, Joseph Daniel Jaenicke, to take charge of the whole work of the Fort and its neighbourhood, European and Native. Being a good linguist, like so many others of the early German Missionaries, his services were highly acceptable to the English residents. A year after his arrival he expressed his intention of enlarging the Church; and he spoke of his kind reception by Mr. Benjamin Torin, the Revenue Collector, Col. Clarke the Commandant, and Mr. Martin the Civil Paymaster. In 1793 he wrote a report to Schwartz which was forwarded to the S.P.C.K. and printed by them in their 1794 report in which he said, 'the Europeans regularly frequent the Church, to which they are encouraged by the good example of the commanding officer'[1]; and he added how he had formed several native congregations in the towns and villages of the district, and had built small chapels for them 'at the expense of Mr. Schwartz.'

Gericke paid a visit to Palamcottah in 1797—probably at the request of the aged and infirm Schwartz, who regarded all the Tinnevelly and Madura missions as branch stations of Tanjore. When Jaenicke died, in 1800, at Tanjore, Gericke paid another visit. Satthianadhan was still in charge of the native congregation; he had improved his knowledge of English to such a wonderful degree that he was quite qualified to conduct divine service for the garrison, when they desired his services. But as a rule either the senior civil or the senior military officer did this in the absence of a European Missionary. Gericke visited the station again in 1802, and was 'kindly received by the good Collector and other English gentlemen.'[2] The Collector was Stephen Lushington. After Gericke's death J. C. Kohlhoff visited the station in 1803, and recorded his kind reception by Col. Dyce the Commandant.[2]

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1792.
[2] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission* and Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 104–110.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA



CHRIST CHURCH, PALAMCOTTAH (CLORINDA'S CHURCH).
The Graves in the foreground are those of Bishop Sargent, the Rev. D. Samuel (S.P.G.) and the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan (C.M.S.).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Under orders from Kohlhoff W. T. Ringeltaube, a graduate of Halle, took charge in 1806 and remained a year and a half ministering like Jaenicke to both Europeans and natives. 'All the gentlemen expressed themselves very kindly disposed towards my undertaking.' 'The Church can contain about 40 people.'[1] 'The English congregation prefer the Church of England service to any other form, and why should I not cheerfully comply?'[2] During the time of his incumbency Col. Charles Trotter was the Commandant[3]; the Colonel received Ringeltaube and befriended him as he received James Hough the Chaplain ten years later.

From the time Ringeltaube left until 1816 there was no European minister nearer than Tanjore. In the absence of records little is known of Palamcottah during that period; floods, fever and disease carried off one sixth of the population in 1810; there was a panic amongst the native Christians; in the absence of a European Missionary to re-assure them there were many relapses to heathenism; the Church fell into disrepair, so that when Bishop Middleton visited the place in 1815[4] the English service was being conducted in the Collector's house.

It is worthy of notice that in this distant station the traditional practice of the Company's servants was observed as to divine service. They had neither Chaplain nor Church; but Bishop Middleton records that service was conducted and a sermon read by a military officer. A like practice had been observed in numerous military stations and factories before that time, and has been observed in numerous civil and military stations since. The godly layman who understands his duty to God and man, and is willing to be of use in the promotion of godliness and righteousness, has always been an important and pronounced feature of the Indian services.

There were two definite results of the Bishop's visit. The Church was repaired and put in order; and a Chaplain,

[1] Ten years later Hough said 80. [2] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission*.

[3] He died in 1819 and was buried in the Palamcottah Churchyard; 'a man of God, a Cornelius indeed, who gives every encouragement and support in his power to the Native Christians in Tinnevelly.' (Hough, ii. 285.)

[4] *Life of Bishop Middleton*, i. 226.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

James Hough, was sent to minister in it. No better selection could have been made; for Hough was a friend of the missionary cause and willing to promote it. The Madras Committee of the S.P.C.K. asked him to report on the state of the mission and the mission property. This he did.[1] He visited the surrounding villages[2] where Christianity had been preached and planted, and where there were chapels and schools. He reported that there were then about 3000 Christians belonging to the mission, a fact which is only mentioned here to show that the garrison and English work of the Missionaries and their agents did not prevent them from prosecuting successfully Christian work among the heathen.[3]

Hough pursued the policy of Schwartz, Pohle and Jaenicke. He successfully combined his English and native work with the assistance of a native Priest. He established new schools and re-established old ones in the name of the S.P.C.K., who granted 40 rupees a month for their upkeep; he re-introduced the Tamil translation of the English liturgy into the Tinnevelly congregations, and explained its meaning to the native Priest and Catechists; he advanced education and distributed copies of the Scriptures; and in all this was greatly assisted by John Cotton, the Collector, and the other Europeans of the station.

When Hough left the station in 1820 he left a restored Church and a re-established mission; but as the S.P.C.K. could not provide a European Missionary, he obtained the assistance of two C.M.S. agents before he left, Rhenius and Schmidt, who took charge of the S.P.C.K. mission and its property and its funds, and carried on its work, and at the same time commenced work on behalf of the Society which employed and paid them.[4] Hough's successor as Chaplain was James Hutchison, LL.D.; he arrived in 1822 and remained till 1829. Until 1826 the C.M.S. Missionaries made use of the Church in the Fort for their ministrations. In that year Rhenius erected a similar but rather larger building outside the Fort on land purchased by Hough and

[1] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission*, pp. 186–8.
[2] One of these was named Casamajorpuram.
[3] See Hough's reply to the Abbé Dubois, p. 169.
[4] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 198, in which the accuracy of Pettitt's explanation of the introduction of the C.M.S. into Palamcottah is confirmed.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

given to the Mission. He was assisted to do this by the contributions of the European residents as well as by the Church Missionary Society. Dr. Hutchison not only gave money, but also a silver communion service and hangings of silk and damask.[1]

When Dr. Hutchison left the station in 1829, the Madras Committee of the S.P.G.—which took over the work and mission property of the S.P.C.K. in 1826—appointed David Rosen to the charge of their mission in Palamcottah. He took over charge from Rhenius and wrote thus to the Madras Committee:—

'Mr. Rhenius took me to the Fort and showed me the Church and mission premises. The Churchyard is surrounded by a new and strong wall built by the Government.[2] Gentlemen and other Christians of the station are interred here; in one part Native Protestants are interred.'

This Churchyard wall was one of the results of having a resident Chaplain to represent the needs and the feelings of the Europeans of the station to the Government.

Rosen only remained a year. On his return from the Nicobars in 1835 he took charge again. The Rev. Charles Hubbard was in charge from 1836 to 1837. Then he was transferred, and Rhenius resumed the superintendence. Soon afterwards Rhenius came under the influence of some Plymouth Brethren; and as he spoke disrespectfully of the Church and its ordinances and its Prayer Book he became useless to the Europeans and harmful to the native Christians. He was removed by his Society; a Chaplain was appointed in 1841, the third and last; he remained for three years, until order had been restored by the Rev. George Pettitt, an English Priest in the service of the C.M.S. The new Chaplain was George Kneller Graeme.

So long as George Pettitt or any English clergyman like him was there and was willing to minister to the English congregation, there was no necessity to appoint a Chaplain to do it. So when Mr. Graeme left in 1844 no Company's

[1] Pettitt's *Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 23.
[2] Reported to the Directors in Letter, 2 Oct. 1832, 9, 10, Eccl. Cost Rs. 1174

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chaplain was appointed to succeed him. Palamcottah was the head-quarters of the Government of the district; there was a Collector's office, a treasury, a Hospital, and a Sessions Court; within the Fort was a regiment of sepoys, a detachment of artillery, an arsenal and a jail. The European community assembled in the Mission Chapel in the Fort for divine service every Sunday. There was the Collector, the Judge, the Sub-Collector, several assistant Collectors, the officers of the sepoy battalion, an Artillery and Engineer officer, a military and a civil surgeon, conductors of ordnance, staff sergeants, and Eurasian bandsmen of the Native Infantry regiment. There were also a few other European and Eurasian families in the station.[1]

There were two C.M.S. Missionaries in the station; they shared the English duty, and they did this without emolument from the East India Company and without fees from the members of the congregation, just as Jaenicke and Ringeltaube and Rosen had done before them; and ever since that time the C.M.S. Missionaries of Palamcottah have pursued the same kind policy.

Whilst Graeme was Chaplain of the station an arrangement was concluded between the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. Committees in London, and their corresponding committees in Madras, to give up Palamcottah as an S.P.G. station in favour of the Society which has pursued the work there vigorously since the time of James Hough.[2] The S.P.G. retired to Mudalur and the South East portion of the district, but they retained their ownership of the Church and Churchyard.

The Rev. George Pettitt tells in his interesting history how he enlarged the Church built by Rhenius, added a chancel and a west porch in 1840, and completed the erection of a tower and spire in 1845. This handsome mission Church has never been consecrated—that is, 'solemnly set apart from all profane and common uses'; but before its enlargement and completion it was named Trinity Church by Bishop Corrie.[3]

[1] Pettitt's *Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 79.
[2] Pascoe's *200 Years of the S.P.G.* pp. 534–5.
[3] Pettitt's *Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 84.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE C.M.S. MISSION CHURCH, PALAMCOTTAH.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The old Palamcottah mission from 1785 to 1845 had many liberal supporters amongst the Europeans officially connected with the place. Their names have mostly perished with the records. But a few have been discovered and rescued from oblivion. It is pleasing to be able to add those discovered by Bishop Caldwell, especially as they are such honoured names in the Presidency of Madras: George D. Drury, Collector in 1829; Thomas Prendergast, J. F. Bishop and Charles James Bird, the local Civilians in 1835; and Lt. Col. John Ogilvie of the 33rd Madras Infantry of the same date.

As soon as the S.P.G. agents were removed from Palamcottah the Madras Committee applied to the local Government for some remuneration for the use of the Church there by the European community. On the recommendation of Bishop Heber the Government allowed a monthly sum to the Society for the use of the Church at Cuddalore; they asked for a similar allowance at Palamcottah.[1]

The request was sent to the Court of Directors, and a rent of 35 rupees was sanctioned as at Cuddalore; but the Directors asked to be informed how many Churches were held in joint occupation with religious bodies unconnected with Government, and the reasons why such arrangements had been sanctioned.[2] The Government of Fort St. George did not in reply enter into the history of joint occupation; they contented themselves with saying that Cuddalore and Palamcottah were the only Churches rented by the Government.[3] The Directors in reply reminded them of Vepery; and if they had known they might have reminded them of several others; but not knowing they asked the Government of Madras to state in what manner provision could best be made for the celebration of divine service at the stations mentioned and others similarly circumstanced without sharing a Church building with a Missionary society.[4] The Government of Madras could only reply that there was no other way of effecting a separation than by either building a new Church or purchasing the

[1] Letter, 11 March 1845, 14, Eccl.
[2] Despatch, No. 4 of 1846, Eccl.
[3] Letters, 18 Aug. 1846, 5-7; and 24 Nov. 1846, 12, Eccl.
[4] Despatch, 20 Oct. 1847, 32, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

mission Church; and they added that they had authorised the erection of a new Church at Palamcottah at a cost of Rs. 3980.[1] The Directors approved.[2]

Whilst these negotiations were going on the Madras Committee of the S.P.G., assisted by the Europeans stationed at Palamcottah, repaired the Church at a cost of Rs. 277[3] in the year 1848; local feeling and sentiment was not in favour of building another Church; it meant the forsaking of the old one and of the old Churchyard; the people had furnished the Church to please and suit themselves, had erected tablets within its walls, had buried their dead in its precincts; what did it matter to them whether it belonged to a mission body or not? Their affections were drawn to it, whoever it belonged to, and they wanted no other. Doubtless these local sentiments were conveyed by the Collector to the Government; for in the year 1849 the Government offered to purchase the building from the Society. The Secretary of the Madras Committee reported the offer to the Society in London thus[4]:—

'There is a little Church in the Fort at Palamcottah which has for some time past been rented to Government for the use of the troops etc. We have no mission there, the place being entirely occupied by the C.M.S. The Government proposed to buy the Church of us, and we agreed to part with it for Rs. 1000. It is a very inferior building, and the sum asked is its full value. The Government made some enquiry as to our title' etc.

In those days the Madras Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. was in the habit of acquiring and disposing of property without reference to the Committee in London; and the Committee in London took no notice of the habit.

In their letter home in 1851 the Government of Madras informed[5] the Directors that the S.P.G. offered to make over

[1] Letter, 12 Dec. 1848, 10–13, Eccl. [2] Despatch, 16 July 1851, 55, Eccl.
[3] Official return of Churches in the Diocese 1852.
[4] Letter from the Rev. A. R. Symonds to the Society extracted from the S.P.G. records by Mr. C. F. Pascoe, Assistant Secretary, and dated 14 Nov. 1849. There is nothing in the Society's records to show that the offer was discussed by the Society or even laid before it; or that the letter was acknowledged.
[5] Letter, 11 Nov. 1851, 13–17, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their Church at Palamcottah to the Government for Rs. 1000; that the Civil Engineer had reported that Rs. 466 would place it in proper repair for present use; that the Government of Madras had declined the offer; but that in answer to a further representation by the Military Board it was resolved to ask the Court's orders.

The Directors replied [1]:—

'We sanctioned in 1848 the erection of a Place of Worship at Palamcottah, in pursuance of the principles which we were anxious to enforce of terminating the joint occupancy of Churches by your Government and Missionary societies. We are desirous that no further delay should take place at Palamcottah etc. . . . The plan of a Church as distinguished from a room . . . was sanctioned by us on the ground that Palamcottah is a civil as well as a military station' etc.

Two years later the Government of Madras wrote [2] that they had sanctioned Rs. 817 for the removal of the wall of the old Fort, 'to clear the site selected for the new Church.' The Directors in their reply made no remark.[3] It was seven years by this time since the building of a new Church was authorised, which would have involved a wholly unnecessary expenditure, and which no one wanted. The local Government would not be guilty of such a foolishness as was proposed; they solved the question by buying the building; and it was solemnly set apart by prayer and benediction by Bishop Dealtry on the 23rd Feb. 1856 and was called Christ Church in honour of the Saviour.

Since then it has remained the property of the Government, who hold it in trust for the purposes of the Church of England. It was repaired in 1871 at the cost of Rs. 750; [4] and it is kept in excellent condition by the joint effort of the Government and the congregation. In its Churchyard are buried Bishop Sargent, one of the episcopal assistants of the Bishop of Madras; an eminent Eurasian clergyman, Dr. H. Bower D.D.; and two eminent Tamil clergymen, W. T. Satthianadhan B.D. of the C.M.S., and D. Samuel B.D. of the S.P.G. All these

[1] Despatch, 1st July 1852, 4, 5, Eccl.
[2] Letter, 24 April 1854, 4, Eccl.
[3] Despatch, 29 Aug. 1855, 31, Eccl.
[4] G.O. 12 July 1871, No. 117, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

degrees were granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury *honoris causâ.*

7. *Ramnad.*—The Fort of Ramanadhapuram was taken in 1772, and garrisoned by a detachment of the Nawab's troops under the command of Col. Martinz and other European officers.[1]

Under Mr. John Sullivan's scheme an English school for the higher class of natives was established at Ramnad by Schwartz in 1785. William Wheatley was appointed master; but the general superintendence of it remained with the S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Tanjore. The establishment of a Board of Education by the Madras Government in 1828 took the management of most of the Government English schools out of the hands of the Missionaries; but the management and general superintendence of the Ramnad school remained with them long after this date; perhaps because in a place so difficult to get at no other superintendence was available. All the education in the place now is conducted by the S.P.G. Missionary, and assisted according to the rules of the code by the Government.

The great benefit of this school to the Zemindar and the petty chiefs of the neighbourhood was probably the cause of their good will towards the mission, and of their general willingness to help on its designs.

William Wheatley went to Ramnad not only as a schoolmaster but as a mission agent of Schwartz. The first result of his going was the building of a small Church. There is no reason to suppose that this building was anything more than one of sun-burnt bricks with a roof of thatch. It served its purpose till 1794 when the Catechist reported its ruinous condition. Schwartz was in favour of repair, and recommended 'some straw to keep the rain out.'[2] But there happened to be in the place at the time some Europeans, who felt the want of a place of worship, and who thought that this inferior building of brick and thatch was not good enough for the purpose. In January 1795 Colonel Martinz announced

[1] The Nawab's troops were withdrawn in 1792; Col. Martinz was left to command the local corp. of armed police called the Revenue Battalion. Letter, 5 Oct. 1792, 86–90, Mil.

[2] Taylor's *Memoir*, Appendix pp. xiv. and xv.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

his intention of rebuilding the Church. Schwartz declared his satisfaction at this resolve, and offered to contribute towards the cost. The persons specially mentioned by Schwartz in his letters as helping on the design at this period are Col. Martinz, Lieut. and Adjutant Clarke, Mrs. Neville and William Wheatley.

Schwartz died in 1798 before the design was carried out. Gericke succeeded him as the head of the S.P.C.K. mission on the coast. It is said that the Church was built under his direction. He certainly spent much time in Ramnad in 1796 and 1797. It was finished in 1799. In 1800 Gericke accompanied by Jaenicke, whose failing health he hoped to improve by changes of scene, went to Ramnad and dedicated the new building to the service of God with much solemnity. The cost of 'the fine Church and parsonage' was not entirely borne by 'the charitable Col. Martinz.'[1] He contributed largely towards it; but some of the expense was borne by others.

Col. Manuel Martinsz or Martinz is described by Taylor as a European Portuguese, and a valuable officer in his day. At the time the Church was built he commanded what was called the Revenue Corps of the Zemindar of Ramnad.[2] Lord Valentia in his Book of Travels and Col. Welsh in his Reminiscences have references to him. The former says that towards the expense of building the Church the Government gave 700 pagodas and Col. Martinz 900 pagodas.[3] The date of his visit to Ramnad was 1805. None of the Missionaries mention any assistance in the undertaking by the Government. He may have used the term of the local authorities (that is, the Zemindar), and not of the Honourable Company's Government at Fort St. George. It is very likely that the Zemindar did give from his stores bricks and lime and timber; more especially if Col. Martinz asked for them; and if so, this may be what Lord Valentia means. When Lord Valentia went to Ramnad he was the guest of Col. Martinz; whatever information he obtained about the Church must have been obtained from his host.

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1800; Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 86 and 102; and Appendix, p. xxxii.

[2] Despatch, 7 May 1800, Mil.

[3] Lord Valentia's *Voyages*, vol. i. 345–6.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Col. Welsh spoke of Martinz disrespectfully and added that he was a Roman Catholic. This addition has been adopted by Bishop Caldwell and copied into the history of the S.P.G.[1] But it seems to have no other foundation than Welsh's statement. In 1791 Jaenicke on the way to Palamcottah visited Ramnad and made the acquaintance of Col. Martinz; he described him then as 'the friend of our missions, who ardently desires the extension of Christianity, and in more than one respect affords a helping hand to the work of the mission and to those who labour in it.'[2] Taylor defends the Colonel from Welsh's animadversions.[3] He says that he was a man of great benevolence and highly esteemed; that he was perhaps a little too versatile, appearing to be all things to all men. He might have been all this and a Roman Catholic as well; but the long continuance and constancy of his friendship with the Ramnad and Tanjore Missionaries, his liberal assistance of their designs, and the expenditure of a large sum of money over a Church which he is not reported not to have attended, seem to make the assertion very doubtful. Gericke reported to the S.P.C.K.[4] that 'the charitable Col. Martinz' had also borne a large share in the cost of the parsonage; and referred in 1802 to 'the good Colonel at Ramnad.'

There is no reason to suppose that the Church was not built for the joint occupation of Europeans and native Christians, the same as the other mission Churches. It lasted 50 years; then a subordinate of the Public Works Department,[5] who had received orders from his superior to improve the appearance of the town as far as he could, went to the Catechist in charge and informed him that he was going to pull down the Church and build a better one. The Catechist supposed that it was the order of the Government, and the demolition took place. But the Executive Engineer, whose orders had been misunderstood, was not kind enough to get another one built in its place. Mr. Hayes was removed to another station; and that was all the

[1] Pascoe's *200 Years of the S.P.G.* p. 556. [2] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Mission.*
[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 102. [4] S.P.C.K. Report, 1800.
[5] Related in the reminiscences of Mr. J. W. Hayes, a book printed at Madras or Bangalore.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

compensation the Society and the native Christians ever received for the loss of their Church.

By this time the character of the place had changed; the European and Eurasian residents had disappeared; Ramnad became a mission station and nothing more. There have been three Churches at Ramnad since the destruction of Martinz Church took place. One was built by the Rev. A. F. Caemmerer in 1855; one by the Rev. George Billing in 1876; and the present substantial building is a family and friendly memorial of the Rev. Arthur Heber Thomas who carried on George Billing's wonderful work from 1886 to 1890, and then fell a victim to fever, greatly beloved and deeply regretted by his native flock. The Church was completed in 1899, and dedicated on the 28th March 1900. It has not yet been consecrated.

8. *Dindigul.*—This place is situated between Trichinopoly and Madura. There is a rise from both places to it. It stands about 800 feet above the level of the sea, and is consequently more healthy for a European than either of them. Before the hill stations were explored it was made use of as a sanatorium for the troops at Trichinopoly and Tanjore. On the summit of a hill overlooking the town about 250 feet high are still to be seen the ruins of the old European barracks. It was shortly before the year 1800 that the place was put to this use. The officers and men built for themselves a chapel, and were visited by Gericke in 1800 and in the two following years.[1]

When Gericke died the southern garrisons and mission stations were by arrangement divided between the Missionary-Chaplains of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Dindigul and Madura were allotted to Pohle of the latter station. In 1805 Pohle visited Dindigul and officiated in the little Church both in English and in Tamil. The number of Portuguese and Tamil converts in Dindigul and Madura together only amounted to 30[2]; so that his work was principally with the soldiers. He visited the place again in 1813.[3] Doubtless between whiles the officers of the garrison read the Church

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1801, and Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 88.
[2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1806. [3] Do. 1814.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

service on Sundays, and perhaps a sermon, as in other similarly situated places. David Rosen, then stationed at Trichinopoly, went to Dindigul in 1822 and his successor Schreyvogel in 1830. How many other visits they made is not recorded. From 1837 to 1842 Dindigul had a resident Missionary, the Rev. W. Hickey. Like his predecessors he ministered to both Europeans and native Christians. The Rev. Charles Hubbard was stationed at Dindigul by the S.P.G. in 1846. By this time certain out-stations where there were Europeans were allotted to Chaplains, which had to be visited by them at certain intervals. The Chaplain of Trichinopoly had to visit the troops at Dindigul until 1857 when they were withdrawn. In this year the Diocesan Committee of the S.P.G. sold its property in the Madura district, except that at Ramnad, to a body of American Missionaries. The little chapel which was built by the soldiers, and had served its purpose, went with the mission property.[1]

9. *The Black Town Chapel (St. Mark's).*—It has been already recorded that the Government of Madras sanctioned at the end of 1796 the use of the balance of the money granted for a Church at Ellore for a Church in the Black Town of Madras instead. The Rev. R. H. Kerr was ordered to Fort St. George at the beginning of 1796 in consequence of Dr. Bell's failing health. He was well known in the Black Town; for before he was appointed to a military Chaplaincy he had kept a private school there, for the benefit of the better class Europeans and Eurasians. The parents of his old scholars—whether prompted by him or not does not appear—signed a petition to the Governor, asking him to approve and assist a plan for the erection of a Church for themselves. Kerr presented the petition in July 1796, received the Governor's private reply, and wrote to the petitioners informing them that Lord Hobart had replied that if they were willing[2] to subscribe for building a Church, the Governnment would assist them; but that it was necessary that a subscription should originate with the inhabitants of the Black Town. Mr. Kerr added that if all

[1] Pascoe's *200 Years of the S.P.G.* pp. 555 and 559.
[2] St. Mark's Records, Madras; the letter is dated 25 July 1796.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE S.P.G. MISSION CHURCH, RAMNAD.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

would give according to their ability, not only the Government but individuals unconnected with the Black Town would be certain to give towards so laudable a design. He gave his opinion that this was the only opportunity which was ever likely to offer for building a Church in the Black Town; and that if the object was then lost sight of it would probably never occur again. He reminded the people that the education of their children in the 'Christian persuasion'[1] was a matter of the first importance. He suggested a large bungalow room as sufficient for present purposes rather than an elegant and extensive building; and he recommended an application to the Nawab, to whom Popham's Broadway belonged, for a piece of ground as a site.

The petition of the inhabitants, which was dated the 9th July 1796, was considered in Council two months later. It was as follows,[2] and was signed by 107 Europeans and Eurasians:—

'That having for some years past experienced the want of a place of Protestant worship in the Black Town, Madras, ... your petitioners have it in contemplation to raise a subscription in order to erect a building on a convenient spot . . . . for that purpose, should it meet with the approbation and assistance of Government.

'Your petitioners . . . . hope that your Lordship will have the goodness to approve the proposal, and to give it your Lordship's countenance and support.'

The Government approved the design and granted, in reply to an application from Mr. Kerr of the same date as the petition, the balance of the Ellore money and materials for the purpose. A meeting was then called and held on the 25th Sept. at the Exchange in the Fort.[3] Kerr presided. He announced the decision of the Government; and three resolutions were passed[4]: (1) that the gentlemen present form a committee to collect subscriptions; (2) that Messieurs Storey and Harvey circulate subscription lists to the head inhabitants

[1] These are Dr. Kerr's words.
[2] Consultations, 9 Sept. 1796.
[3] For history of the Exchange, see *List of Pictures in Government House, Madras*, by Col. H. D. Love, R.E.
[4] St. Mark's Records, Madras.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Black Town of whatever religious persuasion to contribute towards the work; and (3) that no money be collected till the whole sum for completing the work is promised. The following subscription list is entered in the record book immediately after the minutes of the meeting:—

	Pags.		Pags.		Pags.
The Rev. R. H. Kerr	50	J. E. Branson . .	15	J. Hamilton .	5
Mr. A. F. Franck .	50	W. Purser . . .	20	Samuel Jessan .	10
Thos. Ledsham .	50	J. Brown . . .	10	W. Hogg . .	5
John Batley . .	50	W. Cassimire . .	5	G. Crump . .	5
Rob. Paterson . .	40	Neb Lee . . .	10	Robert Scawen .	5
Dan. Johnson . .	30	C. Lloyd . . .	25	Mark Dunhill .	5
J. H. Wright . .	10	Hope, Card, & Rainald	15	D. Christiani .	25
Rob. Harvey . .	10	Munro & Goodall .	10	A. B. Bone .	10
John Storey . .	60	W. Stuart . . .	30	McGee . .	10
Edw. Nimmo . .	25	J. Clemore . . .	10	Shamier Sultain	10
W. J. Chater . .	25	A. Collyer . . .	5	Mrs. French }	10
William Grant .	5	W. A. Nim . . .	5	Henry Davison }	
				W. J. Cooper .	10

This subscription list, which is probably the only one of the period which has survived, shows that all the subscribers to the first list with the exception of Mr. Kerr were actually Black Town people; Shamier was a rich Armenian merchant. Some of the names are still honourably known in Madras.

Mr. Kerr was successful in enlisting the sympathy and obtaining the assistance of Mr. N. E. Kindersley on the Committee. Kindersley suggested the application, which he subsequently made, to the managers of the Road and Asylum Lottery for a grant. The managers undertook to take the sense of the Proprietors and to write again.[1] The Proprietors actually promised a grant of 1500 pagodas.

Mr. Kerr wrote to H.H. the Nawab of the Carnatic, asking him to grant 'that piece of ground commonly called Popham's Broadway' for a site[2]; but the application was not successful. This was in November 1796.

From that time until July 1798 there is no record of any kind. It is to be supposed that the work of collecting money was going on. At the beginning of that month Mr. Kerr wrote to the Acting Governor in Council,[3] and reported that

[1] St. Mark's Records, Madras, 9 Jan. 1797.

[2] Popham's Broadway is now a street extending the whole length from north to south of Black Town. A hundred years ago it was apparently an open space of limited extent.

[3] Lieut.-Gen. George Harris.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a sufficient sum of money had been collected; he also stated the difficulty he had had in procuring a site, and asked the Government to grant one. The application was discussed in Council twice; for the site asked for was likely to be wanted for another purpose. They granted a piece which had been allotted to the Theatrical Society, and ordered the Chief Engineer to make the necessary survey of it.[1]

Another meeting was then called to report progress.[2] Mr. N. E. Kindersley presided; there were present besides the Rev. Mr. Kerr, Mr. Nimmo, Mr. Franck and Mr. Harvey. Mr. Kindersley reported the allotment of a site, and the promise of the following funds:—

The Government	750 pagodas
The Lottery Proprietors . . .	1500 „
Black Town subscriptions . . .	886 „

also that Mr. John Goldingham had undertaken to superintend the building of the chapel; the cost of which including every requisite would be, according to his plan, 3500 pagodas.

A committee was then appointed to gather in and disburse the promised monies. The Senior Chaplain, Richard Leslie, excused himself. Mr. J. Goldingham took his place. The other members were Messieurs Kindersley, Chater, Franck, Ledsham, with Mr. Kerr as secretary. When Goldingham accepted a seat on the Committee he expressed his pleasure in helping 'at this particular juncture, fraught with atrocious and—I am sorry to add—in some cases successful attempts to overturn religion and order.'

The following names of subscribers appear in addition to those already mentioned; some are still well known in the Presidency.

T. Blyth.	J. H. Herft.	G. C. Askin.
W. Godfrey.	E. Thompson.	R. Godfrey.
T. Humpherstone.	J. Vint.	W. D. Forbes.
W. Ross.	J. S. Sherman.	E. Clayton.
W. Aken.	A. Goodall.	J. L. Thorpe.
D. Lamb.	R. Perriman.	R. Donovan.

[1] Consultations, 6 July and 10 Aug. 1798. Letter, 15 Oct. 1798, 112, 113, Pub.
[2] Held at the Exchange, 1 Aug. 1798. St. Mark's Records.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In January 1799 Kerr wrote to the Ministers and Churchwardens of St. Mary's as secretary of the committee 'appointed by the principal European inhabitants of the Black Town' informing them that they had erected the building, and asking for 1000 pagodas to enable them to complete their undertaking—presumably with furniture; he added by order of the Committee that the chapel would not interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the parish, but would be merely a chapel of ease under whatever restrictions the Vestry might deem expedient.[1] The Vestry granted 800 pagodas without condition, but recorded that the vote was a special one.

Having obtained this grant Kerr circulated to the members of the Committee plans and estimates for the furniture, for building a Vestry room and a compound wall. This was in May 1799. In the following January the Lottery Committee granted a further 250 pagodas for the completion of the project.[2]

At the close of the year 1799 Mr. Kerr wrote to the Governor in Council informing him that the chapel was nearly completed, and of his intention to open it on the first Sunday of the year 1800. He sent plans, elevations and a subscription list for the information of the Directors; and asked the Government to obtain through the Directors a regular form of consecration similar to that obtained for the Calcutta Church.[3] Kerr added that he would hold services in the new chapel on Sunday afternoons free of extra allowances, his mornings being engaged at St. Mary's; and he asked for a monthly allowance for a clerk and three native servants and for lighting expenses.[4] The account he sent was as follows:—

	Pags.		Pags.
Donation from Government .	748	E. W. Fallowfield Esqre. .	70
Inhabitants of Black Town .	886	N. E. Kindersley Esq. .	60
Asylum Lottery . . .	1500	John Tulloh Esq. . .	25
St. Mary's Church Fund . .	800	Major Gen. Brathwaite .	75
Lord Hobart	100	The Rev. Mr. Leslie . .	50
Major Gen. Sir Alured Clarke .	75	The Rev. Mr. Kerr . .	50
E. Saunders Esqre. . .	60	Pagodas . .	4499

[1] St. Mark's Records, Madras. St. Mary's Vestry Minute Book, Madras.
[2] St. Mark's Records, Madras.
[3] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 190, 191. Date 1787.
[4] Consultations, 13 Dec. 1799, and St. Mark's Records.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ST. MARK'S, NORTH BLACK TOWN, MADRAS.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Government sent the plans home, asked the Directors to obtain the necessary consecration instruments,[1] but postponed the consideration of the allowance. William Taylor described the chapel then as a plain oblong structure with a bell at the west entrance, and a small vestry in the N.E. corner; 'there was no other chancel than a narrow wooden platform railed round.'[2] The gallery was added subsequently.

Soon after the opening of the chapel the Directors' reply to the letter of 1798 arrived, approving of all the Government had done in the matter.[3] A year later they promised to make application to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the necessary instruments of consecration.[4]

There can be no doubt that this application was made in the beginning of the year 1801; that it resulted in some enquiries being made about the Chaplains at Fort St. George which the Directors could not answer; and that the application was not granted. By the charter of 1698 every Chaplain in the service of the Company had to be approved and licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or by the Bishop of London. Neither Leslie nor Kerr had been so licensed. Kerr was not even in priest's orders. There is abundant evidence of Kerr's ignorance of ecclesiastical law. He seems to have applied for the consecration instruments in perfect good faith; without any thought that being only in deacon's orders, and having no license to officiate, barred his ability even to receive them, let alone make use of them. The question of his orders arose in May 1802, and was settled by his going to England to obtain the power and authority to consecrate, and to do other things which he had been doing for some time without power and without sufficient authority.

He arrived in England in November 1802; after an interview with the Directors he ought to have realised the reason of the delay in the consecration of the Black Town Chapel. In the spring of 1803, having been ordained priest, he requested the Directors to allow him to return to Fort St. George. In reply to this the Directors wrote[5] that they

[1] Letter, 22 Jan. 1800, 72, Pub.
[2] *Madrasiana*, p. 13.
[3] Despatch, 31 Oct. 1799, Pub.
[4] Do. 18 March 1801, 50, Pub.
[5] The letter is entered in the St. Mark's Records, and is dated from the East India House the 18 April 1803.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

would permit him to return to his former situation if approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or by the Bishop of London according to the terms of their charter. Then for the first time apparently he applied to the Archbishop, and received his official approval and license. His Grace's secretary wrote and informed him [1] that the obstacle to his return was now removed by his having obtained the approbation of the Archbishop and the Bishop of London to his appointment by the East India Company. The secretary added that the Archbishop desired to see Dr. Kerr on the following morning with reference to the consecration of the Black Town Chapel. At this interview Dr. Kerr received an instrument empowering him to do what he desired. And the Company wrote to the Government of Madras directing them to support Dr. Kerr in doing what he had been authorised by the Archbishop to do.[2]

On the 5th December 1803 Dr. Kerr arrived at Madras, and wrote to the Government announcing his return; he enclosed the above two letters, and informed the Government that he had taken priest's orders. On the 16th he sent in copies of the consecration instruments; and subject to approval named the day of consecration. The Government approved and desired Archdeacon Leslie, the Senior Chaplain, to assist [3] at the function. The day fixed was the first Sunday of the year 1804. The notice was too short to enable the arrangements to be made and carried out with dignity and decorum; and so the service was postponed till the first Sunday in February.

On that day the function took place; the service was conducted by Dr. Kerr assisted by the Hon. and Rev. T. J. Twiselton of Colombo; the sermon was preached by Archdeacon Leslie [4]; the service at St. Mary's was omitted, so that all might be present. The Governor, the members of Council, and all the principal persons in Fort St. George and Madras were there; so that the Government was able to write to the Directors and say that all was well done.[5]

[1] The letter is entered in the St. Mark's records and is dated from Lambeth House the 26 April 1803.
[2] Despatch, 1 June 1803, 3, 4, Pub.
[3] Consultations, 24 Dec. 1803.
[4] *Madras Courier*, 8 Feb. 1804.
[5] Letter, 23 March 1804, 114–117, and 383, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

On the application of Dr. Kerr the Government paid all expenses connected with wages and lighting, amounting to 431 pagodas, from the time the chapel was opened; they declined to pay the cost of any furniture; the St. Mary's Vestry paid the cost of the lamps, chairs, steps and kneelers out of the St. Mary's Church Fund, and gave in addition the bell, which cost 50 pagodas.[1]

This is a copy of the commission given by the Archbishop to Dr. Kerr to perform the rite of consecration[2]:—

'To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas Richard Hall Kerr, clerk, D.D., appointed Chaplain at the Presidency of Fort St. George in the East Indies, hath represented unto us that a fabric or chapel hath been lately erected and completely furnished for the performance of Divine Worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, called the Black Town chapel; and that the inhabitants residing near the same have expressed a desire that the same should be consecrated and set apart from all profane and common uses, and dedicated entirely to the service of Almighty God; Now we, John, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan being desirous of promoting this their pious wish and request, do hereby as far as we may or can, authorise and empower the said Richard Hall Kerr to separate the said chapel or fabric from all profane and common uses by consecrating the same and dedicating it entirely to the worship of Almighty God, and to openly and publicly pronounce decree and declare that the same ought to remain so separated dedicated and consecrated for ever by a definitive sentence or final decree to be by him read and promulged. Witness our hand this 27th day of April in the year of our Lord 1803.

(Signed) 'J. CANTUAR.'

This is a copy of the sentence of consecration[3]:—

'In the name of God, Amen.

'Whereas it hath been represented to the Most Reverend Father in God John, by divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [*etc.*—*etc.*] that this fabric or chapel hath been lately erected and completely furnished, and that the inhabitants residing near the same have expressed a desire

[1] Consultations, Feb. 1804, and St. Mark's Records, Madras.
[2] St. Mark's Records, Madras. [3] Do.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

that the said chapel may be consecrated and set apart from all common and profane uses, and dedicated entirely to the service of Almighty God; and Whereas the said John, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, hath thought fit, as far as he may or can, to authorise and empower me, Richard Hall Kerr, D.D., Clerk, to separate the said chapel and fabric from all profane and common uses by consecrating the same and dedicating it entirely to the worship of Almighty God; Now I, the said Richard Hall Kerr, do by virtue of the authority and power to me given as aforesaid, separate the said fabric or chapel from all profane and common uses, and do dedicate the same to Almighty God and divine worship, and consecrate it for the celebration thereof; and do publicly and openly pronounce decree and declare that the same ought to remain so separated dedicated and consecrated for ever by this my definitive sentence and final decree which I read and promulge by these presents. Witness my hand this 5th day of February in the year of our Lord 1804.

(Signed) 'Richard Hall Kerr.
'Witnesses. Wm. Bentinck.
'T. A. Strange.
'John Chamier.'

Lord William Bentinck was the Governor of Fort St. George and its dependencies; Sir Thomas Strange was the Chief Justice of Madras; John Chamier was a Civil servant of the Company in the Fort St. George Council.

When Dr. Kerr applied to the Government for the payment of the past expenses of the chapel, he asked that measures might be taken to prevent the processions of the natives from disturbing the services on Sunday evenings; he also asked that a good road might be made from the Black Town to the chapel; and that the Government would in future bear the expenses of the chapel for servants' wages and lighting. All this the Government undertook to do. It is to be noticed that this was the first Government grant for the upkeep of a Church and its services. Stipends had been given to some of the Missionaries for ministering to Europeans; grants had been made for repairing St. Mary's after damage in the siege, and after its secular use in preparation for a second siege; but no payments for servants or for lighting were made before February 1804, when Dr. Kerr made the request.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The letter was dated the 9th February; it was sent to the Rev. Archdeacon Leslie, Senior Chaplain of Fort St. George, with a request to forward it to the Governor in Council. All his previous letters to the Government had been sent direct. It is probable that he received a hint that in ecclesiastical matters the Government should be addressed through his senior.

Although there was no precedent for what the Madras Government had done in the payment of the chapel expenses in the past, and in the promise of a monthly grant for the payment of them in the future, the Directors approved of what had been done.[1] Perhaps in this new departure can be seen the influence of Mr. Charles Grant and his friends on the Board.

Dr. Kerr officiated at the Black Town Chapel for eight years in addition to his other duties. During the periods of his leave the services were taken by one or another of the Fort St. George Chaplains. He died in April 1808. Within a few months of his death the two Fort St. George Chaplains wrote to the Government to say that owing to their weak state of health they could no longer serve the chapel. They suggested that Dr. Rottler, at that time Secretary and Chaplain of the Female Asylum, should be appointed to carry on the services and be paid by the Government 25 pagodas a month. The Government agreed, and made the appointment, and reported what they had done to the Directors.[2] The appointment was stated to be a temporary one, and to be intended to last till some other arrangement could be made. The work to be done was what Kerr had done; in short it was work among the Eurasians and domiciled Europeans of Black Town. The Directors approved of the appointment conditionally; they said[3]:—'We approve of this temporary appointment upon the grounds stated in your letter, concluding that Mr. Rottler is a member of the Church of England and properly qualified for the situation.' No reply was sent to this despatch; it was considered locally that Dr. Rottler was qualified for the work which had to be done; the question of his Orders was evaded.

[1] Despatch, 23 Oct. 1805, 43 and 137, Pub.
[2] Letter, 24 Oct. 1808, 173–4, Pub. [3] Despatch, 10 July 1811, 115, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Rev. Morgan Davis was appointed a Chaplain in 1810; he arrived in Madras in July of that year, and was at once appointed to officiate in the Black Town Chapel. As the allowance of 25 pagodas was continued to Dr. Rottler it must be supposed that he assisted Mr. Davis in the work of the parish. In 1813 thirty five Tamil natives were publicly received into the communion of the Church of England in the chapel after instruction by Dr. Rottler.[1] With the consent of all concerned Rottler was appointed to care for this new congregation in addition to his other duties. The allowance continued. He spoke of it in December 1817 as an allowance for his Tamil work, probably because at that time he had no other work in the parish.[1]

On the death of Paezold Dr. Rottler was asked to take charge of the Vepery mission. He replied that he would do so if his Black Town allowance were continued. The Government was appealed to by the influential members of the District Committee of the S.P.C.K.; and expressed their willingness to continue the allowance if the native congregation at the Black Town Chapel could be persuaded to attend Dr. Rottler's ministrations at Vepery. This they agreed to do.[1] So the allowance was continued as long as Dr. Rottler was able to officiate. It is to be noticed that the original and the later objects of the grant were different.

The Rev. Dr. Richard Kerr, like many other zealous educationists among the Chaplains, was extremely impressed with the importance of education to the Eurasian and domiciled European. The Rev. John Kerr, who went home for ordination in 1806 and was appointed a Chaplain in 1807, was equally impressed with its importance. Both had been schoolmasters. On his second arrival in Madras John Kerr was appointed to officiate at the Black Town Chapel.[2] It was no doubt owing to the joint influence of these two educational Chaplains that the Civil Male and Female Asylums were set on foot. The Parishioners of Black Town collected the money and carried through the schemes, the one in 1807 and the other three years later. By the time the Civil Female Asylum

[1] Taylor's *Memoir*, pp. 117, 139, 149, 152 and 154.
[2] Letter, 21 March 1807, 208, 209, Pub. Despatch, 6 March 1810, 72, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was established the elder Kerr had passed away and his remains were resting in the chapel he had built; and the younger Kerr had been driven from India to the Cape by sickness. But their influence and their teaching remained, and the Asylums were the fruit of them.

At first the schools were held in two 'low-built mean-looking bungalows.'[1] The substantial buildings on their site and close to the chapel came later. In each of the buildings was a granite slab with a polished face on which were inscribed the circumstances of the two foundations and the names of the founders. Morgan Davis was the Chaplain when the Civil Female Asylum was set on foot by the liberality of the Black Town residents. The Chaplains of Black Town superintended the education, the discipline and the religious teaching of the schools until 1872, when the Asylums were amalgamated with the St. Mary's school and removed to Egmore. The Bishop of Madras became the Visitor of the Schools in 1840 at the request of the Government[2] when Lord Elphinstone was Governor. His successor, the Marquis of Tweeddale, thought the appointment 'an unauthorized extension of the Bishop's jurisdiction.' But the Directors upheld the appointment; they 'agreed with the Bishop in thinking it desirable that his care should follow a Chaplain into any duties contracted by the character of his office as a Clergyman.' The Rev. George Knox was the Chaplain of Black Town from 1839 to 1848. During this period the father of the eminent Dr. Charles Egbert Kennet was the secretary of the Directors of the institutions.

When the Chapel was completed in 1800 it was not put into trust; it was in just the same position as other buildings erected by local Committees. Its consecration in 1804 destroyed any private rights in it that may have existed before; and it became a public building, held for the purpose for which it was consecrated by some local authority, subject to the ecclesiastical rights of the Bishop of London. It is greatly to the advantage of everyone concerned that the Governments of India have not in the past shrunk from taking upon

[1] *Madrasiana*, p. 12, by William Taylor ('W. T. Munro').
[2] Despatch, 22 July 1846, 26, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

themselves the responsibility of trusteeship. In 1853 the Directors ruled that Churches built either wholly or in part at the Government expense should remain vested in the Government.[1] Until then many Churches in the Presidency, including the Black Town Chapel, existed without any legal owners. They were kept in repair by the Government and used by the European residents; and nobody troubled himself as to whom they belonged to or how they were held.

Repairs and alterations have been carried out from time to time, sometimes wholly and sometimes partly at the cost of Government. In 1815[2] there was an expenditure of 524 pagodas. In 1837[3] the Vestry room was strengthened and a belfry erected; but the Directors objected to the expenditure over the belfry. In 1838[4] some of the furniture was renewed. In 1844[5] the congregation subscribed and purchased an organ; the Government built a gallery for its reception, and at the same time increased the accommodation. In 1848[6] the roof was repaired. Further repairs were executed in 1854,[7] and in 1871.[8]

In 1887 when the Rev. R. H. Durham, D.D., was Chaplain, a much wanted chancel was added to the east end.[9] The foundation stone was laid by Lady Connemara. The Bishop and all the Madras clergy were present in their canonicals. A picked choir sang the prescribed hymns and service. There was a large gathering of officials and others; it was felt that the Church built by Dr. Kerr, and consecrated in the presence of the Governor of the period was being completed by Dr. Durham; and that the occasion ought to be marked by the presence of all representatives of the Government who could attend.

Since that time the care of the Church and its sanctuary is chiefly associated with the names of the Rev. Dr. R. J. Brandon and the Rev. R. P. Burnett.

There has been only one intramural burial. The Founder

[1] Despatch, 31 Aug. 1853, 16, Eccl.
[2] Consultations, 2 May 1815, Pub.
[3] Letter, 12 Dec. 1837, 3, and Desp. 10 July 1839, 59, Eccl.
[4] Letter, 10 April 1838, 3, and Desp. 10 July 1839, 59, Eccl.
[5] Letter, 8 Oct. 1844, 2, 3, and Desp. 22 July 1846, 21, Eccl.
[6] Letter, 10 Oct. 1848, 2, and Desp. 16 July 1851, 55, Eccl.
[7] Letter, 4 July 1854, 14, and Desp. 29 Aug. 1855, 31, Eccl.
[8] G.O. 21 Feb. 1871, No. 32, Eccl. [9] G.O. 16 Nov. 1887, No. 173, Eccl.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of the Church was laid at rest within it when he died in 1808. There are tablets within to the memory of four other clergymen—three Chaplains and an S.P.G. Missionary,

1. Morgan Davis, Chaplain, 1810–1819.
2. Frederick James Darrah, Chaplain, 1833–1837.
3. Thomas Halls, Chaplain, 1847.
4. William Hickey, Missionary S.P.G., 1830–1862.

Many Chaplains have been associated with the Black Town Chapel, now honoured with the name of St. Mark; the following are those who lived among the people longest;

1. Morgan Davis	1810-19
2. George Knox	1839-48
3. Richard Firth	1852–7
4. Charles R. Drury . . .	1857–63
5. Francis G. Lys . . .	1865–74

10. *Madura.*—This place was captured in 1763 and garrisoned by a detachment of troops from Trichinopoly for some years afterwards. In 1765 there were 200 Europeans quartered in the place.[1] The number was reduced before 1785, and the more healthy station of Dindigul was chosen for them. Madura was occasionally visited by Schwartz from Tanjore; he established a branch mission there, and ministered according to his wont to Europeans and native Christians alike. Gericke visited the station in 1800[2] and suggested that a small chapel should be built. He afterwards corresponded with an English gentleman living at Madura on the subject; and the result was that a small chapel for joint use was erected. The gentleman was Mr. W. C. Wheatley; he aided the mission operations greatly by keeping the mission accounts and paying the agents.[3] The chapel was only a small one; but it served its purpose till a larger one was required in 1827.

After the death of Gericke it was agreed by the Missionary-Chaplains of Trichinopoly and Tanjore to divide the southern mission stations between them. Madura and Dindigul were

[1] Wilson's *History of the Madras Army.* [2] S.P.C.K. Report, 1801.
[3] Taylor's *Memoir*, p. 88.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

allotted to the Trichinopoly Missionary. When Pohle visited them in 1804 there were only 30 Portuguese and Tamil Christians at the two stations [1]; but there were a good many Europeans. Pohle registered the baptisms, marriages and burials in his Trichinopoly register book.

After the death of Pohle his successor, the Rev. D. Rosen, continued the periodical visits from Trichinopoly. He found in 1822 that there was a desire among the Europeans and Eurasians to have a better chapel than they had; and they agreed together to build one if the Tanjore mission of the S.P.C.K. would appoint a catechist and undertake to keep the building in repair from the Schwartz Fund. The condition could not be accepted because the Fund could not be used for any purpose beyond that mentioned by Schwartz in his will. This being so the residents were thrown on their own resources. Mrs. Sophia Elizabeth Rash possessed some land within the Fort, and was willing to sell it for a small sum if a Church were built upon it. Mr. Daniel Burby, a writer in the Collector's office, purchased as much as would be required for the purpose for 164 rupees [2] in October 1824, and made it over to the Tanjore Missionary. Then a collection was made in the station and 153 rupees were raised. The Collector, Mr. Rous Peter, added 1100 rupees to this; and a chapel was built in 1827 on the site purchased by Mr. Burby.

Ten years later a resident European Missionary was appointed by the S.P.G., to whom all the old S.P.C.K. missions had been made over. The Rev. J. Thompson remained one year, and was succeeded by the Rev. C. Hubbard in 1838, who stayed four years. After 1842 the station was visited periodically by the Chaplain of Trichinopoly, and the mission work was carried on by a catechist of the Society. In 1840 the District Judge presented a set of communion vessels to the Church.

After 1842 the mission work stood still; the S.P.G. could not carry it on themselves; so that in 1857 the Diocesan Committee decided to sell their mission property in

[1] S.P.C.K. Report, 1805.

[2] The measurement is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ grounds; the present Church stands on the same site.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the Madura District to some mission body who could. The body that offered a price happened to be an American body of nonconformists. The Madura Church was not sold, principally because there was a strong local feeling among the Europeans against any such transfer.[1] In 1868 the Society conveyed the building to the Bishop of Madras to be held in trust by him for the purposes of the Church of England. This second building stood till 1874.

In 1869 Mr. Robert Fischer of Madura wrote to the Bishop of Madras and placed 10,000 rupees at his disposal for the improvement and enlargement of the existing chapel or for the erection of a new one. The Bishop and the Lay Trustees were in favour of building a new one. A site was found in the old main guard square and purchased; it was enclosed with a wall; and the foundations of the new building were dug. But the District Engineer wanted the spot for the Government water scheme; and the Temple authorities objected that the building on that site would interfere with their religious processions. No other site could be found in a central position; so it was suggested by the Incumbent[2] that the old Church should be demolished and the new one built on the old site. After many delays this suggestion was adopted by the Lay Trustees in January 1872, and sanctioned by the Bishop. Further delay was caused by Mr. Fischer's absence in England; so that the old Church was not demolished till June 1874.

The foundation stone of the new Church was laid on the 2nd June 1875 by Col. J. F. Fischer R.E. the District Engineer. The design was prepared by Mr. R. Chisholm, the Consulting Architect to the Government of Madras. The building was finished at the end of 1880, and was consecrated on the 15th January 1881. The total expense incurred over the building and furniture was 40,000 rupees; the sale price of the materials of the old Church amounted to 470 rupees. The whole cost was borne by Mr. Robert Fischer and his

[1] Pascoe's *200 Years of the S.P.G.* p. 554. The sale was unjustifiable; but the property was not vested in the Society as it ought to have been. The Kodaikanal Church was sold; there were no Europeans to object.

[2] The Rev. S. A. Godfrey, formerly of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and Missionary of the S.P.G.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sister, the wife of the Rev. Thomas Foulkes, a Madras Chaplain. On a brass plate affixed to the foundation stone is this inscription. 'To the praise and glory of God | The first stone of a Church | to be called and known as | St. George's Church | and to be built by | Robert Fischer and Jessie Foulkes | as a memorial | of their affection and reverence | for their late father | George Frederick Fischer | Zemindar of Salem | who died at Madura | on the 28th August 1867 | was laid | on the 2nd June 1875 | xxxviii Victoria | by Col. John Frederic Fischer R.E. | .

A tablet inside on the wall of the Church has a shorter inscription giving the year (1881) of the dedication of the building by the brother and sister, and its consecration by the Bishop.

The nave of the building, which measures 50 by 24 feet, has a verandah 7 feet deep along the whole length of each side; the choir and sanctuary together are 35 feet in length and 18 feet broad. The choir has on one side an organ chamber and on the other side a vestry. The sanctuary was lengthened out eastwards to include the grave of the founders' father, whose body now rests behind the altar. In the centre of the nave on the south side is a solidly built carriage portico. The whole Church is built with roughly dressed stone.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ST. GEORGE'S, MADURA.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XXVII

CHAPLAINS IN THE JURISDICTION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE FROM 1647 TO 1805.

WILLIAM ISAACSON was the son of Richard Isaacson, Sheriff of London and Deputy Governor of the East India Company; and nephew of William Isaacson D.D. mentioned in Wood's Fasti and in the Repertorium Eccl. Paroch. Lond. as Rector of Woodford, Essex, 1619, and Rector of St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe London, 1629. He himself was a commencing bachelor in 1638—probably of the University of Cambridge, of which his uncle was a distinguished member—and is so described in the Subscription Book of the Archbishop of Canterbury in that year; 'William Isaacson in artibus inceptor, collatus ad vicariam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Swaffham Bulbecke in com. Cantab.' Both he and his uncle were deprived of their preferments in 1643, and the livings were sequestered. In 1644 through the influence of his father he entered the East India Company's service. He was at Suratt 1644-7, Fort St. George 1647-8, Suratt 1648-54, Fort St. George 1654-5 and 1658-61, when he returned home.

ROBERT WINCHESTER was educated at Trinity College Cambridge, graduating B.A. 1634 and M.A. 1639. He divided his time between Suratt and Fort St. George when not on the Company's ships. He was at the Fort from 1648-51 when he went home to recruit his health. Affairs at home not being to his liking he returned to the East, and was at the Fort in 1653-4.

JOSEPH THOMSON was probably another deprived clergyman. He spent the early years of his service at Bantam; but he followed Mr. Aaron Baker to Fort St. George in 1653, and remained on the Coromandel Coast, sometimes at Masulipatam

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and sometimes at the Fort, till he went home in 1658. In 1662 he was instituted to the Vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London.

Charles Walsh was educated at Trinity College Oxford; he matriculated in 1650 and was created M.A. in 1660. He arrived at Fort St. George in 1662, remained at the Fort for about six months and returned home at the beginning of 1663.

William Whitefield was appointed a Chaplain at the same time as Walsh. He was a graduate of one of the Universities, but his University career cannot be traced. He was sent to Masulipatam on his arrival on the Coast in 1662; he succeeded Walsh at Fort St. George in the following January and remained there two years. When he was instituted to the Rectory of St. Martin's Ludgate in 1691 he was described as a Master of Arts. He became a Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1695, and died Rector of Ewhurst, Surrey.

Simon Smythees graduated from Trinity College Cambridge, B.A. 1649 and M.A. 1653. He is described in the Trinity entrance book as 'Londinensis.' He was appointed a Chaplain in 1663 and arrived at Fort St. George in that year. He was a pronounced royalist. Partly for this reason and partly because he had married a kinswoman of Sir Edward Winter, the Governor of Fort St. George, he took a decided part in the disputes between that Governor and the Puritan Governor sent out to supersede him. He remained at the Fort till 1668 and went home with Governor Winter.

William Thomson was appointed to succeed Smythees in 1668; he arrived at Fort St. George in that year, and remained there for two years whilst Mr. George Foxcroft was Governor. In 1670 it was complained against him by the authorities of Fort St. George that he was not rightly ordained; and the complaint was sent to the Directors, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the King. Though satisfied as to his Holy Orders, the King directed his recall. In 1681 he was instituted to the Rectory of Lee, Essex, and was then described as M.A.; but his college and university cannot at present be ascertained.

Walter Hooke was appointed, complained against, and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

recalled at the same time as William Thomson. He was the third son of William Hooke, 'clericus,' of Axminster in the county of Devon, who was one of the deprived Ministers of the Church in 1643. On his deprivation he went to America. Walter was for two years at the New England College of Harvard. This was allowed to count as one year's residence at Cambridge; so that after matriculating at Pembroke College in 1654 he graduated B.A. in 1656. On his arrival on the Coast he was appointed to officiate at Masulipatam. Here he remained for two years. Though recalled with Thomson he did not return home; for he died at Masulipatam in 1670, being the first of a long line of Chaplains to leave his bones in the Presidency.

Edward Newcomb was educated at Pembroke College Cambridge; he was described in the entrance book as 'Presbyteri filius, Eboracæ natus, annos habens 16' in the year 1660. He graduated B.A. 1663 and M.A. 1667. He was appointed a Chaplain on the recommendation of the Archbishop of York in December 1669, and arrived at Fort St. George in July 1670. The exact date of his death at the Fort is not recorded; but it must have been very soon after his arrival; for it was known to the Directors when they wrote their general despatch to the Fort in the following March. He was the second Chaplain to die on the Coast.

John Hounsill was appointed by the Directors in July 1670. He was the first Chaplain definitely appointed for the Bay, and he carried with him £20 worth of books for the Bay library. He arrived with his wife and servants at Fort St. George in the middle of the year 1671, and was detained there to take the place of Newcomb by the Governor and Council. His name does not appear on the list of graduates of any of the British or Irish Universities. He died in the early part of the year 1673, being the third Chaplain to die on the Coast. There is reason to suppose that he was not rightly ordained.

Samuel Tutchin matriculated at Wadham College Oxford in November 1650; he is described in the entrance book as 'Sacerdotis filius,' his father being Robert Tutchin of Newport, Isle of Wight, 'clericus.' He took no degree at Oxford; but

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he became Vicar of Odiham in Hampshire soon after leaving the University. Not being in holy orders he was ejected from this vicarage at the Restoration.[1] In 1670 the East India Company appointed him Chaplain to one of their ships called the Return on a salary of £3 a month. He went two voyages. On his second voyage he went to Bantam, and there received orders to go to Fort St. George to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John Hounsill. This was in the middle of the year 1673. He remained at the Fort till June 1674 when he fell a victim to the climate, being the fourth Chaplain to die on the Coast.

Thomas Whitehead was born in 1645, being the son of Thomas Whitehead of London. He matriculated at Magdalen Hall Oxford in March 1662–3, and graduated B.A. in 1666. He was appointed by the Directors for service at the Bay agency in 1671 in the place of Hounsill who had been detained at Fort St. George; but, like Hounsill, he never reached the Bay; for when he arrived at Fort St. George, the Governor and Council directed him to proceed to Masulipatam, and here he remained till his death in 1676. He was the fifth Chaplain to die on the Coast.

Patrick Warner is referred to in an official letter from the Governor of Fort St. George to the Directors as a Scotch Minister; but whether this refers to his nationality or his Presbyterian ordination is uncertain. His name is not to be found in the published lists of any British or Irish University. He was appointed Chaplain of the ship President at about the same period as Samuel Tutchin was appointed to the Return. The ship was taken by the Dutch; and the whole ship's company were made prisoners. Being released, he arrived at Fort St. George in the year 1673. Sir William Langhorne, the Governor, had the intention of sending him to the Bay; but in consequence of Samuel Tutchin's illness he detained him at Fort St. George. On Tutchin's death in 1674, the Council appointed him Chaplain of the settlement; and he occupied this position till he returned home in 1676. He was the third and last of the Chaplains not in holy orders appointed to minister to the merchants in the Presidency.

[1] Calamy's *Abridgement*, ii. 276.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

JOSHUA or JOSIAH DARLEY was born in 1642; he was the eldest son of Richard Darley of York, and was born at Wilton Bishops in that county; he was educated at the Pocklington and Coxwold Schools; he matriculated at Sidney Sussex College Cambridge in 1660; graduated B.A. in 1663–4, M.A. 1667; was elected a Fellow in the same year; became Greek Lecturer 1668 and Dean of the College in 1669. He was appointed by the Directors Chaplain of the Bay at the end of 1673, and arrived at Hugli in August 1674. Though he was the third Chaplain designated for this rising and growing agency by the Directors, he was the first to reach the settlement and take spiritual charge of it. Part of his duty was to visit periodically the smaller agencies subordinate to the Hugli Agent and Council. These duties he fulfilled for two years. In August 1676 he was accidentally drowned in the river; being the sixth Chaplain under the Presidency of Fort St. George to die in India.

RICHARD PORTMAN was born in 1651, being the son of John Portman of Twinning in the county of Gloucester. He matriculated at St. Mary's Hall Oxford in 1667, graduating B.A. in 1671, and M.A. in 1674. He was appointed Chaplain of Fort St. George in 1675, and arrived there in July 1676. During his term of office the resident merchants, inspired by Streynsham Master, exerted themselves to build St. Mary's Church. On its completion Richard Portman was commissioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate it; and was at the same time licensed to officiate in it. He thus became the first Chaplain of St. Mary's. He returned home in 1681.

JOHN EVANS was appointed by the Directors for service at the Hugli factories in 1677. He arrived at his destination in July 1678, and thus became the second resident Bay Chaplain. Being connected by marriage with two of the Hugli merchants he associated himself with them in some of their trading ventures. He remained at the Bay till 1689, when he went with Charnock and the remnant of the Bay establishment to Fort St. George. » At the Bay he was also associated with private traders and 'Interlopers,' so that when he arrived at Fort St. George, he was ordered by the Company to stay there

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

or to be dismissed.[1] A year later he was dismissed, 'having betaken himself so entirely to merchandizing.' He was born in 1650 at Llanarmon, Merionethshire; he matriculated at Jesus College Oxford, and graduated B.A. 1671 and M.A. 1674.[2] On his return home he became a pronounced Whig, and made himself so useful to the interest of King William III. that he was advanced to the Bishopric of Bangor in 1702, and translated to Meath in 1716. He died in 1724, and left a large portion of the wealth he accumulated in India to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and for other ecclesiastical charities and purposes. His portrait hangs at Lambeth Palace.

Richard Elliott was appointed for Masulipatam in 1677, and succeeded Richard Portman at Fort St. George in 1681. Here he remained till 1696 when he died—the fourth Chaplain to die at the Fort. He was educated at Eton and King's College Cambridge; he was elected King's scholar 1666, graduated B.A. and elected to a Fellowship 1669; proceeded M.A. 1674; ordained 1675. He is said to have been born in London. He was unmarried and therefore remained a Fellow of King's until his death. When the Company wrote to King's College to announce his death, the Secretary was instructed to say that Mr. Elliott had been 'the instrument of great good in his place.' In a letter which he wrote to the Provost of King's in Feb. 1698-4[3] he mentions his brother in London. By will he bequeathed £1500 together with all arrears of college dues at the time of his death to the College for the purchase of advowsons. The bequest amounted to £1681 13*s.* 11*d.* Amongst the livings purchased was that of Great Greenford, Middlesex, which was held for many years by Edward Terry an earlier Company's Chaplain. Richard Elliott and his benefaction are still duly commemorated on Founder's Day at King's.

Henry Leslie was a scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1667. It is not recorded that he took a degree till 1694 when the degree of D.D. was conferred upon him. He was appointed

[1] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, 29, page 57.
[2] For his life see Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*.
[3] Preserved at King's College, Cambridge.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for 'the Bay' in 1681, and sailed at the end of that year in the same ship as Hedges.[1] He was recalled in the Despatch of May 1682, and sailed for home in January 1682-3.

(*Note.*—In 1680 on the recommendation of Streynsham Master the Bay agency was made independent of Fort St. George. The Bay Chaplains were after that period appointed direct to the Bay, and were no longer regarded as belonging to the Presidency of Fort St. George.)

George Lewis was appointed to Fort St. George in 1692 for the special work of ministering to the slaves and the Portuguese Eurasians. He succeeded Elliott as principal Chaplain four years later, and remained at Fort St. George honoured and beloved till 1714, when he returned home. He was the son of George Lewis of Ambrosbury, Wilts; he matriculated at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford in 1686-7; he graduated B.A. from Hart Hall in 1692, and took his M.A. degree on his return from India in 1715. He was then appointed Chaplain to the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Peterborough, and Vicar of Fighelden, co. Wilts. In 1719 he was allowed to hold the Rectory of Quarley in the County of Southampton, being close by his vicarage, by dispensation.[2] George Lewis married at St. Mary's in 1702 Louise Poirier, daughter of Stephen Poirier, Governor of St. Helena. She died in 1707. By her he had one son and four daughters.[3]

Jethro Brideocke was chosen for Fort St. George in 1692 for the same reason that Lewis was chosen—that is, because of his linguistic ability. On arrival on the Coast he was sent to Fort St. David, where he apparently found little or no scope for his talent. He therefore resigned the service and returned home in 1695. He was the son of Jabez Brideocke of Shalburne, co. Berks, 'clericus'; he matriculated at Gloucester Hall Oxford, 1679, aged 16; he graduated B.A. from Brasenose College 1683. His father was instituted vicar of Shalburne in 1661. Jethro Brideocke was a married man; but his wife did not accompany him to India.[4]

James Wendey was appointed to Fort St. George in 1697

[1] Fort St. George Press List, 1681.
[2] Archbishop's Act Book, Lambeth Palace Library.
[3] *History of Fort St. George*, by Mrs. F. Penny.
[4] Fort St. David Pay List, 1693.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and remained there till 1707. He was the son of James Wendey of Cambridge. He matriculated at St. John's College in 1688, and graduated B.A. in 1692, M.A. in 1696. On his return from Fort St. George after ten years' service he was instituted to the Rectory of Rede, co. Herts; by dispensation in 1718 he was allowed to hold at the same time the vicarage of Barkeway in the same county. In 1727 he resigned these benefices in favour of Titus Wendey (relationship not stated) and was instituted to the vicarage of Abbott's Anne, co. Southampton. Soon after his return home he was elected to serve on the Committee of the S.P.C.K. As a member of this Committee he signed his name to the letter addressed by the Society to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George on the 2nd Feb. 1712–13. Other names attached to the letter are those of Bishop Tyler of Llandaff, Lord Guildford and Robert Nelson.

John Landon was appointed by the new English Company in 1700, and was sent to Masulipatam, where they had a Factory. Here he remained till 1704, when he was ordered by the United Company to go to Fort St. David. In 1706 he resigned the service and went home. He was of Brasenose College Oxford, and took his B.A. degree in 1696. On his return from India he took the B.C.L. and D.C.L. degrees in 1709. Under the rules of the new Charter he ought to have been licensed by the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury; he was licensed by neither.

Robert Jones was appointed to Fort St. George in the place of James Wendey. He arrived at the beginning of the year 1711 and died in November of the same year. He was the son of John Jones of Llanvehenan, Anglesea; he matriculated at Oriel College Oxford in 1704; and graduated B.A. in 1707. His remains were buried in the old cemetery north west of the Fort; but no memorial stone exists. He also was unlicensed.

William Stevenson was appointed to Fort St. George in 1712 and arrived in 1713; he resigned the service and returned home in 1718. He studied at the University of Edinburgh and graduated there in the usual way. In September 1709 he was instituted to the Rectories of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Morningthorpe and Tasburgh in the county of Norwich. In the Institution Book he is described as M.A.; but in the Subscription Book he has himself written A.B.; no reference is made in either book to his university. In October 1712 he was granted by the Edinburgh Senate the degree of M.A., being described as 'olim alumnus noster,' and 'nunc nuper Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter institutus.' In December of the same year the Archbishop of Canterbury interviewed him, and gave him a certificate of approval to the Directors of the East India Company. In the Archbishop's Act Book no degree nor university is mentioned. Soon after his arrival at Fort St. George he was called upon to preach a funeral sermon on the death of the eminent Factory surgeon and botanist Edward Bulkeley. This was published in London in 1715.[1] The following year he preached a sermon on the 5th November (Gunpowder Plot day) called the Folly and Wickedness of Persecution. This also was published in England.[1] At the end of this sermon is an advertisement of a Sacred History methodically explained in the words of Scripture. The sermon is said to be by William Stevenson M.A. Chaplain to the East India Company; and the Sacred History by William Stevenson M.A. Rector of Morningthorpe in Norfolk. There can be no doubt that the authors were one and the same person. In 1717 the S.P.C.K. published [1] the letter he wrote to them from Fort St. George concerning the Protestant Mission in those parts—a remarkable letter showing a quick insight into the difficulties of the undertaking, and a shrewd judgement as to the best means of accomplishing it.

He went to India without resigning his Norfolk living; and resumed his duties there on his return. Before he resigned it in 1723 he translated Fénelon's Dialogues on Eloquence. The earliest edition of this work in the British Museum is dated 1750; but the title page states that it is by William Stevenson M.A., Rector of Morningthorpe. In 1723 he was invited by Bishop Hoadley of Hereford to accept the Rectory of Colwall in that Diocese. He was duly instituted, but no mention of his degree or university is found in the

[1] British Museum Library.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Institution Book. Shortly afterwards Bishop Hoadley was translated to Salisbury; and in 1726-7 he made Stevenson a Prebendary of Netherbury in Salisbury Cathedral. In 1728 he was appointed to preach the sermon at Hereford Cathedral on the occasion of the Bishop's Visitation. It was entitled Zeal and Moderation Reconciled, and was duly published the same year.[1] At the end of this sermon is an advertisement of his translation of Fénelon's Dialogues. In 1730 he published another book,[1] called A Conference on the Miracles of our Blessed Saviour.

In 1731 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of D.D. The entry is as follows:—'Do. Gulielmo Stevenson, Ecclesiæ Salisburiensis Præbendario,—Doctoralis in Sacro-Sancta Theologia dignitas delata est; datis in eam rem literis uberrimis.'

In 1746 he preached a sermon at Colwall on the Thanksgiving Day after the suppression of the Stuart rising; it was called The True Patriot's Wishes, and was published under that title.[1] The sermon shows that at this period he was a strong Whig, like his patron Bishop Hoadley.

As Prebendary of Netherbury he was patron of the living of Netherbury and Beaminster. In 1746 he presented his son to it; but he himself remained at Colwall. In 1747 his son died; he then resigned Colwall and presented himself. He died in 1760.[2]

Charles Long was appointed to 'Fort St. George or Fort St. David' at the same time as Stevenson. He also was interviewed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and approved to the Directors. He arrived at Fort St. George in 1713; he was suspended in 1719-20; and returned to England in 1721. He was a son of Charles Long of Compton, co. Wilts; he was a student[3] of Christ Church Oxford, where he matriculated in 1703 aged 17. He graduated B.A. 1707, M.A. 1710; and on his return from India he took the degrees of B.D. and D.D. in 1729. When at Fort St. George he married Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Samuel Brown, Surgeon; by her he had

[1] British Museum Library.

[2] I have to thank Mr. A. R. Malden, of Salisbury, for his kind assistance in this investigation.

[3] That is, a Scholar and Fellow.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a son who was born and died at Fort St. George. In 1725 he was instituted to the vicarage of Chieveley, Berks; and at the same time was allowed to hold the rectory of Eaton Hastings in the same county and within a few miles of the vicarage, by dispensation.[1]

Thomas Wendey was appointed in the place of Stevenson to Fort St. George in 1719. On his way out his ship was wrecked at Sadras, so that he did not arrive at the Fort till January 1719–20. Neither he nor any of the succeeding Chaplains except Leeke up to 1750 were licensed by either the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London. He was educated at King's College Cambridge, and graduated B.A. in 1709 and M.A. in 1713; but as he was not a King's scholar, no record of his parentage, age nor place of early education has been preserved. In 1724 he married at Fort St. George Frances Johnson, the widow of a Company's servant; she died, however, within five months of the wedding day. Wendey returned home in January 1727–8; and in 1729 was instituted to the vicarage of Fulham.[2]

William Leeke was appointed to Fort St. George in the place of Long in 1721. He was approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and arrived at his destination at the end of that year. He was the son of Thomas Leeke of Lincell, co. Salop; he matriculated at Magdalen Hall Oxford in 1716 aged 18, and graduated B.A. in 1719. He died at Fort St. George in 1728 greatly regretted. The following record of his burial is copied from the Burial Register :—

'Feb. 9th 1727–8. This afternoon about 3 o'clock the Revd. Mr. William Leeke, Minister of Fort St. George, dyed. About five the next evening the corps was carried from the Fort[3] to the Church, and thence to the burying place, attended by the Governor and Council and principal inhabitants of the place in their palankeens. The children of the Charity School going before singing a hymn proper for the occasion; and the order for the burial of the dead was read by Mr. George Torriano, Secretary. He arrived here in October 1721, his life being void of offence, and so worthy of

[1] Archbishop's Act Book, Lambeth Palace Library.
[2] Repert. Eccl. Parochiale Lond.
[3] That is, the inner Fort, where the Chaplain's lodging was.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

imitation ; he was much respected, and his death by all that knew him much lamented.'

THOMAS CONSETT arrived at Fort St. George at the end of 1729 and died there on the 21st July 1730. He was the son of Henry Consett of York, gent., and was educated at Beverley School. He was admitted to St. John's College Cambridge in 1694 aged 17; and graduated B.A. in 1697. He was ordained at York—deacon 1698–9, priest 1702. Later on he was appointed Chaplain to the English community at Moscow. He returned to England in 1728, and took his M.A. degree. He brought home with him a pamphlet on the Present State of the Church of Russia, and some translations of some eulogistic sermons and articles on Peter the Great. These he published in book form.[1] One of the sermons he translated both into Latin and English. The title page of the Latin translation says;—'Ex idiomate Sclavonico transtulit R. Tho. Consett, coloniæ Britannicæ ibidem commorantis capellanus, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Sacerdos.' He is described in the title page of his own pamphlet as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences in Berlin.

JONATHAN SMEDLEY was appointed at the same time as Consett for service at Fort St. David; he arrived there at the end of 1729, and died before the end of the next hot weather. He was of Trinity College Dublin; he graduated B.A. 1695, and M.A. 1698. He was Dean of Killala from 1718 to 1724, when he was appointed Dean of Clogher. This appointment he resigned in 1727. He was the author of several books and published sermons, amongst which may be mentioned a Sermon on the Queen's Accession (1714), on the Anniversary of the Irish Massacre (1715), on the Birthday of the Prince of Wales (1716), Eminent Writers on Holy Scripture (1728), Gulliveriana (1728).[2]

ROBERT WYNCH was appointed in 1731 and arrived the same year. In 1739 he married Margaret (Mansell) widow of Francis Rous of the Company's Service, who was brother to Sir William Rous. She died in 1741. He went to Fort

[1] British Museum Library.
[2] All, and several others, in the British Museum Library.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

William in 1743 and died there in 1748[1] without issue. He was not a graduate of any British or Irish University. He was probably nearly related to George Wynch of the Company's Bengal service.

Eden Howard was appointed and arrived in 1732. He was the son of John Howard 'de Market Street in comitat. Bedfordiensi.' He was admitted to Trinity College Cambridge in 1726 at the age of 21; and graduated B.A. in 1730. He married at St. Mary's Fort St. George, Hannah Parker, a daughter of one of the Company's servants. He returned to England in the early part of 1745 after 13 years' service.

James Feilde was appointed in 1743. He took the place of Robert Wynch. He was born at Hertford in 1714 and was educated at Westminster School. He matriculated at St. Peter's College Cambridge in 1731; graduated B.A. in 1734, and M.A. 1738. He died at Fort St. George in October 1745.

Richard Rider; he was entertained by the Court as Chaplain for Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen) on May 24, 1746, and produced the Bishop of London's license on the 6th June. On the 18th June he was ordered to be joint Chaplain with Francis Fordyce at Fort St. George. He arrived on the Coast at the end of the year; and finding Fort St. George in the hands of the French, he went with the Company's ship to Fort St. David. Here he remained nearly a year and then went to Bencoolen.

Francis Fordyce; he was educated at the University of Aberdeen. He is described in the entrance book as 'Murraviensis,' *i.e.* a native of the shire of Moray. He joined the University class in 1725, and graduated M.A. in 1728 (P. J. Anderson's Roll of Alumni). He is not mentioned in the Fordyce Family Record by Alexander Dingwall. An examination of the 'Composition Book' in the Record Office shows that he became Vicar of Eastwood, Essex, in 1768.

George Swynfen, son of Samuel Swynfen of Birmingham, gent. He matriculated at Pembroke College Oxford in 1737 aged 19; he graduated B.A. from Merton College Oxford 1741, and proceeded to M.A., 1746. He arrived at Fort St. David in 1749, and died at Fort St. George Nov. 1750, of a

[1] Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, pp. 96–8.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rapid consumption. The S.P.C.K. Missionaries at Madras wrote (S.P.C.K. report, 1751) that he had been their dear and intimate friend; that he was on all occasions disposed to do them good offices, and very often gave them both his company and assistance in their conferences with the heathen.

THOMAS COLEFAX, only son of Richard Colefax of Shrewsbury; he was educated at Shrewsbury School; and was admitted at St. John's College Cambridge in 1740 aged 18; he graduated B.A. 1744 and M.A. 1748. He arrived at Fort St. George with his wife in June 1752 and died in the following August. His wife was given a passage home in 1753.

SAMUEL STAVELEY, belonged to Sherborne in the county of Dorset. He was a scholar of Emmanuel College Cambridge, to which college he was admitted in 1736. The college records show that he was organist of the college chapel; he had had therefore a musical as well as a literary training. He graduated B.A. in 1740 and M.A. in 1747. In 1741 he was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. In 1742 he received a corrody from the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Croydon, and was licensed to the office of Schoolmaster in the Whitgift Free School. He arrived at Fort St. George in June 1752; he served at Fort St. David for a year till August 1753, and then returned to Fort St. George. Here he remained till 1762 when the President and Council of Fort William asked that he might be allowed to go to Calcutta to fill the place of a Chaplain there who had just died. He died at Fort William in October of the same year. He helped the S.P.C.K. Missionaries, who wrote of him (S.P.C.K. report) that he ardently endeavoured to promote the cause of Christianity. It was through the invitation of his old friend Henry Van Sittart, President of Fort William, that he went to Calcutta. Van Sittart was the executor of his will (Hyde's Parochial Annals of Bengal, 129).

ROBERT PALK; he was the son of Walter Palk of Ashburton, co. Devon; he matriculated at Wadham College Oxford in 1736 aged 18; and graduated B.A. in 1739. He was a naval Chaplain, and arrived at Fort St. David with

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Admiral Boscawen's fleet in 1748. With the consent of the Admiral he was locally appointed to officiate as Chaplain the following April. As he was not appointed directly by them, the Directors only recognised his appointment grudgingly; but he retained it till he left Fort St. George for home in 1758. When he became Governor in 1763 the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces was omitted from his Commission, he being in Holy Orders, and was bestowed upon Colonel Stringer Lawrence, his military colleague. There is no record of his marriage at Fort St. George; but his son Lawrence—named after his old friend—was baptised at St. Mary's on the 6 March, 1766, his wife's name being given as Ann. On returning to England in 1767 he became M.P. for Ashburton 1767–8, for Wareham 1768–72, and again for Ashburton 1774–87. The fact of his sitting in Parliament is sufficient evidence that he was not in Priest's Orders, for no Priest can sit in the House of Commons. He was created a Baronet in 1782 and died in 1798. His son Lawrence succeeded him in the title. His great-grandson, Sir Henry Lawrence Palk, was created Baron Haldon.

Samuel Merefield was locally appointed in August 1759. He was the son of William Merefield of Woolminstone, near Crewkerne in the county of Somerset. He was born in 1716; matriculated at Exeter College Oxford in 1736; and graduated B.A. in 1739. After ordination he became a Chaplain in the Royal Navy, and was appointed to the flag-ship of Admiral Stevens for service in the East Indies. It was whilst the fleet was lying off Fort St. George, that the merchants ashore required the services of a Chaplain. Merefield obtained the Admiral's permission, and was appointed. He remained at Fort St. George four years, and then returned home on the Flag-ship of Admiral Cornish.

Charles Griffiths went to India as Chaplain of the 79th Regiment (Draper's). He was appointed to act as Chaplain of Fort St. George in 1762 by the local Government. He died at the Fort in April 1768 and was buried in the new cemetery. His name is not to be found on the roll of any British or Irish University. It was probably Griffiths who was referred to by Schwartz and William Chambers in their

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

correspondence (Pearson's Life of Schwartz, 2nd ed. 1835, vol. i. 211).

FURNIVAL BOWEN, the Bengal Chaplain who assisted Charles Griffiths at Fort St. George from January to August 1764, was the son of John Bowen of Haverfordwest, co. Pembroke, gent. He was born 1737; matriculated at Jesus College Oxford 1755; and graduated B.A. 1760. He was appointed Chaplain by the Directors in December 1762; he was ordained Priest in Lambeth Palace chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury; he was approved by him for service in India in February 1763 and arrived at Calcutta in October the same year. In less than three months his health broke down; he obtained permission to go to Fort St. George for a change; as his health did not greatly improve he returned to England in August 1764. He was instituted to the Rectory of Laytheley, co. York, in 1772.

JOHN THOMAS was not a member of any British or Irish University. He was ordained Deacon at Llandaff in 1750 and Priest in 1752; was appointed Chaplain by the Directors in January 1765; was approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and arrived at Fort St. George in November the same year. He remained in India twelve years and then returned to England. He was instituted to the Rectory of Donyat, co. Somerset, in 1782; and by dispensation was allowed to hold the Rectory of Buckland St. Mary with Donyat in 1784, the two villages being close together. At the same time the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred upon him the degree of LL.B.

BENJAMIN WYMBERLEY SALMON was the son of the Rev. John Wymberley Salmon (whose mother was a coheiress of Benjamin Wymberley of Weston, co. Lincoln, Esquire) who was Rector of Shelton, Norfolk. He was born at Shelton in 1743; matriculated at Corpus Christi College Cambridge in 1761; graduated B.A. 1766, M.A. 1769; and was elected to a Fellowship the same year. In March 1769 he was appointed by the Directors a Chaplain; he arrived at Fort St. George at the end of that year. He resigned his office in 1774 and returned to England. In 1781 he was instituted to the Rectory of Caistor in the diocese of Norwich. In 1805 he

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was appointed Domestic Chaplain to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.). He died at Caistor in 1821, aged 78.

St. John Browne was born at Cork in 1749, his father having the same Christian name. He was educated at Westminster School; matriculated at Trinity College Cambridge in 1766; and graduated B.A. in 1770. He was appointed a Chaplain by the Directors in January 1775, without reference to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London as far as can be discovered. He arrived at Fort St. George in August of the same year. Within a short time of his arrival an unfortunate error of judgement cut short his ministerial career.

William Bainbrigge did not belong to any British or Irish University. He was a Chaplain in the Royal Navy who happened to be on duty with his ship in the Madras roads when a Chaplain at the Fort was required. He was appointed locally in July 1777. He died at Fort St. George in 1783 and was buried in the St. Mary's cemetery. In 1780 he was married by his colleague, the Rev. John Stanley, to Elizabeth Wellton.

John Stanley was born in 1746. He is described in the Hertford College register book as the son of Edward Fleming Stanley of Westminster, gent. He matriculated at the above mentioned College in 1765; but does not appear to have taken any degree. He was approved for service in India by the Archbishop of Canterbury in October 1777; was appointed by the Directors in March 1778; and arrived at Fort St. George in July the same year. In September 1780 he went on leave to Bengal, and did not return to Fort St. George. His name does not appear in the Composition Book of the Q. Anne Bounty Board as having been preferred to any living in England between 1769 and 1798. Foster (Alumni Ox.) says that he was Rector of Warehorne, Kent, in 1771.

Benjamin Millingchamp was born at Cardigan in 1757, his father having the same Christian name. He matriculated at Queen's College Oxford in 1773; migrated to Merton College the same year on obtaining a Bible Clerkship; and graduated B.A. 1777. Being ordained Deacon he obtained a

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chaplaincy in the Royal Navy, and was on duty with his ship on the Coromandel Coast when, owing to Mr. Bainbrigge's failing health, the services of a Chaplain were required at Fort St. George. He was appointed by the local Government in July 1782. He remained at Fort St. George till 1789 when ill health compelled him to return home. He took this opportunity of being ordained Priest ; the ordination took place at Gloucester in 1791 by letters dimissory from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He returned to England finally in 1796. He became perpetual Curate of Llandoye, co. Cardigan, in 1813 ; Vicar of Llandugwrd 1815 ; Rector of Rushall, co. Wilts, and Prebendary of St. David's 1819. He graduated at Oxford M.A., B.D., and D.D. in 1821 ; was appointed Archdeacon of Carmarthen 1827 and died in 1829. The Company gave him a special pension (Despatch, 28 Aug. 1800 Pub.).

Richard Leslie was born in 1748. His father was James Leslie, Bishop of Limerick. He matriculated at Wadham College Oxford in 1765, but did not proceed to a degree. Being ordained by his father in 1769 he was made Prebendary of Killeedy in the diocese of Limerick on the 3rd of October in that year, and on the following day was made Archdeacon of Aghadoe in the diocese of Ardfert. Later on he was appointed a Chaplain in the Royal Navy ; like some of his predecessors at Fort St. George he happened to be on duty in the neighbourhood when a Chaplain was required there. The death of William Bainbrigge in 1783 made the vacancy which Leslie was invited to fill by the local Government. He remained at Fort St. George till October 1801, when he obtained three years' leave to Europe. He did not remain the whole period of his leave, but returned to Fort St. George in August 1803, and died of heat apoplexy in June 1804. He died intestate, and the administration of his estate was granted to Mr. George Baillie, a bond creditor.

Andrew Bell was the second son of Alexander Bell of St. Andrew's N.B. He was born in 1753 and was educated first at the Grammar School and then at the University of his native town. He entered the University in 1769 and graduated M.A. in 1772. From 1774 to 1779 he held a tutorial

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

appointment in Virginia. He continued to take pupils on his return to England till 1784 when he was ordained at Mongewell by Bishop Barrington and licensed to the curacy of Cookham in Berkshire. The same year he was elected to the ministry of the episcopal chapel at Leith. He was ordained Priest at Carlisle in 1785. He remained at Leith till 1787 when he was tempted by his relative, Captain Dempster, who commanded the East Indiaman Rose, to go with him to Bengal. Before sailing he applied to his University for a Doctor's degree; and they conferred upon him the degree of M.D. This was a degree which at that time St. Andrew's University was accustomed to confer upon literary men who did not follow any special professional line. It reserved the degree of LL.D. for distinguished persons only. He arrived at Fort St. George in 1787, and found himself wanted and kept. His scientific lectures at that factory and at Calcutta in 1788 increased his reputation; so that in 1789 he was made Chaplain of Fort St. George and a member of the Asiatic Society. He was the first superintendent and Chaplain of the Male Asylum; it was here he made his celebrated experiment in education. The system of making one half of a class teach the other half is most excellent, so long as the education does not go beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. When it goes beyond that the pupil teachers need special instruction and training. The system has been pursued with great success in elementary schools since Dr. Bell explained it to educationists in England.

In 1793 he accompanied the army of General Brathwaite to Pondicherry; when the town capitulated he entered it side by side with Col. Floyd of the 19th Dragoons. It was exposure to the sun in the trenches at this siege which undermined his health. Before leaving Madras in 1796 he offered the mastership of the Male Asylum to Paezold the Vepery Missionary, a graduate of Wittenberg, who arrived in 1793. But Paezold could not see that the work could be done concurrently with his mission work; so he declined it. In consideration of his important educational work in Madras the East India Company gave him a special pension.

He became Rector of Swanage, co. Dorset, in 1801; but as

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he wanted to devote himself to pushing his educational method, he accepted the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital (3 miles from Durham) in 1809 in exchange for his Rectory. The light duty of the Hospital enabled him to travel through Great Britain and Ireland explaining the Madras system of education.

In 1818 the Archbishop of Canterbury offered him a canonry in Hereford Cathedral. There was a difficulty about his acceptance of it; for the statutes of the Cathedral made it necessary that all the prebends should be graduates of one of the English Universities. By this time Dr. Bell's University had conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.; the Archbishop of Canterbury had conferred upon him the degree of D.D.; but these were not considered to be what the statute required. The difficulty was got over by Lord Liverpool nominating him to a canonry of Westminster on condition of being allowed to nominate to the vacancy at Hereford. He held the Canonry till his death, at Cheltenham, in 1832.

In 1811, fifteen years after he left Madras, a number of his old pupils at the Male Asylum remembered what they owed to him for his systematic care in their education. They joined together and presented him with an address, and gave him a handsome service of sacramental plate, a gold chain, and a medal. Six of the donors were specially deputed to sign the address. Many Madrassis will recognise the names of Mark Dunhill, George Stephens, Samuel Godfrey and Thomas Adamson. The sacramental plate was given to the chapel of the central training school for teachers which Dr. Bell founded at Baldwin's Gardens London; the chain and medal were bequeathed to Madras College, St. Andrew's.

In his lifetime Dr. Bell established and endowed a Bell lecturer at Edinburgh in connection with the Theological Institution of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. And he gave £120,000 to found a college at St. Andrew's where he was born and educated.

In Westminster Abbey a tablet was placed in his honour; the inscription is as follows :—

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ANDREW BELL D.D. LL.D.
PREBENDARY OF THIS COLLEGIATE CHURCH
THE EMINENT FOUNDER OF THE MADRAS SYSTEM OF EDUCATION,
WHO DISCOVERED AND REDUCED TO SUCCESSFUL PRACTISE
THE PLAN OF MUTUAL INSTRUCTION
FOUNDED UPON THE MULTIPLICATION OF POWER AND DIVISION OF LABOUR
IN THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL WORLD
WHICH HAS BEEN ADOPTED WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE
AS THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION
OF THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR
IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH
DR. BELL WAS BORN IN THE CITY OF ST. ANDREWS N.B. 27 MAR. 1753
APPOINTED MINISTER OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, MADRAS 1789.
MASTER OF SHERBORNE HOSPITAL 1809
PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER 1818
DIED 27 JAN. 1832.

He was the author of An Experiment in Education, The Wrongs of Children, and various books and pamphlets explaining his system.

GEORGE WELLS was born in 1740; he was the son of the Rev. John Wells of Manningford Bruce, co. Wilts. He matriculated at Oriel College Oxford in 1757; and graduated B.A. 1760, M.A. 1773 and D.C.L. 1773. He also was a Chaplain in the Royal Navy; and being at Fort St. George in 1789 when Chaplains were required for the soldiers of the Company, he was appointed to a military chaplaincy in that year. He was stationed at Wallajabad with the 1st battalion of the Company's European regiment[1]; but he did not remain long in the Company's service; he preferred a life afloat, and returned to the fleet.

RICHARD HALL KERR was born in 1769 if the age given on his monument is correct. It is uncertain where he was born and educated; Hough speaks of him as a young Irishman. A Richard Kerr matriculated at Trinity College Dublin in 1783 aged 16, who was therefore born in 1767; but there is no evidence to show that this Richard Kerr, who was the son of Lewis Kerr a clergyman, and who graduated B.A. in 1788, and Richard Hall Kerr the Madras Chaplain, were one and the same person. None of the records show that Richard Hall Kerr was a graduate.

[1] Note in the Burial Register of Trichinopoly, 1791.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Sodor and Man in October 1789; he went to Bombay in 1790 to superintend a Portuguese Eurasian school. After holding this appointment two years he determined to return home. To do this he obtained the Chaplaincy of the Perseverance frigate, which was under orders for England. The Perseverance went to Madras first, and arrived there in June 1792. When the time of departure came Kerr was left behind ill. He was befriended by Mr. Basil Cochrane, a young civilian, who had himself been in trouble and knew what it was to want a friend.[1] Cochrane assisted him to start a school in the Black Town for those who could afford to pay fees. Whilst thus engaged he occasionally assisted the Chaplains at St. Mary's, and thus attracted the attention of Sir Charles Oakeley the Governor. In April 1793 he was appointed a military Chaplain, and was despatched to Ellore where the 4th battalion of the Company's Europeans was quartered. He succeeded Dr. Bell at the Fort and at the Male Asylum in 1796.

He returned to England in 1802; was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Sodor and Man in October of that year; and informed the Madras Government that he had taken the degree of D.D. No record of his having taken this degree exists in any British or Irish University, or at Lambeth Palace. It may have been conferred by some foreign University.

He received the license of the Archbishop of Canterbury to officiate in India, and was allowed to return thither by the Directors after entering into the usual bond. In the Bond he is described as of London; and his sureties were John Macdonald and Robert Forbes of St. Mary Axe, merchants.

Whilst at Fort St. George Dr. Kerr was instrumental in building the Black Town Chapel; setting up the Government Press at the Male Asylum; and establishing the Charitable Committee for the relief of the poor (the origin of the Friend in Need Society). At the request of the Governor he reported

[1] He was dismissed in 1786 for causing the death of a native by beating him (Despatch, 22 Dec. 1786, 7, Pub.), but was restored by vote of the General Court (3 to 1)—(Despatch, 8 April 1789, 4, Pub.)—on the ground that the homicide was unintentional.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

on the inadequacy of the staff of the Company's Chaplains; he recommended a considerable increase of the establishment; his report was adopted by the Governor almost entirely and recommended to the Directors; the establishment was increased in consequence. He elaborated a scheme for the establishment of a workhouse for natives in Madras at the cost of the Vestry Fund; but this was prevented by a powerful opposition. At the instance of the Governor he prepared a report on the Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast, which still has a value. He was more actively minded than any Chaplain who had preceded him in India. He is said by Hough, the historian of Christianity in India, to have sent an evil report of the state of religion and of the lives of Europeans in Madras to the Directors; and that this report resulted in the building of some Churches by the Company. But no such report is on record. There is no doubt that he reported to the Government of Madras the need of more Chaplains and chapels in the military stations; that the report was referred to the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army; that the Commander-in-Chief recommended the building of Churches wherever European troops were likely to be quartered; and that these reports were sent to the Directors by the Madras Government with a recommendation. He may have written privately to one of the Directors; but it is not likely that he communicated direct with the Company; such a breach of etiquette and discipline would have been visited with severe displeasure both locally and in Leadenhall Street.

In 1806 his health began to give way, and he went on sick leave to the Mysore country. The following year it gave way still more, and he had thoughts of a journey to England. Claudius Buchanan made the mistake of urging him not to retire; he told him [1] that he was 'the representative and sole public supporter of the Christian religion in the peninsula.' Kerr stayed; and died of an exhaustion of mind and body in April 1808. His death took place in the Egmore school house. A laudatory notice of his life and character appeared in the 'Madras Courier'; Col. Mark Wilks, the historian of Mysore,

[1] Hough's *Christianity in India.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

praised him; Edward Vaughan, the Chaplain of St. Mary's, preached the funeral sermon before the Governor and the principal people of the settlement; the Church was hung with black, and there was grief. He had discharged the various duties of his sacred office with fidelity, zeal, and dignity; he had amiable qualities of heart; he was benevolent, philanthropic, gentle and conciliating; but his zeal and energy and feverish activity were new things, and were by some misunderstood or unappreciated. His very activity challenged opposition; his far-reaching schemes invited it. He did not receive much assistance from the Europeans of Madras in the building of the Black Town Chapel; he did not appeal to them in the right way; he had a pessimistic way of regarding existing conditions; he said in his appeal 'scarce three Churches are to be found throughout the Carnatic'; every civil and military officer who had been stationed in the mofussil knew better. When he sent in his report on the Malabar Christians of Cochin,[1] he made some general observations on mission work; this is what he said:—

'We have, my Lord, been sadly defective in what we owed to God and man, since we have had a footing in this country, as well by departing most shamefully from our Christian profession ourselves, as in withholding those sources of moral perfection from the natives which true Christianity alone can establish; and at the same time we have allowed the Romanists to steal into our territories, to occupy the ground we have neglected to cultivate, and to bring an odium on our pure and honourable name as Christians.

. . . . . .

'In my humble opinion the error has been in not having long ago established free schools throughout every part of this country by which the children of the natives might have learned our language and got acquainted with our morality. Such an establishment would ere this have made the people at large fully acquainted with the divine spring from whence alone British virtue must be acknowledged to flow. This would have made them better acquainted with the principles by which we are governed. They would have learned to

[1] *Home Series*, Miscellaneous, vol. 59.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

respect our laws, to honour our feelings, and to follow our maxims.' [1]

. . . . . .

Speaking of the S.P.C.K. Missionaries and what they had done, he continued:—

'It is true that the object they had more particularly in view has in some measure failed; and few good converts, it is generally imagined, have been made; but let it be remembered also that they have laboured under every possible disadvantage; they have scarcely enjoyed a mere toleration under our Government, and have received no kind of assistance whatever.

. . . . . .

'Thus have we continued a system of neglect towards the interests of our native subjects in points the most essential to their very happiness throughout the whole of our Governments in this country.'

Apart from the pessimism of the tone, could anything, written or said, show more conclusively how a man can be so engrossed in his own concerns as not to know what is going on around him?

Dr. Kerr married at Fort St. George in 1794 Elizabeth daughter of Alexander Falconar of the Company's service. Six children were baptised at St. Mary's; three died, and three survived him. His widow received a special pension of £296 19s. 3d.[2] from the Company in consideration of her husband's good service, and of the immense saving to the Government he had caused by the establishment of the printing press at the Male Asylum. She also received a present of 5000 pagodas in consideration of the same service which the Company had directed should be paid to him.[3] He left all his property to his wife.

Roger Owen was born in 1767; he was the son of Ellis Owen of Bridgenorth in the county of Shropshire, gent. He

[1] Dr. Kerr's language must be compared with that of the Directors in their Despatch of 1787, quoted in the chapter on 'The Company and the Schools' with reference to Mr. John Sullivan's scheme.

[2] Despatch, 11 April 1810, 2, Mil. [3] Do. 11 Jan. 1809, 94, Pub.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

matriculated at Wadham College Oxford, in 1784; graduated B.A. 1788, and M.A. 1790. Like his immediate predecessors he was a Naval Chaplain, whose services were gladly made use of by the Madras Government. An entry in the Trichinopoly Burial register of 1799 shows that he was with the 1st battalion of European Infantry at Poonamallee in 1794. He went with the battalion to Pondicherry, and remained with it for nearly two years. Owing to ill health he resigned his appointment and returned to his ship. He died on the voyage home on the 13th Sept. 1796,[1] and was buried at sea.

Abraham Thomas Clarke was the son of John Clarke of Western Underwood in the county of Buckingham. He was born on Christmas Day 1755; was educated at Merchant Taylors School and Trinity College Cambridge, graduating B.A. in 1779. He was ordained Priest by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1784, and was licensed to the curacy of Wigtoft in that diocese. He volunteered for mission work in India in 1788, and was accepted by the S.P.C.K., being the first Englishman sent out by that Society to the East Indies. He arrived at Calcutta in 1789 and took the place of Kiernander as head of the Society's Calcutta mission. Soon after his arrival he was appointed superintendent of the Free School by the local Governors. At the end of 1790 he was appointed a Chaplain in the Company's service by the local Government by mistake[2]; he resigned his appointments in Calcutta and did the work of a military Chaplain until the mistake was discovered by the arrival of the real nominee at the end of 1791. The Bengal Government gave him a subsistence allowance, and kept him working in Calcutta and round about pending reference to the Directors on his case, that is until 1795. He then went to Malacca; and on the recommendation of Vice-Admiral Rainier and the commandant of the garrison he was appointed Chaplain of the garrison by the Government of Madras. Here he remained nearly three years, when to recruit his failing health he went a sea voyage to the Company's factory at the mouth of the Canton river in China.

[1] The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1850 records the death of a Roger Owen aged 88. Foster (Alumni Ox.) identifies him with the above. His age alone seems to show that he was another person. Letter, 16 Aug. 1796, 72, Pub. and 3 Oct. 1796, 6, Mil. [2] See Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Here he officiated as Chaplain to the settlement and to the fleet at Whampoa till the end of 1798. He then went with the fleet to Madras, and was appointed by the Madras Government to be Chaplain to the garrison of Seringapatam. He remained at that station till 1805 when he died.

James Cordiner was born at Banff in 1775; he was the son of the Rev. Charles Cordiner, the episcopal minister at that place. He graduated M.A. at the University of Aberdeen in 1793. He was chosen by Dr. Andrew Bell, on behalf of the Governors of the School, to be the Head Master of the Male Orphan Asylum at Madras in 1797. He arrived at Madras in June 1798. Within ten months he was offered and persuaded to accept a military Chaplaincy under the Government of Fort St. George, and was sent to Trincomallee in Ceylon where H.M.'s 80th Regiment then was. In the same year, 1799, the military Chaplain of Colombo died, and he was invited by the Governor, the Hon. Frederick North, to take his place. Here he remained for five years, being the only clergyman of the Church of England in the island. On his return home he became minister of St. Paul's Aberdeen, and continued so till his death in 1836. He was the author of A Voyage to India, and of the Description of Ceylon, which is still a standard book of reference on the subject.

Charles Ball was born in London in 1765, being the son of William Ball of London, gent. He matriculated at St. John's College Oxford in 1783, graduated B.A. 1787, M.A. 1791; and when he was at home on leave in 1808 he took the further degrees of B.D. and D.D. He was appointed a Chaplain in 1797, but his name does not appear in the Canterbury Act Book. When he was appointed there can be hardly any doubt that the Directors intended him to take the place of Dr. Bell, who went home in 1796 and sent in his resignation in 1797. On his arrival at Fort St. George he found that the local Government had appointed Mr. R. H. Kerr to the vacancy, and that they intended him to occupy it. Ball appealed to the Government in vain; he was ordered to Trichinopoly; here he remained from 1798 to 1802. There can be no doubt that he cherished some resentment against Kerr, his junior in point of age, who had been allowed to supplant him in the post

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to which he had been appointed in London. In 1802 he became Junior Presidency Chaplain under Kerr, and soon found a means of obliging him to take leave. Kerr returned at the end of 1803, and Ball returned to Trichinopoly and remained there till 1807. Although Kerr was junior to Ball in point of age he was senior to him in the service; beside this he had made himself useful to the Government; he was therefore supported by the Government in his contention with Ball; and Ball, even though right in his contentions, was reprimanded both by the Government and by the Directors for insubordination. On his return from leave in 1809 he went to Wallajabad for a year; in 1810 he succeeded Atwood at St. Thomas' Mount, and remained there till his retirement in 1818. According to Foster's Index Ecclesiasticus he received no preferment on his return to England.

James Estcourt Atwood. In the Act Book of the Archbishop of Canterbury he is described as Clerk, and no degree is mentioned. His certificate of appointment was signed by the Archbishop and also by the Bishop of London. He was appointed a Chaplain in 1799 and arrived at Madras at the end of that year. He was at once sent to Vellore; he remained there till 1802 ministering to the Europeans there and at Arcot. In August 1802 he became Junior Presidency Chaplain under Ball for a year, and then returned for another year to Vellore and Arcot. In June 1804 he became Junior Presidency Chaplain again under Kerr for six months. In December 1804 he became the first Chaplain of St. Thomas' Mount; here he died in 1810.

Edward Vaughan was born in 1766; he is described in the entrance book of his college simply as 'Middlesexiensis, annos habens viginti quatuor.' He matriculated at St. Peter's College Cambridge in 1790, graduated B.A. in 1794, M.A. 1798. In the following year he was appointed a Chaplain by the Directors, but his name does not appear in the Canterbury Act Book as approved.

He arrived at Madras in March 1800, and applied to be allowed to officiate at Seringapatam; but the Government had already appointed A. T. Clarke to that station; he was therefore despatched to Masulipatam, which was then the head-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

quarters of the Northern Division of the Army. Here he remained till 1805 when he was appointed to be Presidency Junior Chaplain under Dr. Kerr. He remained at Fort St. George till St. George's Church on the Choultry Plain was completed in 1814, when he became Chaplain of St. George's. He was associated there with the Rev. John Mousley, Fellow of Balliol College Oxford, who was appointed the first Archdeacon of Madras under the Charter of 1813. Archdeacon Mousley died in 1819; Edward Vaughan succeeded him as second Archdeacon. He retained this office till 1828, when he retired from the service. He married at Fort St. George in December 1805 Cecilia, daughter of General Collins, by whom he had three daughters who were all baptised at the Fort. His wife died in 1810, and was buried in the St. Mary's Burial ground. According to the Index Ecclesiasticus he received no preferment in England, but retired into private life. In 1810 he was commissioned by the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate the Church and Burial ground at Masulipatam at the request of the Directors. Two years later he was again specially commissioned by the Archbishop, at the request of the Directors, to consecrate the Churches and Burial grounds at Bangalore, Bellary, Cannanore and Trichinopoly; the chapel at Masulipatam built by General Pater; and the Burial ground of St. Mary's, Fort St. George. The Act Book of the Archbishop shows that the necessary instruments and instructions were sent for the several purposes; but there is no record that the powers conferred were made use of except in the case of the Masulipatam Church. The establishment of a bishopric at Calcutta in 1813 probably had something to do with the postponement of the use of the powers.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Royal Danish Missionaries, employed by the King of Denmark and assisted with funds etc. by the S.P.C.K. of London.

1. H. PLUTSCHAU; native of Wesenberg in Mecklenberg; graduate of Halle; arrived 1706, invalided 1711.

2. B. ZIEGENBALG; native of Pulsnitz in Saxony; graduate of Halle; arrived 1706; died at Tranquebar 1719.

3. J. E. GRUNDLER; native of Weissensee; graduate of Halle; arrived 1709, died at Tranquebar 1720.

Royal Danish Missionaries who entered the service of the S.P.C.K.; some of them received in addition allowances from the Fort St. George Government, viz. Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19.

4. B. SCHULTZE; native of Sonnenberg in Brandenburg; graduate of Halle; arrived 1719; settled at Madras 1728; returned home 1743.

5. J. A. SARTORIUS; native of Laufenselten in Hesse Rheinfels; graduate of Halle; arrived at Madras 1730; settled at Cuddalore 1737; died there 1738.

6. J. E. GEISTER; native of Berlin; graduate of Jena and Halle; arrived at Madras 1732; went with Sartorius to Cuddalore 1737; died on voyage home 1746.

7. J. Z. KIERNANDER; native of Linkoping in Sweden; graduate of Upsala and Halle; arrived at Cuddalore 1740; went to Bengal 1758; retired 1788; died at Chinsura 1799.

8. J. P. FABRICIUS; native of Frankfort on the Maine; graduate of Halle; arrived 1740; went to Madras 1742; died there 1791.

9. J. C. BREITHAUPT; native of Dransfeld in Hanover; arrived 1746; went to Cuddalore 1747; to Madras 1749; died there 1782.

10. C. F. SCHWARTZ; native of Sonnenberg in Brandenburg; graduate of Halle; arrived 1750; went to Trichinopoly 1762; to Tanjore 1778; died there 1798.

11. G. H. C. HUTTEMAN; native of Minden in Westphalia; graduate of Halle; arrived 1750; went to Cuddalore 1750; died there 1781.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

12. C. W. GERICKE; native of Colberg in Pomerania; graduate of Halle; arrived 1767; joined Hutteman at Cuddalore 1767; succeeded Fabricius at Madras 1788; died at Vellore 1803 and buried at Vepery.

13. J. P. ROTTLER; native and graduate of Strasburg; arrived at Tranquebar 1776; went to Madras 1803; employed by the S.P.C.K. 1817; died at Madras 1836.

14. C. POHLE; native of Luckau in Brandenburg; graduate of Leipsic; arrived 1777; joined Schwartz at Trichinopoly 1778; died there 1818.

15. D. SCHREYVOGEL; native of Lindau in Bavaria; graduate of Leipsic and Halle; was at Tranquebar from 1803 to 1826; ordained by Bishop Heber 1826 and employed by the S.P.G. at Trichinopoly from 1826 to 1840, when he died at Pondicherry.

16. J. W. GERLACH; native of Schlitz; graduate of Halle; arrived at Tranquebar 1776; joined Kiernander at Calcutta 1778; died there 1791.

Missionaries of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. who were not connected with the Royal Danish Mission.

17. J. C. KOHLHOFF; born at Tranquebar; assisted Schwartz at Tanjore from 1778 till 1798; remained at Tanjore in charge till his death in 1844.

18. I. G. HOLTZBERG; native of Gorlitz; graduate of Leipsic; arrived 1797, and joined Schwartz at Tanjore; went to Cuddalore in 1803; dismissed by the S.P.C.K., but continued working at Cuddalore till his death in 1824.

19. C. H. HORST; native of Willenberg, Schwerin; medical graduate of Gottingen; arrived as regimental surgeon of a Hanoverian regiment in 1787; offered his services to Gericke and was sent by him to Cuddalore as Lector in 1792; went to Tanjore in 1806, where he died in 1810.

20. J. J. SCHOLLKOPF; native of Kirchheim in Wurtemberg; graduate of Tubingen; arrived at Madras in June and died in July 1777.

21. J. C. DIEMER; native of Alsatia; graduate of Halle; arrived at Bombay 1774; joined Kiernander at Calcutta in

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1775; home 1785; returned to Calcutta to succeed A. T. Clarke in 1789; died there 1792.

22. J. D. JAENICKE; native of Berlin; graduate of Halle; arrived at Madras 1788; went to Palamcottah 1791; died at Tanjore 1800.

23. C. W. PAEZOLD; native of Lusatia; graduate of Wittenberg; arrived at Madras 1793; assisted Gericke till 1802, when he went to Calcutta as Professor of Tamil; returned to Madras 1804; died there 1817.

24. W. T. RINGELTAUBE; native of Silesia; graduate of Halle; arrived at Calcutta 1797; home 1799; returned to Tranquebar 1804; superintended the S.P.C.K. mission at Palamcottah 1806–7.

25. C. A. JACOBI; native of Saxony; graduate of Leipsic and Halle; arrived at Madras 1813; joined Kohlhoff at Tanjore 1813; died there 1814.

26. J. G. P. SPERSCHNEIDER; native of Blankenburg; graduate of Leipsic and Jena; arrived at Tanjore 1819, where he was in the employ of the S.P.C.K. till 1826.

27. L. P. HAUBROE; native and graduate of Copenhagen; arrived at Madras 1819; took work under the S.P.G. at Tanjore in succession to Sperschneider in 1827 and died there in 1830.

28. D. ROSEN; native of Ebeltoft in Denmark; graduate of Copenhagen; arrived at Madras 1819; went to Trichinopoly in succession to Pohle 1819; then to Cuddalore 1824; was at Palamcottah 1829 to 1830 and from 1835 to 1838; then returned to Denmark.

All these except Schollkopf, Jacobi and Sperschneider ministered in English to the Company's servants at various stations, and did so as a rule acceptably.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INDEX

A

À Court, W., 28, 31, 37
Abbé de Cordeiro, 233, 236, 237
Abbott, W., 388
Abercrombie, Gen., 476
Adams, B., 91
Add. Clergy Society, 250
Adolphus, T. P., 602
Affleck, S., 161
Albuquerque, 243
Albyn, B., 47, 53
Allen, H., 295, 299
Anker, Gen., 253
Anstruther, A., 542
Arathoon, Padre, 338
Arbuthnot, G., 547
Armenian Church, 114, 338
  Quarter, 332
Arrowsmith, Dr., 35
Ashe, Sir J., 66
Aspinwall, J. H., 251
Atwood, J. E., 414, 423, 436, 442, 450, 452, 622, 688

B

Backbiting, 11, 40, 44, 46, 57, 60, 65, 95, 419–20, 449
Bainbrigge, W., 357, 360–1, 363, 365, 369, 495, 677
Baker, A., 19, 23, 24, 30, 37, 218
  C., 394, 429
  H., 246
  J., 547–8
  R., 227
Baldaeus, 261
Balfour, J., 399, 400
  W., 524
Ball, Dr. C., 407, 411–2, 426–7, 429, 431–6, 450, 452, 592, 594, 687
Banbury, G., 298
Banks, H. C., 594
Baptisms; out-garrisons, 406
Barker, J., 156, 165
Barkham, E., 136
Barnes, 64
Barnet, Admiral, 161
Barneval, A. C., 326
  F., 324, 326, 336
Bathurst, J., 43
Baxter, R., 36, 95
Bay, The, 64
Bedgeant, W., 65
Bell, Dr. A., 374–6, 378–9, 381, 389–90, 395, 409–11, 423, 522, 525–9, 532–3, 678
Bellamy, G., 284, 315
Benjamin, Padre, 474
Benson, R. S., 298
Bentinck, Lord W., 445, 652
Benyon, R., 176
Berkeley, Lord, 43
Bernard, Padre, 331, 334, 339, 457, 460–2, 468, 481
Bett, Capt. J., 88, 101, 102
Bible translation, 166
Bill, T., 53
Billing, G., 643
Bird, Major, 600
  Arthur, 298
  C. J., 637
  J., 598
Bishop, J. F., 637
Blackburne, Gen., 614
Blake, W., 44, 298
  W. H., 615
Bliss, Sir H., 298
Boddam, C., 214
Boone, Chr., 43
Boscawen, Adm., 277, 288, 305, 325, 327, 331, 483–4
Bourchier, C., 278, 314, 342, 486, 560
Bowden, L., 381
Bowen, F., 349, 676
Bower, Dr. H., 639
Boyle, The Hon. R., 36, 95, 122, 182
Bradgate, M., 21, 25
Braithwaite, General, 476, 480
Brandon, Dr. R. J., 656

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Breithaupt, J. C., 197, 198, 325, 484, 488, 491, 495
Brewster, 78
Brideoake, J., 109, 140, 276
Bridger, J., 80, 88
Briercliffe, S., 140
Brodie, W. D., 547, 549
Browne, E., 149
R., 88
St. J., 355–6, 677
Bruce, Col. T., 589
Buchan, G., 494
Buchanan, C., 428
Bulkeley, E., 144
Burby, D., 658
Burchett, Mr. Sec., 172
Burgoyne, Sir J., 343, 396, 398
Burnet, Bishop, 96
Burnett, B. P., 656
Burniston, Sarah, 209
Burials, intramural:—
Black Town Chapel, 656
Cuddalore, 300
St. Mary's, 89, 367–9, 396, 398
Tanjore, 616
Trichinopoly, 599
Burying grounds:—
Cochin, 251
Cuddalore, 285
Palamcottah, 635
Palliacat, 257, 261
St. Mary's, 135, 138, 318, 319, 384–5
Tanjore, 614–5
Trichinopoly, 493, 602–3
Vellore, 621
Byam, J., 67

C

Caemmerer, A. F., 266, 268, 643
Caldwell, Bishop, 583, 637, 642
Call, J., 308, 321
Calloway, 63
Campbell, Sir Archibald, 383, 463, 465–6, 471, 497, 501, 509–12
Col. D., 253
Lady (Archibald), 508–9, 514–5
Montgomerie, 497–8
Sir Alexander, 398
Capper, Col., 397, 467
Capuchins, 27, 104, chs. xi., xv., xx.
Cardrow, M., 7, 9
Carnac, Lieut., 316
Carr-Gomm, F. C., 298
Carver, R., 260
Casimir, C., 403
Chamber, Sir T., 26, 28, 31, 37
Chamberlain, T., 43
Chambers, J., 25
Chamier, J., 429, 445, 652
Chaplains, allowances, 379–80, 416–7
Biographies, 661
Charges against, 449
Company's reply, 450
Covenant, 439
Fees, 401–4
Increase of, 391–2, 447–8
License of, 117, 123
Lists, 1799 and 1805, 414
Lodgings, 356, 359, 366, 426–7, 561–4
Maintenance, 356–60
Pay and pension, 47, 380–1, 421, 448–9
Proposed changes, 124
Respect for, 123, 139
Status, 451–2
Charity Committee, 428–31, 553
Fund, Cochin, 245–7
Funds, 76
School, Cuddalore, 287, 289
School, Negapatam, 270
Stock, Cuddalore, 197
Charnock, J., 93
Chater, Mr., 647
Child, Sir J., 76, 80, 96, 109, 118
Childers, Gen. E. W., 579
Chingleput, 486, 621
Christian IV., King, 181
Church, Charles, 294
Church, Joint use of, 247, 249, 271, 289, 294, 296, 576–7, 600–1, 615, 620, 626, 632–4, 637–9, 642–3
Ownership, 244, 259, 264, 273, 591–2, 609
Renting of, 294, 597, 637
Restoration, 597
Church-building:—
Black Town, 195, 415–6, 419, 439, 644
Cochin, 243
Cuddalore, 264, 288
Dindigul, 643
Ellore, 414–5
Fort St. George, 32, ch. iv.
Madura, 657
Negapatam, 262
Palamcottah, 630
Palliacat, 257
Ramnad, 640
Tanjore, 606–8, 615
Tranquebar, 251
Trichinopoly, 585–6
Tuticorin, 580
Vellore, 443, 491–2, 620–1, 626–8
Vepery, 565, 576–5
Church plate:—
Cochin, 250

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Church plate—*cont.*
Cuddalore, 299
Fort St. George, 305, 316, 422
Negapatam, 264, 273
Palliacat, 261
Tanjore, 615–7
Tranquebar, 255
Trichinopoly, 604
Vellore, 629
Chuseman, Lieut., 46
Civil war, 33
Clarke, A. T., 410, 412–3, 686
B. S., 254, 256
Caleb, 554
Col., 632
D. G., 580
Isaac, 554
Richard, 268, 269
Sir F., 47
Clavell, W., 57, 68
Clayton, R., 96
Clement Pereira, Padre, 230
Clive, Lord, 425, 437
Robert, 199
Clorinda, 631
Close, Col. B., 397
C.M.S. at Cochin, 246
Palamcottah, 634–6
Palliacat, 260
Cockburn, A., 541, 548–9
T., 386, 524
Cogan, A., 17, 37
A., junior, 29
Colefax, T., 283, 284, 310, 674
Collet, Gov. J., 190, 209, 231, 232
Collins, G., 11
Lt. Col., 397
Company, Amalgamation, 119
Early factories, 3
First Prayer for, 124
Gifts of books, 61, 66, 98, 321, 373–4
Missionary good will, chs. ix., xxi., 522, 613
Missionary policy, 14, 35, 70, 95, 346, ch. xxi., 637
Obligations of 1698, 122
Offices, 2
Patronage, 13
Religious policy, 2, 7, 31, 43, 56, 70–2, 125
Religious rewards, 66, 73
Rules of 1667, 48, 65, 80, 201
Second Prayer for, 454
Their letters, 44
Toleration, 70
Compton, H., 542
Connett, Dr., 35
Consecration, St. Mary's, 82
Black Town Chapel, 439–40, 650–2
Consett, C., 556–7
T., 157, 561, 672
Conway, Count, 469–70
Cooke, F., 136, 209
J., 173
T., 173
T. (Director), 57
Cooper, W. W. G., 601
Coote, Sir E., 287, 316, 321, 343, 345, 355, 368, 398, 459, 491
Cope, H., 281
Copland, P., 7, 9
Cordiner, J., 412, 529, 533, 687
Cornelisz, P., 245
Cornish, Adm., 321, 348
Cornwallis, Commodore, 377
Lord, 396, 408, 451, 476, 498
Corrie, Bishop, 615, 636
Cotterill, Bishop, 580
Cotton, J., 268, 634
Coxeter, Mr., 348
Crooke, S., 7, 10
Crossthwaite, W., 11
Crozier, F. H., 251
Cuddalore, chs. xiii., xxi.
Cunningham, J., 4
Curtis, W., 25

D

Dallas, Capt., 273
Dalling, Lieut. J., 396
Sir J., 396
Daniell, W., 28, 31
Danish missionaries, 141, 690
soldiers, 199
Darke, C., 479
Darley, J., 58, 59, 62, 63, 140, 665
Davers, C., 176
Sir R., 176
Davidson, J. P., 298
Davies, J., 88
Davis, M., 654
T., 60
Dawes, W., 42, 45
Day, F., 17, 37
De Fonseca, Alvaro, 115
De Havilland, Col., 565, 568, 575, 590
De Rozario, D., 267
Dillingham, T., 140
Dindigul, 643
Disney, Lawyer, 543, 548
Dixie, R., 161, 311
Dixon, W., 227
Dobyns, H., 227
Dolben, J., 146
Douglas, Surgeon, 63
Doveton, Lt. Col. G., 622
Sir John, 398

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Drake-Brockman, Dr., 579
Draper, Col., 316, 349
Drury, C. R., 657
G. D., 637
Duffin, Surgeon W., 373, 381, 621
Dunster, T., 148
Dupleix, Governor, 326, 337
Durham, Dr. R. H., 656
Dutch jealousy, 9
Policy, 17
Soldiers, 199, 568
Dutton, J., 234
Dyce, Col., 632

E

Ecclesiastical Dept., 450
Eckman, P., 320
Egmore redoubt, 144, 526, 529
Elliot, H., Gov., 398
Elliott, R., 67, 79, 88, 93, 102, 116, 140, 146, 206, 666
Ellis, A., 298
Ellore, 414–5, 486
Elphinstone, Lord, 627
Emmanuel de Silva, Padre, 228, 230, 232
Empson, M., 554, 556
The Misses, 315
Epes, S., 69
Ephraim de Nevers, Padre, 29, 78, 218, 223
Evans, J. (Chaplain), 66–7, 93, 108, 665
His wife, 67
Evans, Mr., 4
Eyre, T., 177, 197, 214, 241

F

Fabricius, J. P., 199, 258, 266, 283, 309, 310, 325, 348, 352, 484–5, 488, 491–2, 495, 512, 560, 566–7, 619, 621
Factories, Early, 3
Falke, E. A. G., 625
Famine, 362
Farley, J., 45
Fell, Bishop, 95, 122
Female Asylum, 409, 508–18, 611
Fenn, J., 246
Ferdinand, Padre, 472–5, 481
Field, J. (or Feild), 160, 673
Mrs. L., 70
Fischer, Col. J. F., 659–60
R., 659
Fitzwilliams, J., 62
Fleetwood, E., 151
M., 70
R., 51, 62, 70
Fletcher, Sir R., 343
Floyd, Gen., 478–9, 590
Floyer, C., 197, 198, 457
Fordyce, F., 162, 279–82, 673
Fort St. David, 274
Chaplains' visits, 116, 128, 130, 153, 156, 173, 278
Purchase, 116, 275
Fort St. George :—
Barracks, 99, 132
Building of Church, ch. iv.
Description, 131
Fort House, 105–6
Foundation, 18
Nomenclature, 100, 106
Portuguese Chapel, 19
Strengthening, 44, 177
Want of Church, 32
Foulkes, T., 660
Fowke, J., 214, 306
R., 156, 173, 209
Fowle, E., 81
Foxcroft, G., 44, 51, 52
Franck, Mr., 646–7
Fraser, W., 102, 104
Frederick, T., 173
Freeholds, 116
French padres, 26–31, 71, chs. xi., xv., xx.
Fryday, T., 7, 8
Fuller, T., 11, 12
Fyfe, Capt., 615, 617–8

G

Gardiner, H., 140
Garrisons, 1762 and 1764, 350
Garrow, E., 589
Garston, The Hon. Mr., 298
Geister, J., 196, 286
Gent, Col., 394
Gericke, C. W., 253, 259, 264–9, 272, 288, 290, 409, 414, 486, 488, 490–6, 500, 503, 508, 512–3, 517, 568, 582, 588, 591, 611–2, 622, 625, 632, 642–3
German soldiers, 199
Goddard, H., 558
Golding, H., 7, 8
Goldingham, J., 647
Goldstein, J. F., 260
Gomonde, Capt., 397
Goodwin, C., 214
Dr. T., 35
Gould, R., 7, 10
Goulding, J., 555
Graeme, G. K., 639
Grahame, W. F., 298
Grahan, Padre, 267

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Grant, C., 441, 653
Greenhaugh, S., 214
Greenhill, H., 21, 23, 24, 25, 30, 37
Gresswell, H., 298
Griffin, Commodore, 280
Griffiths, C., 344, 347, 348, 352, 675
Grigg, Mr., 53
H. B., 251
Grimes, H. R., 299
Grose, The Hon. Mr., 298
Grundler, J. E., 166, 168, 187-9, 193, 252
Guardians, 151
Guest, J., 295
Gul. de Valle, Padre, 222, 223, 228
Gurney, W., 21
Gwillim, Sir H., 398, 432-3
Gyfford, W., 28-31, 37, 42, 80

H

Hall, J., 4, 5
Major, 397
Hallewell, J., 295
Hamilton, A., 118
Hanson, Capt., 194
Harington, W., 429, 560
Harland, Sir R., 343
Harris, E., 177, 214
T., 88
Harrison, Gov. E., 134, 137, 173, 188, 190, 209
Hart, R., 234
Hassius, Gov., 189
Hastings, Gov. F., 154
J., 154
Hatch, A., 7, 8
Hatsell, W., 221, 276
Hatton, Sir C., 69
Haubroe, L. P., 260, 269, 497, 582, 615, 625
Heathfield, Surg. J., 62, 68
Heber, Bishop, 596-8, 614
Hedges, Agent, 93, 140
Heidemann, Baron, 287
Heyne, G., 601, 604
Hickey, G., 602, 644
Higginson, Gov. N., 102, 223
Hiller, J., 229
Hinde, J., 197
Hislop, Capt., 321
Hobart, Lord, 395, 398
W. H., 580
Holditch, T., 13
Holtzberg, I., 292-4, 299
Hood, Sir S., 398
Hooke, C., 52
W., 47, 48, 50, 52, 662
Hopkins, Capt. C., 214
Horden, R., 173, 209
Horst, C., 291, 502, 614
Hospital, General, 101, 145, 338, 342
Native, 440, 443
Naval, 162, 347
Hough, J., 218, 634
Hounsill, J., 54, 55, 663
Howard, E., 159, 160, 673
Hubbard, C., 644, 658
J., 196
Hudleston, J., 502
Hughes, R., 524
Sir E., 357
Hugonin, F., 227
Hulse, W., 345
Hunter, Sir W., 95
Hurdis, T. B., 548
Hutchins, Sir P. P., 298
Hutchison, Dr. J., 634
Hutteman, G. H., 197, 198, 287, 289, 409, 483, 486, 488-90

I

Ince, D., 394
Innocentius, Padre, 226
Inoculation, 349
Irion, J. L., 260
Ironside, Mr., 53
Irvine, G. Duncan, 298
Isaacson, W., 20-33, 37, 38, 140, 218, 661
Ivie, T., 17, 37

J

Jaenicke, J. D., 492, 612, 622, 632, 641-2
James, F., 579
Jearsey House, 171, 174
W., 44, 88
Jennings, W., 154, 173, 186
Jesuits, 4, 225, 236-7, 339, 460-2, 475-9
John de Clerici, Padre, 220
Johnson, Engineer, 209
W., 161
Jones, E. J., 295, 299
G., 214
R., 128, 136, 668

K

Kaye, Sir J. W., 25, 123
Kearns, J. F., 583
Keating, W. A., 594
Kennedy, Col., 287
Kennet, Dr. C. E., 655
Kerr, J. (Chaplain), 438-9

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Kerr, J. (soldier), 289
R. H., 374, 390–2, 410–2, 414, 416–7, 423–9, 431–47, 449–53, 533, 541–8, 644–53, 681
Kidd, J. T. D., 589
Kiernander, J. Z., 197, 198, 199, 278, 281, 283, 286, 287, 310, 483–5, 488
Kindersley, N. E., 386, 399, 442, 524, 646–7
N. W., 268
King, W. S., 214
Klein, J., 198
Knipe, Major, 177, 302
Knox, G., 655
J., 295
Kohlhoff, J. B., 264
J. C., 492, 494, 501, 503–4, 582, 595, 597, 610, 612, 618, 632

L

La Bourdonnais, 242, 326
Lally, Count, 287, 485, 566
Landon, Dr. J., 126, 155, 668
Lang, Col., 619
Langhorne, Sir W., 19, 52, 57
Large, P., 102
Laurentius, Padre, 226, 481
Lautour, F., 429
Law, J., 572, 574–5
Lawrence, Gen. S., 305, 313, 349
J., 558
Lay Help, 156, 161, 363, 423, 610–1, 621, 633
Le Chevalier d'Albert, 237
Leeke, W., 153, 156, 157, 158, 193, 671
Leeper, F. J., 296
Legg, J., 173
Leigh, J., 23
Leske, W., 4, 5
Leslie, H., 93, 667
R., 363, 369, 375, 377–9, 380–1, 385, 392, 395–6, 405, 409, 414, 417, 421, 425, 434, 439–40, 442, 524, 648, 650, 678
Levett, H., 3
Lewis de Olivera, Padre, 224
Lewis, G., 108, 110, 111, 112, 128, 130, 133, 134, 136, 140, 155, 166, 179, 183, 184, 206, 207, 667
Libraries, 38, 47, 52, 53, 54, 60, 65, 69, 113, 126, 132, 146–51, 348
License, Episcopal, 3, 83, 117
Light, Lawyer, 543
Lighthouse, 394–5
Lindsay, Sir J., 343
Little, R. P., 256
Lockyer, C., 131, 206
Long, C., 129, 140, 147–51, 155, 193, 537, 670
Lieut. J., 306
Lord, Mr. (Chaplain), 11
Lorenzo, Padre, 226
Lottery funds, 530–2, 646–7
Lucas, T., 88
Lugard, F. G., 578, 580
Lushington, S., 499, 632

M

Macartney, Lord, 290, 365, 371–2, 404, 519
Macay (McKay?), 345
Macdowall, Gen. Hay, 614, 624
Mackenzie, Col. G., 396
J. (Lord Macleod), 344
McLeod, Col. W. S., 628
Macpherson, J., 608
Madeiros, Signora, 327
Madras Courier, 413, 497–8
Infantry colours, 628
Madura, 657
Mainwaring, Madam, 70
Malcolm, Sir J., 524
Male Asylum, 144, 379, 409, 411, 423–7, 438, 446, 522–33, 611
Mallory, Mr., 64
Mapletoft, R., 284
Marmelong Bridge, 385, 446, 538–42, 547
Marriages, 405–8
Martin, J., 23
Martinsz, Col., 641–2
Master, S., 62, 63, ch. iv., 93, 118, 201, 404
Masulipatam, 13, 17, 24, 37, 40, 52, 56, 59, 62, 68, 414–5
Maule, Lieut.-Col., 392, 394
Maunsell, R., 524
Mein, N., 589
Menzies, Sir J., 399
Merefield, S., 347–8, 675
Metcalfe, C., 102
Michael Angelo, Padre, 223–6
Middleton, Bishop, 245, 568, 633
Millingchamp, B., 360, 369, 374–6, 378–9, 381, 391, 394–5, 410–1, 421, 434, 495, 524, 677
Milner, E., 320
Milton, John, 554
J. B., Padre, 229–32
Ministers unordained, 56, 62, 75
Missionaries:—
German supply stopped, 496–7, 500
Interpreters, 494
List, 690

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Missionaries—*cont.*
Mediators, 495–6
Their work, 500–1, 503
Want of Englishmen, 185, 186, 189
Missionary-Chaplains, 285, 287, 288, 346, 364, 377, 407–8, 414, 486, 489–90, 492–3, 500–1, 514, 610, 612, 614, 620, 625, 630, 636, 643–4, 657–8, 690
Mitchell, H., 365
J., 172, 174, 176
Monckton, The Hon. E., 367
Monegar Choultry, 430, 442
Monson, Col., 321
W., 241, 307, 556
Monuments :—
Gericke, 503
Leslie, 442
Madras, 318–9
Masulipatam, 92
Moorhouse, 394
Schwartz, 502, 613
Moorhouse, Lieut.-Col., 394, 396–8, 524
Morgan, Dr., 251
Morris, R., 298
T., 17
Morse, N., 177, 214, 241, 558
Mose, H., 102, 103
Mousley, Archd., 594
Munro, A., 214
Sir H., 355, 360, 606–8
Sir T., 398
Musgrave, Gen., 397

N

Nairstall, Mr., 127
Native Poor Fund, 216, 363, 409, 429–30, 441, 443–4, 548, 550
Negapatam, 261, 495, 503
Newbegan or Newbigging, 30
Newcomb, E., 53, 54
Newcome, S., 558
Newman, H. (Sec., S.P.C.K.), 142, 170, 173, 189, 198
Nicklaes, J., 44
Nicks, J., 80, 88
Nonconformity, 48, 49
Norfor, R. E., 298
North, The Hon. F., 412

O

Oakeley, Sir C., 381, 393–4, 524
Ogilvie, J. H. D., 442
Lieut.-Col. J., 637
Ord, R., 88, 164
Orme, R., 549
Orphans, estates, 151
Orphans, Girls, 352
Ottley, Major C. G., 628
Owen, Archd. J., 612
Col., 369
Dr. J., 35
R., 391, 685

P

Paezold, C. W., 259, 494, 497, 503, 568–9, 625
Palamcottah, 630
Sale of Church, 638
Palk, R., 281–4, 305–13, 317, 347, 366, 434, 539, 674
Palliacat (Pulicat), 256, 485, 496, 565–6
Palmer, Lieut. C., 315
Paolo de Saa, Padre, 220, 222, 230, 232, 277
Papillon, T., 43, 94
Parry, T., 548–9
Patronage, Eccl., 13
Pelling, T., 558, 620
Peniston, T., 17
Percival, W., 214, 539
Pereira, P., 154
Peter, R. (The Pandyan), 658
Petitions, 456, 474, 478, 486–7, 496
Pettitt, G., 635–6
Phipps, C. E., 579
Pigot, Gov. Lord, 321, 356, 365, 367, 398, 539
Pigou, Elizabeth, 320
Pitt, Gov., 231
Plütschau, H., 181, 188, 252
Pohle, C., 346, 408–9, 412, 414, 500, 503, 589–93, 595, 604, 643
Poltzenhagen, D., 198
Poor relief, 202, 428–31, 552, 556
Pope, Dr. G. U., 582
Popham, S., 360
Poplar Chapel, 119
Porcher, J. du P., 386, 397, 524
Portman, R., 60, 79, 82–90, 93, 395, 665
Portrait painters, 504
Portuguese Mission, 26, 77, 108, 113, 166, 182, 191, 218, 227, 230, 236, 328, 330, 333, 335, 456–8
Power, G., 298
Powney, Capt. J., 558
H., 214, 306, 319
Mrs. M., 558
Prayer Book, 30
(Portuguese), 108, 110, 113
Precedence, 26, 59, 67
Prendergast, T., 637
Preston, Major, 584–5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Prideaux, Dean, 91, 120, 138
Prince, R., 198, 213, 214
Pringle (the lay-reader), 57, 59, 64, 165
Proby, C., 44, 45
Puckle, W., 57, 59, 63, 66
Pybus, J., 214
Pye, Mrs. E., 557

Q

Quarters (official), 105, 127, 132, 157, 160, 426
Quilon, 247

R

Rainier, Commodore, 391
Ramnad, 640
Raworth, R., 130
Raymund de Mervais, Bishop, 221
Read, Capt., 532
T., 205
Readers, 284
Registers, 405–8, 555, 598, 603, 618, 629, 658
Registration fees, 405
Religious obligations, 1, 6
Relton, W., 298
Renatus (1), Padre, 226, 238
(2), Padre, 239, 241, 324, 326
Reyner, Mr., 13
Rider, R., 162, 280, 673
Ridley, A., 234
Rodriguez, B., 115
Roe, Sir T., 4
Roebuck, B., 399, 418, 429, 541–3, 547
Rogers, Mr., 4
Roman Catholics, 26, 61, 77, 107, 114, 133, chs. xi., xv., xx
Armenian, 332
Chapel in Black Town, 338
Good will towards, 332
Government Rules, 463–5
Marriages, 78, 234
Orphan School, 242, 463
Settlements, 467–8
Syndics, 467–8, 472–4
Wills, 238
Rosen, D., 295, 497, 582, 595–6, 636, 644, 658
Rosenhagen, Mr. (Chaplain), 411–2
Ross, A., 321, 349, 365, 382, 395, 524–7
Col. P., 383, 460, 524
Rottler, Dr. J. P., 259, 260, 269, 492, 503, 568, 570, 580, 595, 597, 622, 653
Rous, F., 160
Rous, Sir W., 160
Rudge, Mr. (Director), 56
Rumbold, Sir T., 355, 361, 479, 608
Russell, H., and J. A., 398
Rynd, J., 7

S

S.P.C.K., District committee, 293, 568, 570–5, 594–6
Finance, 488, 554
General, 142, 146, 167, 170, 172, 179, ch. ix., 249, 258–9, 264, 266, 268, chs. xxi., xxiv., xxv., xxvi.
Gift of books, 174, 182, 588, 611
Mission schools, 185, 192, 507
Property, 291, 305, 484, 594–6
S.P.G.—General, 182, 247–9, 260, 270–1, 576–8, 582–3, 597, 600–4, 637–8, 644, 658
Policy in India, 249, 601
St. Andrew Undershaft, 2, 6
St. Benet, Gracechurch, 2
St. Helen, Bishopsgate, 2, 6, 11
St. Mary, Fort St. George:—
Altarpiece, 369, 417
Attendance, 134, 420–1, 449
Bells, 153, 321, 370
Building and consecration, ch. iv.
Church fund, ch. x., 399, 401, 405
Clock, 321
Damage, 353–4
Description, 131
Enlargement, 309, 437
Establishment, 364
Governor's seat, 315
Held in trust, 551–2
Mayor's pew, 114, 315, 417–8
Organ, 98, 305, 307, 321, 373
Patronage, 382
Pavement, 366–7, 372
Plate, 305, 422
Property, 316
Pulpit, 417–8
Register books, 555
School, 144, 175, 361–2, 382–3
School stock, 170, 213, 306, 313, 351
Spire, 393–5
Use of pall, 404
Used as a store, 365
Used as barrack, 317
Wardens, 559
Salisbury, A., 51
Salmon, B. W., 353, 355, 676
Salvadore de Mello, Padre, 224
Sambroke, J., 43, 45, 51, 97
Sancroft, Archbishop, 95
Sargent, Bishop, 639

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sartorius, J., 196
Sayon, V., 88
Scharlieb, W. M., 580
Schools, Eurasian, chs. viii., xxii., xxvi., 33
Native (Sullivan's scheme), 518–22
Schreyvogel, D., 299, 598–9, 602, 644
Schultze, B., 193, 194, 195, 196, 199, 559
Schwartz, C. F., 198, 263, 346, 408, 486, 489, 491, 495–6, 497–8, 501–4, 581–2, 584–8, 590, 592, 605–13, 618, 621–2, 631, 640–1
Scott, Col. Caroline, 312
Seaforth, Earl of, 345
Sealy, A. F., 251
Severini, Padre, 239–41, 258, 324, 328, 333–6, 338
Sewell, Henry, 298
Seymour, A. H., 579–80
Sharp, A. A., 580
J., 298
Sharrock, J. A., 296, 299, 583–4
Shelden, D., 53, 56
Sherlock, Dr., 140
Shingler, T., 28, 31
Shortland, V., 578
Shute, Dr. J., 6
Simon de Costa, Padre, 230
Simpson, E., 3
T. C., 271
Smalley, Col. H., 298
Smedley, J., 157, 158, 672
Smith, Gen. Joseph, 177, 303, 354, 399, 630
John, 307, 539
Joseph, 177, 303
Nathaniel, 376
Thomas, 108
Smyth, R., 594, 604
Smythees, S., 42, 44, 46, 49, 662
Soldiers (Swiss, German, and Hanoverian), 337, 389, 397, 612–3, 619
Somerville, Miss, 307, 315
Spencer, Bishop, 272, 300
Standard, Capt. J., 214
Stanley, E., 414
J., 359–60, 677
Stanton, Padre, 339
Starke, R., 214
Staveley, S., 283, 310, 314, 347, 674
Stevens, Admiral, 321
Major, 606
Stevenson, W., 129, 140, 147, 155, 167, 168, 173, 179, 186, 192, 536–7, 668
Strange, J. 501
Sir T. A., 652
Stratton, G., 554
Stringer, J., 383
Sugden, Mr., 13
Sulivan, B , 515
Sullivan, John, 518–9
Sunday boat hire, 313–4, 351, 385–9
Swayle, R., 20
Swynfen, G., 214, 281, 282, 306, 307, 673
Sydenham, General, 479, 524
Symonds, A. R., 578
R., 558

T

Tanjore, Church, ch. xxv.
Vestry, 593, 609, 616, 618
Vestry Fund, 506, 618
Vestry School, 506, 609, 611, 614, 618
Tarrant, H. J., 580
Taylor, A C., 580
H., 256
Teignmouth, Lord, 441
Temperance, 317
Terry, E., 5, 6
Theatines, 228–32
Thomas, A. H., 643
John, 349, 352–3, 356–8, 587, 619, 676
Padre, 234, 238, 239
W., 453
Thompson, A. C. (Missionary), 271
J., Do., 271, 658
M. (Chaplain), 292
Thomson, J. (Chaplain), 23, 30, 37, 661
M. (Director), 35, 43
W. (Chaplain), 47, 50, 51, 52, 662
Thurscross, H., 28
Tillotson, Archbishop, 148
Tinnevelly riot, 499
Torin, B., 494, 632
Torriano, G., 156, 492, 554
W. H., 454, 621, 626
Tranquebar, 251, 485, 495
Trapaud, Col., 442, 590
Trenchfield, R., 67
Trend, J. B., 628
Trevor, G. L., 580
Sir J., 53
Trial sermons, 2
Trichinopoly, Church, 585–7, 590
Missionaries, 604
Vestry, 588–91, 593, 596
Vestry Fund, 506, 588, 596
Vestry School, 506, 585, 588–9, 595–6, 611
Trotter, Col. C., 633

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Troutbeck, Samuel, 557, 561
Susannah, 560
Tuckney, Dr., 35
Tulloh, J., 394, 547
Turner, Sir C., 482, 579
Turton, J., 148, 150
Tutchin, S., 53, 55, 663
Tuticorin, 44, 580
Twiselton, The Hon. T. J., 650

U

Undertaker, 374
Underwood, R., 29
Surgeon J., 440
Universities, Letter to, 35
Uscan, Peter, 320, 327, 328, 330, 332, 333, 538–9, 541–3, 546–7, 558, 565

V

Valentia, Lord, 641
Valentyn, 257, 262
Van Sittart, H., 311, 321, 539
Vasco da Gama, 243
Vaughan, E., 414, 443, 450, 452, 543, 553, 688
H., 559
Vellore, 443, 486, 491–2, 618
Vepery, 325, 327, 328, 332–7, 484–6, 490–2, 565
Vernon, Sir E., 357
Vestry, Clerks, 534–5
Fort St. George, 127, 151, 155, 306–9, 313–8, 320, 349–51, 353–5, 357–69, 418, 427–31, 440–2, 444, 446, ch. xxiii.
Tanjore, 408, 593, 609, 616, 618
Trichinopoly, 408, 588–91, 593, 596
Victor, Padre, 473
Voss, Padre, 268

W

Walsh, C., 39, 662
John, 214, 308
Joseph, 558
Ward, Sir Henry, 398
Warner, P., 57–61, 64, 664
Warre, W., 130
Webb, W., 365, 429, 524, 548, 550
Wells, Dr. G., 377, 381, 390, 410, 681
Welsh, Col. 642
Weltden, Capt., 98
Wendey, J., 116, 117, 128, 134, 140, 667
T., 150, 153, 154, 156, 671
Wesleyans, 268, 269, 270
Westcott, Mrs. A., 320
Foss, 213, 214, 305
G., 418, 543, 547–8, 631
Westfield, Mr., 13
Wheatley, W., 640–1
Wheeler, J., 88
Whitefield, W., 37–41, 662
Whitehead, T., 56, 59, 60, 62, 664
Whiteside, W. S., 298
Whitford, R. W., 247
Whitlock, Lt. Col., 298
Wilberforce, W., 441
Wilcox, J., 88
Wilkinson, Dr. H., 35
Wilks, T., 80, 88
Willeboots, Mrs. L., 555
Williams, A. A., Archd., 600
L., 11, 12
Mrs. M., 314, 555, 558, 560
W. R. M., 245, 246
Wilson, J., 205
Winchester, R., 21, 24, 37, 661
Winckler, J. C., 259
Winter, F., 25
Sir E., 19, 25, 37, 42–6
T., 17
Wood, Dr. J., 11
Woodroffe, Dr. B., 111
Woodward, Dr. J., 182
Wooley, Ensign J. W., 399
J., 399
Woolhouse, J., 10
Workhouse, 443–6
Wren, Mr., 11, 12
Wright, J., 594–6
Mr., 127
Wyatt, J. L., 600
Wynch, A., 161, 198, 213, 305, 314, 554–5
G., 159, 160
M., 160
R., 156, 158–61, 672
Wynn, Maurice, 92

Y

Yale, E., 88, 104, 107, 113, 275
Yardley, C., 24, 25
Young, E., 11, 12
Younker, J., 268, 269

Z

Zenon, Padre, 30, 78, 218, 220
Ziegenbalg, B., 166, 179, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188, 193, 252

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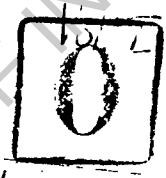

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